HISTORY OF MANKIND

CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENT

VOLUME V

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

1775–1905

PART THREE

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The maps of Volume V were prepared by Hallwag A. G., Berne.

PART THREE

SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS ASPECTS

INTRODUCTION

BY CHARLES MORAZÉ

WHILE, obviously, neither the vast mass of Europeans nor the majority of the bourgeoisie constituting their leaven participated in the creations of the scientific world, the cerebral condition of this confined world did not remain independent of the emotional conditions which were stirring peoples, classes, and nations. Everything was bound together by a sort of solidarity which, while difficult to explain rationally, had its roots in social physiology. At the time of the Encyclopaedists, when a thinking élite became sufficiently numerous and sure of itself to contest traditional authority, a reversal of equilibrium took place between intellectual activities and the activities of institutions based on tradition, at the upper levels of societies. The time when an increasing number of natural laws were discovered was also the time when it was felt that there ought to be a change in civil laws and political powers, which latter should be rendered capable of appreciating and giving expression to such change. Nothing occurred among this thinking élite which was not in correlation with the changes in the attitudes and feelings throughout society at all levels, where all systems of representation and action were also changed.

Thus, when during the last quarter of the eighteenth century the phase of modern physical sciences opened up, thanks to the final mastery which had been obtained over operational languages, with nomenclatures as lexica and mathematics as a syntax, other phenomena occurred elsewhere, in the most common spheres of word and deed, indicating the complementary and compensatory nature of literature and the arts as social and political activities. England, that country of pioneers, had already provided the greatest examples of breaking with a past which was still exemplified on the continent by monarchial absolutism. She also ensured the initial success of what is implied by the word 'romanticism', which began in England and constituted a new aspiration towards emotive and irrational spontaneity and had beneficial effects on Europe generally. When the workshops of science started codifying nature, society stripped it of the artifices behind which classical art had tried to hide it. At the time when Louis XIV was having the shrubberies and arbours of the park of Versailles laid out with geometrical precision, the country, where an honest courtier was not supposed to be at ease, was known as 'desert'. A hundred years later, when the trees of the park had grown to the size of those of the forest, it was fashionable to follow the tracks of the 'solitary wanderer' in search of wild country apt for reflection. It would appear that

the abstract cerebral activity of the scientists and of those who took an interest in what they were doing; who, although few in number, were already conscious of the convergence of their ideas, had the compensatory result, among the middle classes where fashions were determined, of further extending sensibility. The taste for the wild and the primitive carried the day, and sheepfolds were built with the same care as had been used to banish them from the royal parks.

Of course, science was not purely rational. On the contrary—mathematical nomenclatures and definitions camouflaged under names fabricated for their convenience experimental entities which were brutally imposed on the reason rather than merely deduced. But according to the same pattern, although inversely, the new emotiveness is not made up of a single essence. There is realism in the Diderot type of bourgeois dramatic writing as there is in the English romantic and Berkeley's philosophy. The aesthetic theories of Lessing balked at this duality, to which Kant and Hegel later gave metaphysical dimension by means of mathematical and logical considerations. Throughout the period from Newton to Einstein the romantic mood and that known as the 'Biedermeier' one were constantly related, although sometimes one and sometimes the other might prevail in certain works, the variations in density and quality of which gave the impression that certain periods were either more romantic or more realist. This ever-latent duality is neither more nor less clear than that opposing the vibratory and corpuscular hypotheses. And the word 'Aufhebung' by which Hegel attempted to overcome any contradiction did not have the same operational success as the simple formula by which Einstein opened the contemporary scientific era. Even music expresses something of this constant confrontation when, for example, having asked singers to 'place' their voices and abandon natural language so as to appeal more to the emotions, it finished by being heard as a background of sound, or when it forgot J. S. Bach in order to rediscover him later by restoring melody and harmony.

The Europe of the nineteenth century appears to distinguish itself, by its uniqueness, as a coherent whole made up of very delicate and complex components, whose constant interaction affects both scientific ideas and the whole world of feeling and thought.

The chronological sequence of the great events of Europe is evidence of the development of a process basically governed by this complex interplay of active contradictions between intelligible systems, emotive structures, groups of interests, peoples and social classes. A certain trend, and a certain category of population, appears to prevail for a time but is soon contradicted or overthrown as a result of a slight displacement of the centre of gravity of human activities. No matter how slight, this displacement expresses in spectacular manifestations the moment when the lack of balance attains such proportions that the system is overthrown, necessitating research for a further system which will itself result in further excesses. This oscillating pendular

character of historical evolution, incidentally, is not so new as the more rapid rate of change which now occurs. This new rapidity cannot be unrelated to the sudden development of cerebral operational procedures among thinking communities. And as this occurs throughout the length of a course which is as obvious as it is difficult to define and which is known as progress, the latter appears to be undergoing an unparalleled acceleration during the century with which we are dealing.

Generally, that is to say in the greatest and most manifest of the aggregates supporting it, this progress is expressed quite simply in the political and social order. Before this period, the destiny of the reigning families and of those which the feudal system or political expediency had attached to them seemed to be more or less identical with that of their states, if not of the people themselves, whose daily lives were much more dependent on climatic conditions, in an economy which was still predominantly rural. Through the intermediary of the political organization, the common man felt he belonged to a prince, a king or an emperor, according to the matrimonial vicissitudes of the great ones, which defined political legitimacies and were not without effect on the officering of armies and the conduct of diplomatic affairs. The people only participated to the extent that they were subjected. At the end of this period, the nation had become a fact in almost every country of Europe, and the peoples were becoming conscious of the fact that they were supporters of the state. In the words of the wish expressed by Jules Michelet, they had appropriated the qualities of audacity which the ruling classes had previously claimed as privileges of honour. They began to feel that the destiny of power was within their grasp. Meanwhile, at a time when both scientific and political thought were paying particular attention to the nature of chance and the calculation of probabilities, a need for free initiative manifested itself above all in those social strata where there was the greatest opportunity to rise, thus enabling entrepreneurs taking risks to substitute the industrial economy of the market for the self-sufficient rural economy. The legitimacy peculiar to this period of free economic enterprise was that of the rise of the bourgeoisie: it was felt to be universal at a time when it gave rise to new production dynasties; it provided the pretexts for the poverties which were its price; it only acted in favour of a certain easing of the situation of the masses when, within the sacred frontiers of patriotism, systems of material and sentimental interests were crystallized and rendered so interdependent that subsequently they opened up the era of the great world wars by preparing the ground for that spirit of self-denial which was essential to these vast holocausts.

In this substitution of the national ethos for that of the prince, the transformation of public opinion naturally plays a very important part. This is the result of a number of literary and artistic activities, but also of a vast number of sayings and writings, the subjects of which are interminably discussed in conversation, by the press, and in electoral and parliamentary meetings. Let the elections bring a certain party to power and let certain acts of government

result, and both those who were satisfied and those who were not learnt about the power of debate and, since the process occurred in public, understood it. Compared with this relative clarity, decisions taken in the secrecy of the courts or announced in the sovereign's ante-chamber appeared unlawful. In spite of memories of the violence of the first French Republic, to enlightened minds the vitality of liberty rendered revolutionary rationalism preferable to arbitrary obscurantism. Of course, the bourgeois majority which reaped the most advantages from this modification of the feeling of authority sometimes blanched at excesses recalling those of the Terror. But even in such cases, there was no *coup d'état* or simple government reaction which dared to cast aside electoral procedure and resort to plebiscite. The representative curve of legitimacy by suffrage has its ups and downs; however, during the period generally, it attained its peak—universal suffrage with secret ballot. Between the force of words, debates and decisions taken by voting on the one hand and military and police forces at the service of monarchical inspirations, the intelligentsia of the century made its choice; if need arose, it met force with force, until the powers achieved the habit of giving public opinion at least the impression of having its demands satisfied.

This reversal of political legitimacies accompanied the conceptual revolution which, sometimes resorting to words and sometimes to the strict rules of syntax, resulted in the flowering of the sciences, as of any aesthetic expression. In the state, just as in the intelligence, new relations were established among human beings, just as among all the elements making up experience. This newness was also, obviously, that of the social relations which heralded the reign of the bourgeoisie and accompanied its vicissitudes. On the continent the theatre of these vast modifications changed from one half-century to another—in France up to about 1871, and in Germany from 1848. But the action thus pursued remained the same and was conducted at the speed of the developments of which England, the first power to have profited from Atlantic activity, experienced the essential phases before all the others.

The first period was that when they learnt to benefit from the wealth acquired by the first colonial exploitation of world expansion, less in order to enjoy the extravagance of privileged luxury which were accompanied by excesses of sadism than to capitalize. Capitalizing meant refusing the excesses demanded by exhausted sensibility, finding oneself in order to deny oneself, and taking advantage of abundance in order to produce more. Puritan savings, severe on both expenditure and debauchery, laid claim to a reward in heaven and affected to spurn worldly wealth—although it had to be multiplied by virtue of laws of fruitful work. Yet in the eighteenth century, when puritanism was heresy, we have at the courts of Vienna and Versailles a locksmith and a typographer as the sovereigns of peoples, the enlightened members of which sang the praises of work and family life as virtues. These same virtues, the origins of which may be found to be tied up with those of Protestantism and Jansenism, acted on the authority of divine decrees in ignoring the miseries

of factories, which were held to be the counterpart of the voluntary austerity of the entrepreneurs who managed them with a harshness which was recognized by competitors. And while the vague yearnings of a dispossessed aristocracy had quite contrary motives to those of the sentimentality aroused among certain friends of the people, noble and wealthy ladies shed tears with Rousseau and read *Figaro* at a time when industry was being set up and the banks were prospering. England, already in possession of a powerful commercial and credit system, succeeded in passing through this crisis without political upheavals, even when the blockade increased its dangers and brought the threat of social revolt. The feeling of a national vocation was stronger than the warnings of the economists who counselled peace with Napoleon for fear of the domestic troubles which might be caused by monetary and financial difficulties. At the same time, France, controlled by a system of distribution in which the court and its luxury played the leading parts, suddenly changed its institutions, and after having tried out a number of them, finally adopted a sort of parliamentarianism suitable for establishing the confidence which a modern bank needs in order to prosper. She made up for the anxiety resulting from endless uncertainties by a patriotism of the masses, the dreams of which lasted well after it had failed in its attempts to conquer Europe, into which it had thrown the workers from the bewildered factories. Spain which, under Charles III, had attempted to overcome its economic weakness by trying to liberalize its Empire, lost its fleet at Trafalgar and its faith in mechanical capitalism in the midst of the murderous adventures of francization, which it rejected only when forced to do so. The rest of Europe, which had as yet been scarcely affected by the new capitalist and industrial phenomena, learnt of their legal and sentimental significance before taking stock of itself in the invasion which, although insupportable, linked the new concept of the nation to economic and social reform.

After Waterloo, the old order and its restored legality did not prevail long against the forces of change of which England demonstrated the exemplary power. The difficulties encountered by the French bourgeoisie along the same road make them appreciate even more the advantages of a state made to measure to make its own economic system prevail. The cotton crisis of the 1820s obliged the English to extend their parliamentary representation and amplify their banking organization. In July 1830 the French monarchy, reverting to divine right, was overthrown and replaced by a rational parliamentarianism, to which the bourgeois of the continent aspired in their turn. And yet, people still believed, while providing improved amenities for families gathered closely around individuals acquiring the feeling of their economic responsibility, that a certain aspiration toward beauty and well-being would make further progress prevail.

Philanthropists and socialists of the first period participated in the poetical illusion which transformed the transfiguration of the past into promises for the future. But the all-conquering power of industrial materialism and its

financial institutions in assuring the hegemony of England kept the battles
of the proletariat in check and enabled her to come through the crisis of the
1840s comparatively unscathed. France did not have this stability; the growing
petite bourgeoisie, hesitating between its fear of the masses and its impatience
at seeing the aristocracy strengthened by an alliance with the grande bour-
geoisie, and encouraged in this by an ageing king, were shaken by the same
crisis; the majority of Parisians united in a republican and vaguely socialist
revolution, and then resigned themselves to the restoration of a Napoleon III
who linked the state to capitalism and its new wealth. Lastly, Germany
experienced the ephemeral victory of the liberals over the princes, which was
sufficient to ensure the conditions for capitalist development and the setting
up of banks and to prepare the way for the unification of the currency on the
basis of the Hamburg Mark and of the customs tariff system in the Prussian
Zollverein, but was incapable of putting an end to the traditional legitimacy of
the reigning families.

The second half of the nineteenth century was marked by the shattering of
the illusions in which the first had been cradled. In a 'Vanity Fair' universe,
belief in the power of sentiment to reform social nature was rejected as
belonging to a world of childish literature; for the poets most of the time, there
was only an artificial or symbolical paradise; sentimental education was that
of the unaccomplished, 'bovarysm' was the fatal illness of those who refused
the ordinary in a condition condemned to mediocrity when the extraordinary
was the colour of a nightmare. When Marx, in reply to Proudhon, denounced
the poverty of philosophy, the earth, the machine, trade and money began
to fall under the pitiless gaze of Zola. This made it necessary for poetry to
find a new thrill, and Baudelaire sought in the gaslit streets what was formerly
found in the rural countryside. It was essential to get used to this new artificial
world where everything was driven by machinery, where new prospects had
to be opened to the need for dreams. It was no longer the novel which would
satisfy it, but poetry and music, the more penetrating research of which was
more detached from the reality of experience and could produce effects more
freed from daily life. For the imagination did not lose its rights. Sometimes
it allowed itself to be carried away by the resurgence of romanticism, as in
Germany which, not having experienced bourgeois radicalism to the same
extent as its neighbours, did not have a romantic school as rich as theirs, and
where a king who might have stepped out of the pages of Walter Scott opened
up the road to the consecration of repatriated Wagner, while Marx lived in
exile. Sometimes, as in France, it analysed the backgrounds of colours and
sonorities, or even of words, the potential universe of which Mallarmé
reconstituted by isolating them from their context. This is the epoch in which
the mechanics of reason are invoked.

During the last decades of the century, when Marx, having acquired the
complete mastery of a system which he was about to defend against any
compromise and any degradation in a world which was abandoning itself to

the slopes of a new conformity and when European industry was beginning to be affected by the upheavals which science had scarcely introduced, the inspiration of all scientists, and all artists, participated in the discovery of what had previously appeared to be inaccessible. All pioneer research became an effort of abstraction from the environment of dimensions unknown within the soul and things. But this was also the moment when Europe took into the meshes of her commercial and financial net all the other regions of the earth and reinforced, extended or renewed her colonial empires.

It is at this moment, then, when intelligence calls into question the bases of everything which had been considered real, that the triumph of the middle class appears to be completely assured outside the frontiers where it had already been assured. This assurance is all the more complaisant in that, within every nation where social capillarity had become much more efficacious, an increasing number of new men, trained in broadened universities, rise higher in the administrative hierarchies of public and private affairs, politics and even the armed forces, thus increasing the number of those benefiting from the capitalist, industrial system and dooming to failure the revolutionary strikes and anarchist plots which, on the threshold of the twentieth century, once again attempted to overthrow the newly established order before the World War.

For public opinion did not realize the extent of the misfortunes suspended over Europe's destiny. Newspapers with vast circulations, pictures and posters, public speeches and daily conversations still took no account of the conceptual revolution which was transforming scientific proceedings. Nor did the comfortable bourgeoisie which was overcome with admiration for what remained of the aristocracy and imitated its tastes, hear the message which the arts, in their own way, were expressing by denouncing the meretricious nature of ordinary representations. In public opinion, various hasty syncretisms of rational rationalism and romantic romanticisms were taking place, both of which, however, were outstripped. Of course, the deliberate scientification of some tended towards something more universal than the reversions of others to the fervours of yesteryear, but did not do any better in resisting the current which was dragging all towards war. In all the nations of Europe, the common denominator of all aspirations settled down in the region of patriotic solidarity, the bourgeois radicalism of which ended up by consecrating both financial interest and aristocratic traditionalism. The population of the country, and even of the towns, heard this swelling appeal at the expense of all others.

This repudiation of the links between science and the economy, or between happiness and the universe of beliefs to which sensibilities remained attached, justified, at the epoch of Kantian criticism, the probabilism of freedom of enterprise and that of the elective foundations of authority. But it also explains why, after a certain stage had been reached, it made the representations to which the European needed to pin his feelings surge back to the past. That is perhaps what imparted to the historical effort, in which so many scholars of the century distinguished themselves in such a novel and the model for which

was provided by the meticulous and inspired research of the Germany, its ambiguous quality; for although it taught progress it also went back to origins. In studying herself in this way, Europe still did not know that the world resisted what she believed by identifying itself with what she did, because she herself was going to be transformed both in situation and essence.

By the end of the period poetry and the arts had already assumed a too secret and esoteric character for the public to understand the warnings they were proclaiming. Europe did not understand that which, in the youth of the renewed world, was already challenging her, and if she felt it at all, it was in the midst of the irresistible currents where she was swept by her bellicosity.

It might be said of this Europe of the beginning of the twentieth century that, no longer knowing where she was with so many deluded hopes and unexpected conquests, she was trying to prove her worth to herself by means of a sacrifice for which nationalism provided the opportunity. The fatherland had become the ideal level for reconciliations when the force of events had eluded the projects of the philanthropists and the habitual perspectives of the arts and rational mechanics of the sciences. Everywhere, men speaking the same language demonstrated a need for solidarity in both self-denial and in the conquest of new abundance at a time when great, formidable unknowns were increasing. When the Jews themselves—and by no means the least important of them—began to put into practice their hope of recovering their lost Jerusalem and took shelter within their own frontiers against the renewed violence of pogroms, how should the other religions issuing from the Bible not thank God for national reconciliations ? It was then that the weight of the world split Europe along her frontiers, throughout the length of which history had already placed great cemeteries of glory.

CHAPTER XIII

INSTITUTIONS OF EUROPE,[1A]

BY HEINRICH BENEDIKT

I. THE TRANSFORMATION OF RURAL LIFE IN ENGLAND

RURAL areas, which in the eighteenth century still accounted for the major share of production, were transformed much less rapidly and less spectacularly than the towns in the following century. Yet it was from these rural areas that most of the people who swelled the population of the towns came. So did food for everybody. Their transformation may thus be considered as having been the condition of other transformations.

The economic correlations between agricultural and industrial production can be reduced to two characteristic types which reveal the history of crises. Until about the middle of the nineteenth century, general crises were still not infrequently produced by unfavourable weather conditions or by such other calamities affecting agriculture as the blight which destroyed the potato crops in the 1840s. In these circumstances, the ruin of the peasants meant that the artisans lost most of their customers, while unemployed workers had to pay a high price for their bread. In the nineteenth century too, and especially in the second half, crises resulted mainly from the fact that markets were not matched to industrial production, either because rare raw materials became too costly, or because of over-production and insufficient consumption. The first case corresponds to a traditional social state of affairs involving circumstances or providence; the second reveals an inadequate transformation of commercial circulation and involves social evolution. At the end of the century an excess of imported foodstuffs caused hardships for peasants, while an excessive industrial production capacity could only be absorbed in the sterile manufacture of armaments.

Although in the eighteenth century Europe had already imported vegetable and animal products from their countries of origin, and would continue to do so to an increasing extent, and although Europe had exported men and goods and would also continue to do so to an increasing extent, the problem of maintaining a balance between the population and its subsistence was one of the most difficult of that time. Though it was not a new problem, it arose in more acute form because of the marked growth in population; the realization of it came at a time when bourgeois rights of ownership gradually replaced former feudal customs. The broad principle of the new law which replaced the complex system of authority and responsibility of former times was that every property should have an owner and only one owner, and that the link between the property and its owner should be unequivocally defined. In Europe, where

land was then being surveyed and registered, the interest which the owner naturally took in deriving maximum profit from his land favoured the growth of food production. But this judicial modification had to coincide with a movement of fresh men or at least a fresh outlook to rural areas, failing which the latifundia depending on a single indolent master could remain fallow. The movement was therefore effective only in highly progressive areas, which were usually also marked by a strong bourgeois ascendancy. Metternich remarked at the beginning of the nineteenth century that there were too many people in Europe and not enough cattle, and this applied even to England, despite the fact that she was so energetically engaged in the renovation of her agriculture.

A nightmare prospect of over-population and undernourishment threatened when the French wars cut England off from a great part of the overseas markets. In 1798 the Reverend T. R. Malthus published *An Essay on the Principle of Population, or a View of its Past and Present Effects on Human Happiness*, which ran through edition after edition. According to the law propounded by Malthus, the population was increasing by geometrical progression, while the food supply was increasing only by arithmetical progression.

In Europe, time has given the lie to Malthus and corroborated the views of Condorcet, who in his *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain* (1793) declared his belief that the future would bring longer life, better health and greater prosperity.

In 1776—the year that saw the publication of Adam Smith's *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, the year when James Watt built his first steam engine and the United States declared its independence —Thomas William Coke, who later sat in the House of Lords as Earl of Leicester, took the management of his great hereditary estates into his own hands. He increased the yield of the hitherto neglected acres tenfold. In a fenced-in area 15 km in circumference he made improvements in cattle-breeding and doubled the average weight of his cows and the crop from the fields. His scientific mentor was Arthur Young, the first Secretary of the Board of Agriculture which had been set up for him. Young's *Annals of Agriculture* (1784-1809) became the farmer's bible. Coke turned to breeding merino sheep, with such success that their wool could be woven into the finest cashmere or into stockings so thin that two pairs could be drawn through a ring together.

Coke, his friend the Duke of Bedford and many other great landowners studied the problem of fertilizers and the cultivation of root crops and clover, and introduced the four-course rotation of crops, which transformed the tillage, and with it the landscape, of half the earth's surface. This also became known as 'the Norfolk rotation of crops', in honour of 'the great Coke of Norfolk', as Arthur Young calls him in his *Annals of Agriculture*.

Another pioneer of modern agriculture was Nathanael Kent (1737-1810),

who had become acquainted with the very advanced agricultural methods of Lower Austria (modern Belgium) when he went to Vienna as Secretary of the English Legation and who was for a time in charge of the model farm maintained by George III—'Farmer George'—at Windsor. His *Hints to Gentlemen of Landed Property* enjoyed a wide circulation.

English agricultural methods reached the continent by way of Hanover, which had a personal union with the English throne. In 1798 Albrecht Thaer, a doctor living at Celle, published his *Einleitung zur Kenntnis der englischen Landwirtschaft* (Introduction to English Agriculture), followed later by a second work, *Grundzüge der rationellen Landwirtschaft* (Principal Features of Rational Agriculture). He introduced the Norfolk rotation of crops, rational stall-feeding, potato cultivation and sheep breeding, and opened the first school of agriculture, at Celle in 1802. Science made its contribution to further progress, teaching how the substances taken from the soil by the crops could be replaced by the use of fertilizers—or, in the three-course system of rotation, by leaving the ground fallow—and popularizing the principles of soil chemistry laid down by Lavoisier and Davy and expanded by Liebig. The landowning aristocracy took up farming; Cavour, after his travels in England, devoted himself to the management of his property in Piedmont; and the youthful Bismarck believed he had found his mission in life when he set his plough-boys to work on his Kniephof estate.

One regrettable result of the new English agricultural methods—which was deplored from the first, despite the impetus given to the cultivation of the soil and the consequent growth of industry, national wealth and population —was the disappearance of the peasantry. The old peasant class was protected so long as the monarchy still counterbalanced the oligarchy formed by the landowning magnates. But when the crown lost its power, the ancient system of common lands, which had been the backbone of the smallholdings and dwarf farms, declined too. According to English law, unploughed land belonged to the lord of the manor; but under the Statute of Merton (1235) he could enclose only as much of it as would leave the peasants, tenant farmers and cottagers with sufficient common lands for their own needs. The administration of these lands, and any legal decisions it entailed, rested with the Justices of the Peace, who came from the ranks of the landowning aristocracy and were more concerned to promote the interests of their own class, particularly in the matter of agricultural progress, than the well-being of the class they regarded as parasites on the large landed properties. Until 1640, when Parliament abolished the Star Chamber, the peasants used to come before that court, which dispensed justice gratuitously in cases where an unbiased verdict was not to be expected from the ordinary courts of law. The Star Chamber often decided against enclosure, on the ground that it led to the depopulation of the villages and was contrary to the law of the land.[2]

Periods during which enclosures increased alternated with periods of truce, when the balance between large and small properties was preserved. That

balance was finally destroyed during the wars against revolutionary France and Napoleon. At the outbreak of the twenty-two-year period of hostilities, the agricultural labourer owned a cottage, a cow and a pig. The common land provided grazing for the cow and firewood for the cottage. He did not depend solely upon his work on the land, for he was at liberty to earn a living by handicrafts at home. The introduction of machinery robbed him of this resource, and when the lord of the manor enclosed his fields there was no more grazing ground. The labourer's work for the landlord or in a factory earned him more bread than before; but he no longer had any bacon, and instead of rich milk he drank tea. Many owners of medium-sized farms could not meet the cost of rounding off their property and fencing it in; so they sold up and went to seek fortune in the town.

Every measure for the redistribution of peasant holdings or common land required an Act of Parliament, which determined the sum to be paid to the peasants in compensation. But the peasants who were dispossessed by the numerous Enclosure Bills did not receive enough compensation to enable them to buy land elsewhere and enclose it.

The landlords congratulated themselves on the fact that the eviction of the peasant-farmers reduced the number of poachers and provided a supply of labourers who could be installed in workmen's dwellings and were thus easier to supervise and did not stay away from work because their own holdings required attention. The doctrine of the division of labour was in favour of workers' dwellings, to the disadvantage of the cottagers.

Enclosure had the effect of increasing wildlife and promoting pheasant-preserving. Poaching became a side-industry and sport for the countryfolk. The London poultry dealers depended on stolen game for their trade. As late as 1770, a law was passed which laid down a penalty of three to six months' imprisonment for poachers at the first offence, increased to between six and twelve months for subsequent offences. In 1816 a still more drastic law decreed seven years' transportation or service in the army or navy for anyone caught at night with a net in his possession. In 1828 these laws were made less severe because juries usually refused to convict poachers. Poaching with traps and nets was the bugbear of the landed proprietors, who protected their hares and game birds with spring-guns and mantraps until 1827, when these lethal weapons were forbidden. During the next three years there were 8,500 sentences for offences against the game laws.

As readers of Adam Smith will know, one result of the enclosures was a fall in the number of pigs, poultry and eggs. The geese, great flocks of which had formerly thronged the roads leading to London, became rare birds. Kent writes that in the old days the farm workers could buy all the milk, butter and other provisions they needed in their villages, but that since small farms had grown scarce these were no longer to be obtained, for the big landowners were not interested in such matters, or sent all their produce to the towns.

The enclosure of the smallholdings and common lands became necessary

during the French wars in order to ensure an adequate food supply; and it remained a necessity because only the large agricultural estates could grow enough corn to feed the industrial population.[3]

The miseries of unemployment began with the continental blockade.[4] A national dole was rejected as incompatible with the principle of a free economy. The parishes were responsible for the relief of the poor, and it had become customary to send them to work for local residents in turn, rather than dispatch them to the ill-famed workhouses. The parish supported their wives and children. This was the system taken as a basis by the Justices of the Peace of Berkshire, when they held a meeting with other respected county figures—17 men in all, including 7 parsons—at the Pelican Inn in the little village of Speenhamland. The meeting decided that wages should not be raised, this being a practical impossibility, but that a minimum for existence should be laid down, at three shillings per week for the labourer and 1s 6d for each of his dependants, with a scale of increases if the price of the loaf of bread rose above 1s. The extra sums required to provide this minimum would be paid by the parish out of contributions from the employers. The uniform system thus established by the 'Speenhamland Act' was adopted in all the other counties and remained in force until 1834.[5] One result was a reduction in the efficiency of labour, since there was no longer a prospect of higher wages to serve as a stimulus; another consequence was the desire to have many children. An unmarried mother with numerous children who did not go out to work was now better off than a hard-working farm labourer or weaver.

2. THE EVOLUTION OF RURAL LIFE ON THE CONTINENT

While circumstances in England were developing to the advantage of the big landowner, small-sized properties remained preponderant in France. Charles-Emmanuel III of Savoy was ahead of France in the abolition of peasant servitude. His edict of 20 January 1762, providing for the voluntary discharge of all encumbrances, remained a dead letter because the farmers resisted it. Resorting to more radical methods, the king abolished manorial rights by a law of 19 December 1771 and did away with ground rents, instead of which the lord of the manor received an annuity of 3·5 per cent from the Government.

In 1779 Louis XVI liberated all serfs on the royal estates, but the remaining vestiges of the feudal system were not swept away until the decree of 4 August 1789 abolished mortmain (main morte) and the landlord's jurisdiction (féodalité dominante) and made the sentences of estate courts commutable. The final step was taken when on 17 July 1793 the National Convention issued a decree abolishing all feudal dues and ground rents without compensation. After the confiscation of church lands and the estates of the nobility, a tenth part of French soil was sold to the peasants and citizens.

When Charles X came to the throne he promptly set to work to mitigate, if not to abolish, the wrongs inflicted upon the Royalists by the Revolution.

The satisfactory financial position made it possible to vote a 'thousand million' —in reality 650 million—to provide compensation for the estates confiscated during the revolutionary period. Compensation was awarded on the basis of a twentyfold yield. One-tenth was set aside to form a fund to be drawn upon in cases of hardship. The remaining nine-tenths was distributed to the expropriated landowners in the form of shares carrying 3 per cent interest. As these stood below par, the compensation actually received was only 54 per cent. The interest amounted to a charge of only 27 million on the annual budget. By this law of indemnification the monarchy recognized the validity of the transfers of property effected during the Revolution: this led to a rise in the value of land in France.

After paying their debts, the home-coming émigrés used any money that remained to them to buy land. To reinforce the feudal element, preserve the large estates and save them from being split up, the Government tried to introduce the right of primogeniture; but the peers refused to accept it: public opinion was hostile to their system.

As a result of the confiscation of ecclesiastical and aristocratic estates during the Revolution, these passed into the hands of the bourgeoisie, altering the social structure of land ownership to an extent that was not materially affected by the partial restoration of the previous aristocratic landlords.

Thereafter, during the era of widespread urban development, wine-growing continued to be one of the main props of the economy. When fruit and vegetables could be brought to the capital by rail, from districts beyond its immediate vicinity, great market gardens would develop in the Rhône and Loire valleys; and the Charente would become a dairy-farming centre. To help impoverished areas, and in particular the Vaucluse, Napoleon III encouraged the planting of madder (*Rubia tinctorum*), much used in the production of dye-stuffs. With this in mind, Napoleon III put his soldiers into red trousers, which they wore until the First World War. The influx of raw materials from overseas and the development of the chemical industry put an end to the cultivation in Europe of fibre-plants and dye-plants. This brought poverty to some regions, including the flax-growing areas.

The central European peasantry continued for a long time to be virtually tied to the land. The peasant farmer was a hereditary tenant, paying a fixed ground rent to the landlord.

To the east of the Elbe and in the Bohemian and Hungarian provinces of the Austrian Empire, the cottage-dwellers were bound to do service on the manorial lands with their labour or team of oxen. As early as Maria Theresa's reign this form of service was abolished on the royal estates and convent lands, whose output rose considerably now that they were cultivated willingly by paid labourers instead of negligently by reluctant serfs. The peasants could have purchased their freedom from the private landowners, but they preferred the not unduly onerous service imposed upon them to the payment of even a small rent. The cottage-dweller was held in bondage. He could not abandon

his holding, nor could he move away without his landlord's permission. The Thirty Years' War depopulated large areas of Bohemia, and the Turkish wars had the same effect in Hungary. Restrictions were placed on freedom of settlement, to prevent a flight from the land. A hundred years later, the population had increased sufficiently to do away with the need for this restriction of personal freedom. By a Charter promulgated on 1 November 1781, Emperor Joseph II set the peasants free to move about as they wished; they no longer needed the landlord's permission to go elsewhere in the search for work and wages. The memory of Joseph II is honoured as the liberator of the peasants and the author of the Charter of Toleration, among his other important actions being the suppression of many convents. All three of these measures were of considerable economic importance. The liberation of the peasants released workers for the factories. The earliest factories—most of which were spinning mills and weaving mills—were set up by aristocratic landowners. They were outstripped by foreigners, most of whom came from the much more advanced Protestant provinces of Germany and brought compatriots with them as foremen. The desire to induce them to settle down, and to enable them to bring up their children in their ancestral faith by having their own pastors, was one of the principal reasons underlying the Charter of Toleration. Former monastery buildings, if not taken over for barracks, were allocated to the manufacturers to save them the expense of new factories.

Following the example of Joseph II, and thanks to the efforts of Count Andreas Bernstorff, a Minister of the Crown, serfdom was abolished in Denmark in 1787.

The liberation of the peasants in Prussia was brought about by the Stein-Hardenberg Reform, decreed in 1811 and considerably amended in 1816. In this case the doubtful value of 'liberation' was offset by the loss of protection for the peasants. The Prussian peasant was a hereditary serf. The political power of the landed aristocracy was based on the system of hereditary serfdom, and they also had jurisdiction over minor offences. The peasants were permanently settled on their holdings, and though they could not sell them, neither could they be deprived of them. They served the overlord with their labour or team of oxen, and he kept a patriarchal eye on their welfare. The old system found a champion in Von der Marwitz, who defended a lost cause, protection for the peasants. Von der Marwitz declared that the landed classes were the natural intermediaries between king and people. Under a monarchy, he pointed out, one man gave the orders and the rest obeyed. But as the masses had an innate reluctance to obey orders, the intermediate authority must prevent them from uniting. As the author of the most important document produced by the nobility during their resistance to Hardenberg, the reforming minister, he was sent to prison for a month in the fortress of Spandau.

Von der Marwitz understood the peasants better than did the promoters of the reform, the result of which was to impoverish the peasantry and add to

the aristocrats' estates. Albrecht Thaer denied that protection for the peasants was justified, affirming that agriculture, like industry, was an undertaking impelled by the profit motive. The essential feature of the 'liberation of the peasants', which broke the personal ties between aristocrat and peasant and substituted the impersonal State for the paternal intermediate authority, was that the hereditary tenant farmer came into full possession of his holding and became a free citizen; but in exchange he had to give up one-third of his land. The lord of the manor received financial compensation for the loss of his services. In practice this led to a long period of working off the debt, for it was hard for the Prussian peasant to scrape a living independently of the landlord. In the next few decades many small farmers fell into difficulties and had to sell their farms to the big landowners. So the effect of the reform was to reduce the acreage of small farms and increase that of the large estates. These unfortunate results were felt by the peasants as early as 1820, when a disastrous slump in grain exports and a sharp fall in prices produced an emergence in which they could no longer turn to their overlords for protection. From the point of view of the national economy the reform was an advantage, for it led to the more rational organization of agriculture through the use of free labour —which was much more productive than the serf with his team of oxen— improved crops, and encouraged beneficial co-operation between the agricultural east and the industrial Rhineland.[6]

In Austria a law was passed in 1798 to speed up the abolition of villeinage. The implementation of this law was to be ensured by free agreements. As the peasants were short of money and did not find their statute labour unduly oppressive, the law met with no great success. In the Land parliaments the big landowners advocated the compulsory abolition of the feudal system of land tenure, since they were convinced that this would facilitate the rationalization of farming and enable them to hire efficient labour instead of relying on unwilling compulsory service. Abolition was postponed by indecision as to whether it should be carried out by the central Government or by the Länder. The imperial Government was afraid that if the individual Länder set up land mortgage banks the effect might be to reduce the sovereign authority of the Empire. It therefore refused to permit compulsory abolition and insisted on voluntary measures; but without the help of a financial institution these could only be carried out on a small scale. The landed proprietors continued to urge their point, and finally the Government decided to take up the great task itself. An imperial manifesto of 11 April 1848 abolished all forms of statute labour and feudal service and provided compensation for the landowners. On 26 July 1848 Hans Kudlich, as the youngest member of the Constituent Reichstag—he was the son of a hereditary peasant farmer who had been so well off that he could send two sons to the University in Vienna— introduced a motion for the general abolition of feudal tenure. The aim was to divert the peasants' gratitude from the Crown to Parliament. But the peasants, when the revolution broke out in October 1848, refused to be involved in it.

When the imperial Government abolished the old system of tenure, it issued bonds to the landowners to provide them with capital for improving the soil, purchasing machinery and livestock, and hiring capable labourers. Commutation was fixed at twenty times the net proceeds of the former serf labour, and the State and the peasant each paid one-third of it in annual instalments. No compensation was paid for the remaining third, as this represented the cost of management and of maintaining the lower courts of law, which were now taken over by the State as part of the new system of political and judicial institutions. The landowners had formerly paid the stipends of the law officers who administered these courts.

The advantage to the peasant lay, not in the transfer from the patriarchal system to the State administration of justice, but in the fact that he was able to learn the new agricultural methods which could at last be introduced on the large estates, where he could see their good effects every day. Like the monasteries in the old days, the big estates now served as schools for the peasant farmers. This was more especially the case in Bohemia and Moravia, where sugar beet now became the principal crop and sheep farms, which had formerly been in the majority, gave way to husbandry.

The new order was harmful to small landowners who did not manage their own estates, but lived in the town on the proceeds of their farm rents. They found themselves obliged to sell land, and the big landed proprietors took the opportunity of buying from them.

The apprehension that the abolition of peasant protection and of the ban on their borrowing money might lead to the setting aside of the rights of inheritance established to prevent the breaking up of their farms, proved to be well founded. During the following decades, many peasant holdings were sold by auction. But as the yield of land increased many times over, the forced sale of small farms became a rarity. The law of 27 July 1868 was based on the principle of the unrestricted division of land, as required by equal rights for all; but it authorized the Länder to take preventive measures. Fortunately for the Tyrolese peasants, their Parliament stood firmly by the traditional principle of indivisibility, and the Tyrolese farm law of 12 June 1900 was imitated in other Länder of the monarchy.[7]

The reason for the long survival of serfdom in Russia was the absence of the industries whose need for workers led them to demand freedom for the country population.[8] Attempts to set up factories on private estates were usually unsuccessful, as the Russian peasant detested factory work. The serfs accepted their lot as a law of nature. The drawback of the system was that it was not rational. Labour was cheap and inefficient. Collective laziness took the sting even out of the bailiff's knout, which was much less dreaded than the threat of being conscripted for 25 years of military service. But serfdom had had its day, and no one was more convinced of this than the nobility themselves. Princess Orlov-Chesmenski alone released more than 5,000 serfs. In the years 1816–19 the German nobility in Esthonia, Courland and Livonia

set the pattern for the abolition of serfdom by declaring it illegal to sell or give away serfs, with or without land, and giving them the right to acquire the freehold of their land. The example thus set by the Baltic states retarded the liberation of the peasants in the rest of Russia instead of encouraging it; for the Baltic peasants, who in the days of their bondage had been in possession of land, were now free, and far too many of them sold their farms and were ultimately thrown on the labour market as day labourers.

In 1822, after a visit to Russian Poland, Heinrich Heine wrote:

'At present when the harvest fails the noblemen must provide the peasant with grain from his own store; for he would be the loser if the peasant were to starve, or could not sow his ground. I came to the conclusion that the nobility are very conscientious and kindly in the fulfilment of their duties as guardians, and I found everywhere that they treated their peasants indulgently and benevolently.'[9]

The Russian peasant belonged to the village association known as the *mir*, a system instituted by Peter the Great. The *mir* ensured that all the villagers should have an equal share of arable land and grazing grounds, and was responsible to the Government for the collection of taxes and to the landlord for the due performance of statute labour. The *mir* allotted each man his share of work and produce, but prevented him from doing more than the average, or pursuing his own interests by increasing production. As a result of serfdom and the *mir*, Russia, for all its natural advantages, was the worst-managed agricultural land in the whole of Europe—so badly managed that famines frequently occurred even in fertile regions, and were difficult to relieve because of the shockingly bad transport conditions. Local famine, and agitators who spread false rumours and smooth-tongued promises among the unreflecting masses, were the cause of repeated uprisings in rural areas;[10] 547 of these were officially recorded in the first twenty years of the reign of Nicholas I. In the second and third decades of his reign, 142 landowners were murdered.

The Tsar was in favour of liberating the peasants, as a means of turning the subjects of the nobility into subjects of the State, into taxpayers instead of statute labourers, and making their labour force more useful to the community as a whole. But the Tsar was not strong enough to act in defiance of the nobility, and Nicholas failed in his attempts to turn the serfs into free peasants.

It was Alexander II who abolished serfdom, in 1863, after the Crimean War, when it was felt to be impossible to send soldiers who had worn the Tsar's uniform back to their homes as serfs.[11]

3. THE DEVELOPMENT OF MARKETS, MIGRATIONS, TECHNICAL PROGRESS

It was about the middle of the nineteenth century that the plough drove out the sheep and cornlands replaced grazing grounds. In Maria Theresa's reign

the aristocratic landowners grudged no expense in the purchase of pedigree rams. They sold their merino wool not only to the newly established manufacturers in Bohemia and Moravia, but as far afield as the spinning mills of Alsace, the Rhineland and Saxony. This became a highly profitable business when trade with Spain was cut off by the outbreak of war in 1808. In the following decades sheep-breeding moved steadily eastwards, where the market continued for a long time to rely mainly on Hungarian and Russian wool, until the South American and Australian output began to take its place. Sheep-breeding had started in Australia as a result of the continental blockade; and thanks, in part, to Australian exports, and even more to the mechanized spinning and weaving mills, cloth became so cheap that even simple peasants and factory workers could afford a suit a year—whereas in the old days a son would take over his father's old Sunday suit after it had done service for many years, have it dyed, and wear it for the rest of his life.[12]

In 1801 Achard carried out a successful practical experiment on an estate belonging to Frederick William III. But it was thanks to Napoleon that the sugar-beet industry became one of the largest in Europe, for he encouraged beetroot cultivation and processing at the time of the continental blockade. The flourishing beet-sugar factories in France suffered a considerable setback in 1837, when Louis-Philippe, under pressure from the planters in Martinique and Guadeloupe and the Bordeaux shipowners, put a tax on beet sugar and thus reduced the demand by half. Production in the states belonging to the German Zollverein declined to the same extent when the tax was introduced there, in 1841. In Austria, Metternich managed to ward off the attacks of the colonial sugar manufacturers, with such beneficial results for the monarchy's beet-sugar industry that in the last decades of the century sugar became Austria's main export. The first really large-scale undertaking was set up in 1837 on the property of Archduke Charles at Seelowitz in Moravia, by a Frenchman, Florentin Robert, who equipped it with the evaporation plant he had invented and which was widely adopted thereafter. It was here that his son, Julius Robert, invented the diffusion method which transformed production throughout the world.

Molasses, a valuable by-product of sugar manufacture, joined potatoes as the principal raw material used in distilleries. Sugar factories, distilleries and breweries enlisted agriculture in the service of industry, and thus raised the value of crops.

In central and eastern Europe, the grain growers and millers met demands by exporting to the great industrial areas in the West. The construction of railways was speeded up by the beetroot and sugar traffic and the increasing amount of freight resulting from exports of grain and flour. The Budapest mills, the largest on the continent, sold flour to Switzerland, France and England, Egypt and Brazil. Vast quantities of wheat from the Black Earth were shipped from Odessa until American grain came to dominate the world market, after swamping the Atlantic and Mediterranean seaports as early as

1869. Railways and steamships made light of distances and reduced the price of bread.

In England, a law of 1670 had prohibited the importation of wheat so long as the price remained below a certain level. That level became the subject of a fierce struggle. In 1816 a bad harvest coincided with a serious slump in the textile industry. Many mills closed down, machines were wrecked, women, and men disguised as women raided the baker's shops and sold the bread at what they considered to be a fair price, ricks and mills were burnt down, and mobs, driven desperate by hunger, paraded with banners inscribed 'Bread or Blood'.

The repeal of the corn laws in 1846, and the consequent victory of Free Trade and industry over agriculture, was finally decided because of the out-break of potato blight, which caused an appalling famine in Ireland, where corn had to be imported. The consequences feared by the Protectionists did not make themselves felt for some time, the price of corn remaining at a profitable level. The acreage under corn in England did not diminish until the late 1870s, when transport costs were reduced all over the world.[13]

The population of Ireland had grown beyond all measure owing to early marriages, a high birth-rate, and the potato as the staple food. The Irish labourer's wages bought him so many potatoes that he could feed twice as many children as his English counterpart, who earned twice as much, but ate wheaten bread. When the potato disease led to disastrous famine, the Govern-ment could only partially mitigate its results by distributing corn and offering emergency employment; it was impossible to provide work for all the 700,000 unemployed who applied for it. Many thousands of the population died of starvation or disease, 100,000 emigrated in 1846, 200,000 in the following year, and so forth. The only thing the emigrants took with them to America, where they helped to give a strong impetus to the economy, was the Irishman's implacable hatred of England.

But the chief reason for the persistent decline in the population of Ireland was not only the temporary potato famine, but the consequent removal of the customs duties on corn, owing to which Ireland lost the benefit of preferential treatment on the English market.[14]

Emigration in the nineteenth century was a complex widespread pheno-menon. People seemed to be freeing themselves from the attachments which had bound them to one spot for centuries: large-scale population movements took shape which were extension from one country to another and from Europe to the rest of the world of the movement of men from the country to the towns. The transformation of the condition of the peasant, who was gradually freed from the servitude which had kept him in one spot, whose tenure of the soil had also been interfered with by the new legal and property ownership systems, who was possibly attracted also by the often illusory prospect of easy wealth, made it difficult to bear the crises of all kinds resulting from the expansion of production and the market economy—the more so because poverty

aggravated as a result and especially because a feeling of insecurity was created. The natural result was to succumb to the temptations offered by the development of communications and transport, especially railways and shipping lines. This led to major movements of people coinciding with periods of economic depression. There emerged a trend from the countryside to the cities, or from both to countries believed to be more prosperous or to ports of embarkation. In this latter case, the maritime nations provided the earliest and largest contingents. The growth of colonial empires and of independent nations formerly the possessions of Europe in America created new lures whose attraction was eventually felt even by the most continental peoples of Europe.

In the 1880s an east-to-west wave arrived in France—one of the few countries in the old continent with a high rate of immigration—and compensated for the low birth-rate which was compromising internal expansion.

Another wave of emigration originated in the eastern part of central Europe, where industry was not yet sufficiently developed to give employment to the overspill of the population. This reached a climax in 1907 in Austria and Hungary, where 386,000 people left their homes. Next came Italy and Russia, but at an appreciable distance. This process added an important item to the national budgets, for the emigrants sent money home, or brought it with them when they returned. The largest contingent came from Hungary and Galicia. Most of the young men who emigrated were driven not so much by poverty as by the wish to avoid military service. A treaty concluded in 1870 between the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the United States stipulated that men who emigrated before they had served their time with the army and returned home as naturalized Americans should be released from military service for ever, and were not to be punished as deserters. Together with the fear of pauperism the temptation to spend five years in America as a free man instead of three years at home in the army was too great to resist. Day labourers and miners had a harder time in America than in their own country. Many of them came home as soon as they had obtained their naturalization. The immigrants provided the United States with an underpaid, uncared-for labour force which proved very useful in building up American industry and the railway system. The savings brought home by those who returned, and the money sent home by those who prospered, benefited the economically backward countries.

Technology kept pace with the demand for greater yields in agriculture. The need for deep ploughing was met by the steam plough which was pulled along by a rope hauled alternately by one or the other of two portable steam engines which stood at either end of the field. The best system was devised by an Englishman, John Fowler, who began to manufacture steam ploughs at Hunslet, near Leeds, in the 1860s. Steam ploughs could only be used in large fields, and this, coupled with their high initial cost, confined their use to big farms. Not until the twentieth century introduced the tractor-drawn plough was everyone able to share in the advantage hitherto reserved for large landowners.

Mowing and threshing machines were a further contribution to the mechanization of agriculture.

An important development was the reclamation of arable land by draining marshy tracts. Here the Dutch were the unchallenged masters. They succeeded in erecting dykes to protect their North Sea settlements from flooding, and transformed the marshes that lay below sea-level—the 'polders'—into fertile ploughlands, by means of drainage canals and windmills. As early as 1400 they were pumping water from the polders into canals and rivers at a higher level by the use of windmills to replace the simple draw-wells of that period. At first these mills were motionless, set to catch the south-west wind; later came smaller mills whose sails could be turned in any direction. In the seventeenth century, when the Dutch merchants were looking for safe investments for the fortunes they had amassed, the extension of the polders was taken up on a large scale and large areas in West Friesland were drained. The supervision and maintenance of the dykes was entrusted to special officials, recruited by democratic methods from among the local landowners and headed by a government-appointed overseer. This organization, the main features of which have survived to the present day, goes back to the thirteenth century and the Counts of Flanders. In 1852 the Haarlem Lake was drained. The draining of the Zuydersee did not begin until after 1918.

The credit for the increased yield of agriculture goes largely to soil chemistry, to which we owe the existence of artificial fertilizers. A pioneer in this respect was Justus von Liebig (1803–73), who was discovered by Alexander von Humboldt after he had studied in Bonn, Erlangen and Paris, and became Professor of Chemistry at Giessen at the age of 21. He is the real father of agricultural chemistry, and humanity owes him gratitude for an unprecedented increase in the production of vegetable and animal food.

Plants derive the organic materials of their structure—water, oxygen and hydrogen—from the air, and their inorganic materials from the soil. Nitrogen forms an exception to this rule; clover absorbs it through its roots by the agency of bacteria. Clover, the final crop in the four-course system of cultivation, is already sown with the summer wheat in the third year, and since it came into general use it has been the indispensable means of enriching the soil. Chile saltpetre was the only nitrate fertilizer available until the method of obtaining nitrates from the air by the use of the electric arc was discovered in Norway. The ventilation of heavy soil was achieved by the use of lime as a fertilizer, which increased the solubility of other nutritious substances. Potash fertilizers were obtained from salt-mines in the form of potassium-magnesium salts, the German potash industry, which originated about 1840 in the district round Strassfurt, expanded rapidly after 1871, and the Syndicate was set up in 1888 to put an end to over-production and price-cutting rivalry between the numerous firms concerned. As long as Alsace remained in German possession, the Syndicate produced 96 per cent of world output. Phosphorous fertilizer first took the form of raw phosphorous, bone-meal or bone-ashes; its use was

considerably extended by the introduction of basic slag, a valuable waste product produced by steel-works in smelting phosphoric iron ore.

The iron ores in Lorraine (Minette) are particularly rich in phosphorus salts. By the addition of lime and magnesium in the Bessemer converter, basic slag—phosphates, lime, magnesium salts and manganese—was obtained from the liquid steel, ground up, and put on the market as 'Thomas phosphates'. These artificial fertilizers contained all the mineral salts from which plants derive their chief nourishment. Animal fertilizer was also indispensable, and there was no entirely adequate artificial substitute for this—so that cowhouses were a source of profit even if they only paid their way and produced manure for sale. Agricultural profits were dependent on the current prices of the principal products, such as sugar beet or potatoes. Taking the price of land as the basis of calculation, the ground rent received by a landowner who did not work his own property seldom exceeded 4 per cent. In good years, the capital represented by live and dead stock (farm capital) might show a return of as much as 10 per cent; over a ten-year period it averaged 7–8 per cent. The most profitable were the agricultural estates of between 200 and 400 hectares and the larger farms, of more than 20 hectares. The small peasant farmer's holding brought him no more than a wage for his work which was no higher than the earnings of a skilled factory worker. But the consciousness of being a free man on his own ground kept his hand on the plough and helped him through his hard toil. His wife would help out by looking after the pigs or goats and selling her poultry, eggs and butter in the local market. Fattening geese was another source of profit, especially in the eastern part of central Europe. The farmer's wife gorged her geese with the gleanings from the landlord's cornfields—a memory of the Book of Ruth. Many small peasants eked out their profits by seasonal work as labourers.

The gradual increase in the range of foodstuffs brought changes to eating habits. Bread ceased to be the staple item in the diet of the general population. Greater variety led to greater strength and made people taller, so that cottage doors became too small. Vegetables became more popular. Above all, potato cultivation became universal; potatoes formed one of the principal foods of the poor and appeared as an infinitely varied and indispensable item on the tables of the well-to-do. Beet sugar, which competed with cane sugar in many countries and completely superseded it on the continent, made sweet dishes easier to prepare and stimulated the demand for coffee, tea and cocoa. Thanks to the close-woven network of railways, the many shipping lines and the progress of the refrigerating industry, it became possible to supply food products and luxuries from all over the world to the most remote areas. The simple diet that was now in fashion bore no resemblance to the luxuriant tables of the Baroque period, with their countless palate-tickling dishes. Even the wealthiest households ate plain food in the interests of their health, and the difference between their diet and that of the peasants and factory workers grew less marked as the nineteenth century drew to an end. The art of cooking declined

in the preponderantly industrial countries, but kept up its standards in those where close links between the peasants and town-dwellers were still maintained—in France, the traditional home of the culinary art, and in Italy, Hungary, Russia and Rumania. The most popular beverage was tea in England and Russia and coffee on the continent. Coffee became the most important source of income from customs tariffs; these were so high as to create a demand for coffee substitutes, which was met chiefly by the cultivation of chicory.[15]

The peasants' circumstances were improved by the creation of agricultural co-operatives for the joint purchase of artificial fertilizers, concentrated cattle-feed and seeds, and of producers' co-operatives for processing milk and fruit. By 1905 the agricultural co-operatives in Germany had over four million members.

Credit for farmers was provided by savings banks and loan banks—known in Germany as 'Raiffeisenkassen', because the first of them was founded by Friedrich Wilhelm Raiffeisen, in 1862. These rescued the small farmers from usurers, supplied them with funds for modernization and the introduction of intensive methods, and strengthened the feeling of solidarity among the peasantry. Meanwhile, the mortgage transactions of the large landed proprietors were handled by land banks, modelled on the French 'Crédit Foncier' which was established in 1852 under a patent granted by Napoleon III.

Germany led the field in teaching agricultural methods. Albrecht Thaer opened the first School of Agriculture, at Celle, and directed the first agricultural college, established by Frederick William III at Mëglin, near Berlin, on the advice of Hardenberg. This example was followed in all the German states. Under the influence of Justus von Liebig, the activities of the agricultural colleges were taken over by departments of agriculture in the universities and technical high schools. Specialized training was provided by winter schools, continuation schools, dairy schools, horticultural schools, schools of viticulture and schools of forestry. Agricultural exhibitions, with prizes for outstanding achievements, originated in France.

4. THE RISE OF INDUSTRY

As machinery began to supersede handicrafts, the word 'industry' gradually changed its meaning. It had originally been applied to the zeal displayed in any economic activity; now it came to denote mass-production by machines, as against 'manufacture', the hand work done in factories. Until freedom of trade was introduced, the local rulers used to grant certain privileges to the factories; they were permitted to trade in their own products, and factory owners were not required to master the technical processes of manufacture. Factories set up for the mass-production of export goods were dispensed from the obligation to join a guild, which was incumbent upon local craftsmen.

Until well into the eighteenth century, technical inventiveness could only

find an outlet in mechanical clocks, toys or stage machinery; for as long as the guilds remained in control of handicrafts it played no part in the mass-production of goods. The machines could only have a free hand when a new form of production was introduced, uncontrolled by the guilds, as happened in the case of cotton. In 1701, the importation of Indian goods into England was forbidden, for the benefit of the woollen manufacturers, and in 1721 came a ban on trading in or even wearing such materials. In 1735 the law was modified by permitting the manufacture of textiles made half of cotton and half of linen; and ultimately all restrictions were removed.

Repeated efforts were made to improve spinning equipment. The 'spinning-jenny', invented by James Hargreaves in the 1760s and named after his wife, enabled a worker to produce eight times as much yarn per day as before. The first real machine, which was driven by water-power, was invented by Sir Richard Arkwright and set up in Nottingham in 1768. In 1779 Samuel Crompton constructed a still more efficient machine, combining the advantages of the spinning-jenny with those of Arkwright's apparatus; this was known as the mule-jenny. (Pl. 14).

After Edmund Cartwright invented the mechanical loom (1785), weaving was able to keep pace with the increased output of cotton yarn. Cartwright's weaving-mill was burnt down by incendiaries, and there was strong opposition to the introduction of other forms of machinery as well. When a typesetter working on *The Times* invented a mechanical printing-press, in 1804, his fellow-workers nearly killed him. The steam printing-press brought from the Augsburg firm of König & Bauer had to be set up in the utmost secrecy in a next-door building, and John Walter II, the editor of *The Times*, had to take his courage in both hands when, during the night of 29 November 1814, he came into the printing room and announced:

'Today's edition of *The Times* has just been run off on a steam-press. If you intend violence, I have taken measures to prevent it. If you remain quiet, every man will receive his wages until he has found other employment.'

England became the cotton-spinner and cotton-weaver for Europe and America. By 1785, the year when Edmund Cartwright invented his power-loom, the output was seven times that of 1775, and by 1830 it had risen a hundredfold. Cotton, the staple product of English trade, can boast of having defeated Napoleon. The industry established itelf in Lancashire, where it found the most favourable conditions; Liverpool, the port where the American cotton arrived, was nearby, there were coal-mines in the vicinity to provide cheap fuel, and the atmosphere had the right degree of humidity for fine yarns. During the Napoleonic wars, steam-power began first to supplement water-power and then to replace it. The importance of the cotton trade made Manchester the industrial capital of the country. The Manchester School of political economy was based on cotton; one of its leaders, John Bright, was the son of a cotton-spinner and another, Cobden, was a calico-printer.[16]

Woollen cloth, manufactured chiefly in Yorkshire, continued for a long time to be produced by piecework.

Cotton provided the impetus for the construction of machinery, and this led to the transformation of the mining industry, which completed the industrial revolution. This was conditional upon supplies of coal and iron. The ancient iron foundries in southern England had gone out of production as timber grew scarce, and England had been importing iron and steel from Sweden, Norway and North America. The British mining industry did not begin to develop until it was discovered that hard coal could be used instead of charcoal for smelting.

In 1709 Abraham Darby I began smelting iron in coke-fuelled blast furnaces. Darby II was already the largest producer of cast iron, and in 1779 Darby III built the first iron bridge. The first iron ship was launched in 1790. In 1784 Henry Cort discovered a method of forging iron with mineral coal. Within 50 years, iron production had risen from 20,000 to 170,000 tons, and in the next 50 years it increased to 6 million tons. Steel production showed a tremendous upswing thanks to the method invented by Henry Bessemer, which became generally known as a result of the second industrial Exhibition held in London, in 1862.

One of the biggest coal-owners, the Duke of Bridgewater, during a visit to France, saw the Grand Canal de Languedoc, constructed seventy years previously by Pierre Riquet de Bonrepos. The Duke commissioned James Brindley to construct a canal leading from his coal-mines to nearby Manchester. This was completed in 1767, and cut the price of coal by half— for 8 horses had hitherto been needed to transport a ton of coal. The reduction in price resulting from water transport also led to a rapid increase in output. In the next few decades, 5,000 km of canals were constructed in England. It was canal transport that made it possible for Josiah Wedgwood to open his celebrated china factory at Etruria, Stoke-on-Trent, in 1769, relieving him of the expense and risk of having his wares conveyed by pack-horses.

Technology reached a new peak in 1776, when Wilkinson & Boulton produced a steam engine based on Watt's system, without the defects of the old Newcomen steam pump. The same year saw the casting of the first railway lines, for use in the coalworks at Sheffield; their gauge corresponded to the width of the ancient country tracks that had existed since Celtic times, and has been in use ever since in the railway system of every country except Russia.

Experiments were carried out, during the French wars, in the use of steam engines on the new macadamized roads—named after the Scotsman, John Laudon Macadam, who invented this method of giving roads a firm surface of small chips of granite—but these were not continued, because the engines went no faster than horses and could not carry an economic load. The first railway was opened in 1821, to carry coal from Stockton to Darlington.

The railways were supplemented by the world-famous roads built by

Thomas Telford for the Post Office.[17] Telford's roads and Walter Scott's novels opened up Scotland to foreign visitors. Horse-breeding benefited both from the gleaming roads, which made travel a pleasure, and from fox-hunting over hedges and fences; the century of the locomotive was also the golden age of the horse.

5. THE CONDITION OF LABOUR

The aim of political economy, as described by the standard authors—Adam Smith (*The Wealth of Nations*, 1776), Ricardo (*Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*, 1817) and MacCulloch (*Essay on the Rate of Wages*, 1826)— was to produce the greatest possible quantity of goods and thus increase the national income.[18] Any attempt at State protection, particularly the regulation of wages by the administration, was held to be contrary to the natural laws of economics, and therefore harmful. The Apprenticeship Laws passed by Queen Elizabeth and expanded by James I fell into disuse. A law passed by George II in 1747 was the State's last attempt to interfere with the freedom of the labour market. But it was freedom only for those who wished to buy labour, not for those who had it to sell. The workers were punished if they agreed among themselves to enforce higher wages, because they were upsetting the balance betweeen prices and wages; but agreements among employers were applauded, because they served the requirements of the economy, which only the employers could know. Workers' associations wre made illegal by Pitt's Combination Acts (1799).[19]

Intervention was supposed to come, where necessary, not from the State but from society, not from the law, but from humanity, philanthropy. Conditions of work in the coal-mines were revealed in a report laid before Parliament by the Royal Commission of Mines.[20] The miners lived in huts belonging to the mines, and were exploited by 'pickers' and 'sub-contractors' who got hold of them, advanced money to them, and thereafter had them in their power. The greatest evil was the truck system, by which the workers were compelled to take their wages in the form of housing, food and clothes instead of in cash. The custom of having a middleman between the mine-owner and the workers existed in France as well, where it was known as '*marchandage*'. The middleman kept a truck-shop and paid out part of the wages in kind. Since the first wage-payment was delayed for weeks, the new worker was compelled to take an advance from the middleman, after which he could seldom escape from debt. The goods were sold at more than the market price, and the worker's wife would often be forced to accept articles she did not want and sell them at a loss in the shop next door.

But it was child labour that caused the strongest indignation. Laws for the protection of children had indeed been passed, but they were not effective, because for certain jobs the workers insisted on having children—whom they usually hired—to help them. Years went by before the law succeeded in

affording real protection for children. The worst of their labour was in the mines, where they had to push trolleys along galleries that were too low for adults to pass, and to work the pumps, standing up to the knees in water; they suffered most of all from being always in the dark. (Pl. 21a).

The conscience of England was roused by the description of life in the cotton mills given in Elizabeth Barrett's *Cry of the Children* (1841) and in a novel, *Mary Barton*, by Mrs Elisabeth Cleghorn Gaskell (1844). The picture presented by Mrs Gaskell belonged to a period of strong competition from other countries. Manufacturers, compelled to produce their cotton goods as cheaply as possible, had to choose between cutting wages and closing mills. Mrs Gaskell, whose book was translated into French, German, Spanish, Hungarian and Finnish, acknowledged that the manufacturers intended to improve their workers' lot as soon as the threatened markets had been recovered; but she appealed to their humanity not to let the workers starve, for they could not wait for the economic situation to improve.[21]

The general unemployment in times of depression was aggravated by local lockouts, such as occurred in Spitalfields when the fashion changed from silk to muslin, and at Sheffield when the demand for buckles and metal buttons came to an end through the introduction of shoelaces and cloth buttons. But worse than the fate of the mill-hands was that of the seamstresses, the subject of Thomas Hood's *The Song of the Shirt*.

England was the richest country on earth from the point of view of production figures, the turnover of goods and the balance of payments, and yet appalling suffering was found there, such as horrified Shelley and Dickens.[22] The distress in various urban districts, sometimes situated in the heart of very large towns, especially in the textile industry regions, and even in capital cities like Paris and London, was aggravated by the latent despair of those to whom neither the countryside nor the workshops any longer offered a haven. A ragged proletariat thereupon emerged, unsocial, doomed to delinquency and even crime. It was initially the product of urban expansion and was subsequently drawn from among those working at home who owned their looms but were wholly dependent on the dealers, the latter providing the raw materials and purchasing the finished goods at prices forced down by the factories. This was not a revolutionary proletariat but one which exhausted itself because of the hardships which it underwent at a time when the new industrial order was being established everywhere. It was a terrible spectacle and one which exemplified the faults in the remorseless and unbridled competition which, especially in the first half of the century, developed in England and, a little later, in France and elsewhere on the continent. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the crisis in the family-style linen industry was the last episode in a long period of misfortune which Gerhard Hauptmann took as the subject of one of his most famous plays.

This state of affairs engendered revolutionary reactions among the workers for whom unemployment became a symbol of this degradation. It also gave

rise to palliatives and underlay the efforts of the philanthropists and the theories of the doctrinaires of social revolution.

In 1812 serious unrest broke out in the textile industry round Nottingham, where the stocking workers wrecked some new machines because they were more productive than the old ones and had thrown a number of men out of employment. Bands of men, the workless and the work-shy, began to attack factories and smash the machinery. They called themselves 'Luddites', after a certain Captain Ludd, a legendary figure who was never seen.[23] The militia were called out to deal with them. At the height of the Luddite disorders the Government imposed the death penalty for machine-wrecking. On 27 February 1812 Lord Byron made his maiden speech in the House of Lords to oppose the Bill. He put his finger on the real cause of the social problem, the division between labour and capital: these men, he said, wanted to dig, but other hands were holding the spade.

During the first half of the century mass meetings, calls for direct action and demonstrations sometimes degenerating into violence created an atmosphere of civil war in critical periods which Marx took as an illustration of his class-struggle theory. The triumph of the machine and of capitalism which put England at the head of the modern European nations ultimately made this evolution smoother. This pacification, linked to the development of nationalist and subsequently of imperialist systems, was to find its justification in the development of social legislation which was partly assisted and recommended by certain far-seeing representatives of conservative landed property whose interests differed from those of the bourgeois supporters of free trade and cheap grain. The Factory Act of 1833 set limits to working hours and to the employment of children. Factory inspectors were appointed to ensure compliance with the law. This State intervention into private business ran counter to the 'laissez-faire' doctrines and was also the outcome of fear of revolution—and hence might have been fairly regarded by Marx as specifically a victory for the workers. However, England's return to a normal situation in the second half of the nineteenth century was primarily due to increased production and improved distribution which gave a special position in the forefront of the world economy to the nation which had just integrated technological and capitalist progress. In this way, workers' organizations capable of defending their members' rights acquired a place of their own.

6. CAPITALISM OR SOCIALISM ?

What was then considered possible and impossible is indicated by the example of Robert Owen, a rich industrialist who devoted his fortune to improving working conditions. His activities, which were to prove lasting in respect of trade unionism, failed when it came to establishing socialism at a time and in a place where capitalism was destined to triumph.

Robert Owen founded the Grand National Consolidated Trade Union,

whose membership reached half a million and which he hoped would eliminate competition by means of collective production. Like Fourier and Louis Blanc, in France, he regarded competition as the root of all evil. The Grand Union collapsed for lack of funds, and was replaced by local unions, set up to deal with questions of wages and working hours. Since 1824 trade unions had been legal in industry, though not in agriculture. The Act of 1824 was the first that extended the principle of *laissez-faire* to workers and it signified victory for the classical school of political economy.[24] In America trade unions were first made legal in Massachusetts, by a law of 1842. Owen anticipated a complete transformation of society, with an end to religion and family ties and an organization made up of communist cells. The medieval sectarians and the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century social reformers had believed that the example of model communities would be enough to change men's outlook and thus lead to changes in the social structure. The world's first secular movement to promote a social order based on joint ownership of property and not governed by religious principles, was originated by Robert Owen, when he founded his 'New Harmony' colony in Indiana. It was a failure, and cost him his fortune.

As well as trade unions, co-operatives began to be established. In 1844 a score or so of weavers, the Rochdale Pioneers, opened a shop in Toad Lane, on the outskirts of Manchester. The first sack of flour they bought was the foundation-stone of the consumers' co-operative movement. They sold to their members at the market price, and divided the profits among them in proportion to their purchases. Part of the profits was used to provide schools. The consumers' co-operatives showed the way to break up the truck-shop system, which was still going on, though it had been declared illegal in 1831. The Pioneers, who had begun with a capital of £25, ended by acquiring a steam mill, a slaughterhouse, a spinning mill and a weaving mill, and were imitated all over England.

To encourage saving and build up the skilled, well-paid workers and the lower middle class into a propertied and therefore law-abiding section of the community, the example of the savings bank founded by the Rev. Henry Duncan at Ruthwell, in Scotland, in 1810 was followed throughout Great Britain, and by 1848 there were some 600 savings banks in existence. This system too, was widely imitated in the rest of Europe, the first development being a law promulgated in France by Louis-Philippe—by which, for the time being, savings were placed at the service of the State credit system, the savings banks being required to invest part of their deposits in government funds.

The idea that in order to secure their aims the workers must obtain the right to vote was first put forward in the People's Charter, which was read aloud to a large meeting at Birmingham in 1838. The charter demanded universal suffrage, secret ballot, equal-sized constituencies, and salaries for Members of Parliament. All but one of its demands later became law, but the Chartist movement, whose leaders were Lovett and Feargus O'Connor,

collapsed in 1848, after a final demonstration.[25] In April of that year O'Connor threatened to lead a procession of 500,000 Chartists to Parliament. The Government called Wellington to the rescue, and the meeting, attended by not more than 20,000 people, concluded with the peaceful presentation of a petition.

O'Connor, the champion of democracy, was a rich, highly cultivated man and a brilliant orator. He founded the *Northern Star*, which had Friedrich Engels among its contributors. The international solidarity of the proletariat found expression in a message of greeting addressed by the London Working Men's Association to the Belgian workers in 1836.

In contrast to the Chartists, who wished to solve the social problem by taking political power into their own hands, the trade unionists were establishing their own system.

In Paris, Vienna and Berlin, the middle classes needed the help of the masses in the battle to overthrow the monarchy and the police state. But in 1848 the English middle class was already firmly in the saddle, and the Chartists could not prevail against it. Attention was also distracted from the Chartist movement by the agitation against the duties on corn, the aim of which was to secure cheap bread rather than political power, and which left the workers to accept the leadership of the middle classes.

Industrialization came about more slowly in France than in England, the former initially importing machines, not without some danger so long as the secrets of these were jealously guarded by the original users. The relative slowness of French progress also made economic conflict less acute, even though the country was doomed to political revolution. The social nature of developments in Paris, which changed the dynasty and ensured the legitimacy of the parliamentary system, tended to take the form of an alliance between the people and that section of the bourgeoisie which was eager tor progress. This alliance, however, was short-lived in as far as factories came to compete with family workshops. As early as 1833 in Lyons, silk-weavers working at home forced the Prefect to guarantee them a minimum income but the Government repudiated its representative and, in the name of free enterprise, sent troops to confront those seeking redress and to annul the agreement which they had obtained. Thereafter, for a certain time, England's conversion to a policy which promoted the export of equipment, and the internal development of French industry, more especially the textile industry, combined to support the cautious July monarchy.

A new era of progress, but also of social contradiction, was to open with the establishment of the railway network and the accompanying industrial developments.

In 1837 the railway from Paris to Saint-Germain was opened, to be followed in 1839 by Fould's line to Versailles along the left bank of the Seine and Rothschild's rival line on the right bank. Next came lines to Orléans, Rouen and Le Havre and, in 1845, the Northern line. The railways and many of the

factories were partly constructed by English engineers and foremen, as with some English financial investments. If England took the lead in the practical solution of social problems, social doctrine had its origin in France. In his *Nouveaux Principes d'économie politique* (1819), the Genevan writer Simonde (de Sismondi) described the slavery to machinery which was spreading from England to the continent, and raised the alarm. He demanded that the State take steps to protect the poor man, and rejected the idea of a co-operative system. Buonarotti, a friend to the poor, began to influence the workers, especially the foreign journeymen, and worked for the establishment of secret societies. He revived the memory of Grachus Babeuf, who had taught that the soil belonged to no one and its fruits to everyone, and called upon the have-nots to sit down at the table that Nature spread for all. The apostle of French socialism was Claude-Henri de Rouvroy, Comte de Saint-Simon (1760–1825). He was a great-nephew of the Duke who wrote the famous *Mémoires*, saw service as a colonel in the American War of Independence, speculated during the Directoire and won a fortune, only to lose it during the Consulate, earned a precarious living under Napoleon as librarian of the Arsenal, and died in poverty two years after an unsuccessful attempt to commit suicide. He was a versatile and independent thinker, who began with an interest in mathematics and was led on, by way of physics and physiology, to the study of political and social questions. As early as 1809, in his *Lettres d'un habitant de Genève*, he foretold the uprising of the destitute classes. The old nobility, he said, had had its day and was being replaced by the new industrial aristocracy. It was the newcomers' duty to improve the standard of living of the human race and promote religion and philanthropy. In his *Système industriel* (1821) and his *Nouveau Christianisme* (1825), he takes it for granted that the feudal order will be driven out by the age of machines. He lays down the principles of social doctrine, the right to work and to receive the full product of work done, and calls upon the monarchy to link itself with the working class, as the true strength of the nation.

Saint-Simon used to jot down his ideas rapidly and have them written up by his disciples, the most important of whom was his secretary, Auguste Comte (1798–1857). Comte described his system in the six volumes of his *Cours de Philosophie positive* (1830–42). He considered sociology to be the foremost science. He repudiated democracy, on the grounds that it placed political authority in the most unsuitable hands, and advocated entrusting that authority to the representatives of industry and finance. He believed that the class struggle would be brought to an end by universal education. He proposed that there should be a European Committee, meeting in Paris, to which France would send 8 representatives, England 7, Germany 6, Italy 5, and Spain 4. There would also be 4 women members, two of them French. Comte attached particular importance to the introduction of a European currency.

A whole series of social philosophers followed in the footsteps of Saint-Simon; one new man came forward, however, with a new doctrine. This was

Charles Fourier (1772–1837), merchant of Lyons, who had experience of business life, and more particularly of its dark side, for he went bankrupt. After working for a time as a commercial traveller, he took his savings and set himself, entirely alone, to apply the precepts of his 'Law of Association'. He described his doctrine in several pamphlets, and in 1832 founded a short-lived periodical, *Le Phalanstère*. Fourier's *phalanstères* were to be communities in which 1,800 families were settled on a square mile of land. He regarded the family as an anti-social institution, so the children in those phalansteries were to be brought up separately. For twenty years Fourier wore himself out trying to collect the eight million francs needed to set up the first phalanstery, but he was never able to open one.

An ideal state in which labour and profits would be equally divided was described by Etienne Cabet in *Voyage en Icarie*, his account of a Utopian-style journey (1840). Cabet, the founder of the newspaper *Le Populaire*, had fled to England to escape imprisonment for his attacks on Louis-Philippe, and while there had made the acquaintance of Robert Owen. His book ran through many editions and did more than any other to popularize communism. In 1848 Cabet sent 69 Icariens to Texas, to found a community on the Red River; a second detachment, this time of 400, followed in the same year. Cabet put himself at the head of the community, but was driven out by general opposition, and died soon after at St Louis. The place-name 'Ikaria-Speranza' survives to commemorate his venture.

Radicals exiled from Germany played a part in the Paris workers' uprising of 1839, joining the *Bund der Gerechten* (League of Righteous Men) whose founder was Dr Theodor Schuster, from Göttingen. This broke up, but was revived in London in 1840, with a large German and Dutch membership. The 'Righteous' took as their bible a book published at Vevey in 1842 under the title *Garantien für Harmonie und Freiheit*, which was inspired by the ideas of Fourier and Considérant. Its author was Wilhelm Weitling, of Magdeburg, who served a term of imprisonment in England and then went to the United States. The book called upon the proletariat to shake off the chains of capitalism. Before Marx's time, the *Garantien* served as the creed of the militant workers.

It was in Paris in 1844 that Karl Marx (1818–83), editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, which had ceased publication two years previously, made the acquaintance of Friedrich Engels (1820–95), the son of a manufacturer at Barmen, who had gone to England on business for his father, studied the living conditions of the workers there, and published a book on the subject. He was also a contributor to O'Connor's *Northern Star* and Ledru Rollin's *Réforme*.

In London, the 'Righteous' changed their name to the Communist League, and convened a Congress which decided to draw up a party programme. Engels and Marx submitted a 'Catechism' of 25 points, and were instructed to cast the programme in the form of a manifesto.

The *Communist Manifesto* was issued in German in London from the press of the Workers' Educational Association, a few days after the outbreak of the February 1848 Revolution in Paris. The term 'socialist' had become popular as a result of the massacre in the Rue Transnonain in 1834, while Cabet was in favour of 'communist'.[26]

The *Communist Manifesto* took as its starting-point the liquidation of the feudal system by the bourgeoisie. Victory for the middle class over feudalism was decided in France by the July revolution and in England, two years later, by electoral reform. Marx declared that although the bourgeoisie had been the originators of producton, they were no longer able to maintain their leading position in the State. The proletariat—a word put into circulation by Rousseau, while the term 'capitalist' originated with Turgot—constituted the new revolutionary class; only the proletariat could defeat the strength of modern industry and the exploiters of the working class. The most progressive and determined section of the working class in all countries would prepare the way for the revolution which would establish the rule of the proletariat. 'Proletarians of all lands, unite!' was the motto of the one and only issue of the *Kommunistiche Zeitung*, which appeared in London in September 1847.[27]

The *Manifesto*, in which the anticipated developments are based on Hegelian logic, is a masterpiece of language. The last battle between the small minority of the 'Rich' and the enormous mass of the 'Poor' had been prophesied before, in Babeuf's manifesto. Blanqui had foreseen the historical importance of the class struggle and anticipated the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat.[28]

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon disagreed with Marx's dialectics, declaring that 'Truth is not to be found in the exclusion of either alternative, but in the reconciliation of the two.' His idea was not to abolish oppositions, but to balance them by bringing workers and bourgeois together. He contested Marx's assertion that revolution was inevitable. What he wanted, as he said in a letter to Marx, was a system by which 'one economic combination will admit to society the wealth which has flown out of society as the result of another combination'. He held firm to the idea of an interplay of forces between the individual and society. Proudhon's memory is associated with the phrase '*La propriété c'est le vol*', which has been torn from its context. But Proudhon also said '*La propriété c'est la liberté*'. Proudhon saw property as a bulwark against communism, to which he was opposed. He advocated 'mutualism'. His writings, more especially *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?* (1840) and *De la création de l'ordre dans l'humanité* (1843), had a considerable influence. This was weakened in Germany by Marx, who made fun of Proudhon's *Philosophie de la misère*, calling it '*La misère de la philosophie*'; but he retained his decisive influence over the French trade union movement. Proudhon set the individual above the State. His ideal was a harmonious society. He influenced the Russian anarchist Bakunin, who met him in Paris in 1844. But whereas Bakunin

wished to destroy the State, Proudhon wanted to preserve it, recognizing that it had a set of duties to fulfil. Proudhon's ideas were taken over by Sorel and maintained by French humanistic socialism, by Jaurès and Léon Blum.

It is appropriate at this point to revert to the revolutions of 1848 and their consequences. Despite the work of the reformers and socialists, the tremors which were then shaking the existing régimes throughout the continent were of a disordered nature and their consequences were political rather than directly social. The events of February in Paris, provoked by poverty aggravated by a financial crisis and the interruption of the building of railways and railway stations, indeed seemed for some weeks to favour the birth of a social republic. But the new government, failing to replace the contractors to complete the interrupted work, either for fear of the fact that public credit would not be adequate and ignorance of how to impose State control of currency and business, or on principle, did not settle either the problem of unemployment or the problem of incomes and prices, which however had been the subject of study by a special commission. Henceforward, liberalism took over once again. In June 1848, the unemployed who had been kept busy on sterile work in the bogus national workshops revolted, but were crushed by the army. The latter, which had become an arbiter of power, was to leave the new President of the Republic, elected by the still rural provinces and terrified of socialism, to proclaim himself Emperor Napoleon III. He was interested in poverty and favoured the trip to London of participants in the foundation of the First International; he was also seduced by the Manchester Free Trade movement and offended manufacturers by lowering customs tariffs. But, surrounded by leading financiers, several of whom were moreover followers of Saint-Simon, he needed the bourgeois—to whom he was a cause of concern and who were tired of his international policy and his inconsiderately managed expenditure on rebuilding the big railway—and shipping companies favoured the trend to industrialization, but also favoured a capitalism which did not allow itself to be dominated.

In the rest of continental Europe, where similar causes triggered agitations even before the example of Paris transformed them into revolutions, there was above all—taking account of the survival of feudal systems—a political success of beourgeois liberalism whose claims were mainly of a constitutional nature. The triumphant reactions of the 1850s destroyed many hopes, but not the conditions introduced in favour of an active capitalism everywhere developing an economic system whose techniques were inspired by the Anglo-Saxon model.

We have seen how discoveries of gold-mines overseas came to the rescue of this capitalism, the more so since it drew its strength from the confidence which entrepreneurs placed in it, from their faith that it alone could mobilize the resources necessary for industrialization. No doubt in continental Europe the railways were to remain State undertakings, but as far as the rest was concerned free-enterprise credit institutions were called upon to play the main role, that

of regulators of the expanding market. The best condition was then a slight
and constant increase in prices. After the years of shortage of money at the
beginning of industrialization and before the great inflation of the twentieth
century, the best climate was created by the evolution which pledged the saver
not to hoard and which allowed the launcher of a business to borrow a some-
what stronger currency than the one he reimbursed. There was, however, a
crisis when the curve of prices took a downward trend; money became scarce
and rates of interest rose excessively. The proper functioning of the system
required that monetary and financial resources should be slightly in advance
of that of business, and a proper use of resources, put only into sound enter-
prises, capable of gaining a good footing both on markets and in technical
progress. Financial co-ordination was therefore the condition of any other co-
ordination. Two types of establishment were involved. The first, and doubtless
the earlier, depended on a private fortune, managing the funds placed in its
hands on a long-term basis, and placing loans—State loans (states whose public
debts continually grew in the course of the century) and loans floated by
private enterprise: stocks and shares. An example is provided by the Roths-
child banks, which had been operating since the time of Napoleon in most of
the capitals of Europe, and whose international vocation enabled them to
play an important role on the stock exchanges. The second type did not
emerge clearly until the creation of the London and Westminster Bank, which
was a striking example. Its purpose was to encash, conserve and keep account
of the liquid assets of an ever-wider clientele which wanted to have its assets
immediately available but which allowed sufficient funds to amass to allow the
bank to issue currency in the form of cheques, having recourse when necessary
to the issuing bank in order to cover itself. This short-term credit had to
conform to the rules of prudence governing the issue of bank-notes; it was
involved mainly in commercial operations, but none the less effectively con-
tributed to all sectors of activity. The confusion of these two types of function
was to lead to bankruptcies, like that of the Crédit Mobilier in Paris under
Napoleon III; but the rules of orthodoxy were, if not always rigorously
respected, at least well established in the second half of the nineteenth
century. At that time there existed in the principal capitals of Europe a
flexible and effective system which allowed first Paris and then Berlin (along
the lines where London already excelled) to reign over the economy of the
continent and almost all the rest of the world. Thus was established a multiple
network of complex interests with a national and international vocation,
managed by restricted groups of administrators, who shared places on the
boards of directors of leading businesses or on occasion competed for them,
and thereby assured the co-ordination of the whole by a play of competition
between increasingly large business groups which tended to set up monopolies,
which were still difficult to achieve at the time. This economic power, less
visible than political power, and more concentrated to the extent that the
voting power carried by shares was exercised not by the mass of small share-

holders but by those in charge of management, gained ascendancy over the power of the State in achieving technical progress. But these two powers were solidary, public and private credit depending on each other; no government could ignore the necessities and reactions of banks or the stock exchange, which in their turn kept a close watch on government decisions and did their best to influence them.

The financial style proper to each country was related to that country's temperament. More prudent in France, where there was a greater willingness to lend to State-controlled bodies or organizations guaranteed by the State; more impetuous in Germany, where powerful consortiums pursued a continental policy mainly in central Europe, it was at its most efficient, the arbiter of the most important interests. This system reached its apotheosis at the end of the nineteenth century, but it survived with difficulty the depressions in Europe created at that time by cheap imports from overseas territories. The resulting difficulties were not without their effects on the expansion of the armaments industries and the militarization which was correlative with them. Under this authority, motivated by success, there developed an era of intense, activity, during which the vocations of the various countries concerned were revealed. France, taking advantage of a definite advance over its neighbours in the east, was during the easy years of the reign of Napoleon III the second most important country in respect of industrial modernity. But German industry was not long in gaining the ascendancy, thanks to its natural resources which favoured an intense activity in which laboratories played a leading part. The war of 1870 and the Prussian victory sanctioned this new superiority, which ushered in the era of company promoters after having provided the victors—thanks to the annexation of the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine—with the cotton industry which they still lacked and whose bases they broadened. In the following decades European economy committed itself to a course of imperialistic nationalism from which it was never again to deviate. The Paris Commune, often cosidered the first attempt at communist edification, was in fact more of Jacobin inspiration. Born of the military defeat, its failure was nevertheless significant of the latent power of capitalism, and it was doubtless in this respect that the memory of it was cherished by partisans of social revolution.[29]

But it is also worth noting that in the over-all growth of European trading and productive activities, its proletariat distinguished itself from that of the rest of the world by uniting in order to gain recognition of its rights, and to benefit from the general enrichment. Though in the face of its claims the more concentrated economic power attempted to produce more and at lower cost, the role of private and public administrations also increased in importance and, with technological progress, contributed to swelling the ranks of the petite bourgeoisie and the moyenne bourgeoisie, thereby constituting, along with the mass of landowning peasants, a stable and relatively conservative basis for a capitalist society.

Let us now look at these different aspects of the subject in greater detail.
- We shall consider first the evolution of working-class reactions.

It was not until the Second International, in 1889, that Marxism secured a firm foothold in France. The English trade union system was slow in spreading to France, where it won its first lasting success in 1840, with an agreement on rates of pay for typesetters. In 1895 the French unions joined together to form the *Confédération générale du travail*. In the meantime, Germany had become the hub of the European workers' movement.

Germany first heard of the new doctrines through Lorenz von Stein (1815–90), whose *Sozialismus und Kommunismus in Frankreich* came out in 1842 and was attacked by Marx in a review which gave a foretaste of the ideas subsequently embodied in the *Communist Manifesto*. Stein, who many years later occupied the Chair of Political Science at the University of Vienna, wrote a textbook on political economy which remained the standard work on the subject for decades.

The Paris Commune, regarded with warm sympathy by the German workers, revealed the danger of the International League of Anarchists, which had held its first meeting in 1866 at Geneva;[30] to meet this danger Bismarck made it his aim to promote the welfare of the working class and thus win their loyalty to the State. Germany and Austria worked together in the sphere of labour legislation. Improved education and better living conditions for the workers were two of the subjects discussed by Bismarck with Beust. A new epoch in the protection of the workers was opened by the Emperor Wilhelm II in his speech from the throne on 6 May 1890. This was followed by a rapid succession of laws on Sunday as a day of rest, the prohibition of child labour, protection for young people, greater powers for factory inspectors, and maximum working hours.

Austria took the lead in workers' welfare, although this meant that, proportionately, Austrian industry was the most heavily burdened with overheads. In 1891 the founders of the Austrian Social Democrat Party were able to inform the International Socialist Congress that Austria's labour legislation was the best of any.

The Allgemeine deutsche Arbeiterverein, founded in 1863 by Friedrich Lassalle to work for universal, equal and direct suffrage by peaceful and lawful methods, was thrust into the background by the Marxist adherents of the 'International' who, led by Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel, set up the Sozialdemokratische Arbeiterpartei at the Eisenach Congress. At the Gotha Congress (May 1875) an alliance was concluded between Lassalle's followers and the Eisenach group. At the Erfurt Conference (1891), which adopted Kautsky's draft programme, the programme drawn up at Gotha was revised in a manner that set the seal on Marx's victory over Lassalle.

On 30 December 1888, at Hainfeld in Lower Austria, the Social Democrat Party began a conference at which the radicals and moderates reached agreement on a new programme. In 1890 Austria, for the first time, celebrated

1 May, the date appointed in Paris as International Labour Day, with a demonstration in favour of the eight-hour day and universal suffrage. In Germany the celebration was forbidden.

At the Zurich Congress in 1893 a Dutch delegate, Niewenhuis, accused the Germans of being as nationalistic as the bourgeoisie. This applied in particular to the Austrian Social Democrats who, although they worked together in fundamentals, were weakened by their division into national groups— Germans, Czechs, Poles, Ruthenians, Italians and Croats.

It was the 'Academic Socialists'—Smoller in Germany, Albert Schäffle, Lorenz von Stein, the Anton brothers, Karl Menger and others in Austria— who paved the way for social reform. Before the introduction of universal suffrage (1896) admitted the socialists to parliament, social work had already made great progress through the efforts of the Government and the middle-class political parties. As early as 1852 the Catholic Gesellenverein was founded by Gruscha, then a curate and later Archbishop of Vienna, to offset the socialist organizations. It was in Vienna, too, that the Christian-socialist tendency found a spokesman in Carl von Vogelsang, a Silesian Prussian, whose ideas are reflected in Leo XIII's Encyclicals.

The close relationship between the manufacturer and the workers was a patriarchal one; factories remained small for many years, so that the employer knew all his people individually and took a personal interest in their welfare. The personal ties between the manufacturer and his workers were severed as the factories grew larger and employed more people.

Many manufacturers prospered, many went bankrupt. Good years alternated with slumps and losses. Profits were used to enlarge the business, and this made it possible to take on more workers. The small dowries given to manu-facturers' daughters and the modest bequests made to sons for whom there was no room in the firm, show how little the employers put into their own pockets. Capital was for the most part left in the firm, as can be seen from wills. The number of men whose boldness and imagination revealed new sources of employment and discovered fresh markets was greater than might be supposed; for, for every hundred whose technical inventions and com-mercial flair promised them wealth and power, only a few reached their goal.

Towards the turn of the century the tremendous increase in their capital requirements brought many of the large industrial concerns into the power of the banks.[31]

By the end of the century the economic situation of the workers had improved to an extent that made possible their transformation from a pro-letariat chiefly concerned with fighting the established social order into a class that supported the State.[32]

No later than the 1860s, Julius Fröbel, one of the most prominent journalists in Germany, was able to point the contrast between the republican individual-ism which was by now reaching full development in America, and the

traditional governmental policy of Russia. He foresaw that there would be a revolution in the Slav world, in which individual aims would have to yield to those of the community, and that the result would be State communism. He prophesied that the European states might be brought to decline as a result of the struggle between the American and Russian systems, either because America and Europe would unite against Russia, or because America and Russia would unite against Europe. As early as 1848 Fröbel advocated the formation of the 'United States of Europe', for fear Vienna might suddenly find itself on the Russian frontier.

7. INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISM

The factory-owners united to form trusts, which provided a safeguard against over-production. Membership in these trusts was not compulsory, and they could not prevent the launching of new firms which tried, by selling their products at a loss, to force their way into a trust on the basis of a disproportionately high quota. The formation of trusts, whose members had to give up a certain measure of independence, was the result of immediate necessity, and in particular of ruinous over-production. This was a consequence of a poorly organized system of distribution and of the lack of planning in production. Germany, whose rapid industrial development was achieved later than England's, and whose markets were constantly threatened by her powerful rival, took the lead in the formation of trusts. The Rheinischwestphälische Kohlenkartell was set up in 1867, and by the end of the century 50 per cent of the coal trade was in its hands. The Austro-Hungarian Eisenkartell, created in 1902, served as a model for the German Stahlwerksverban, which was set up two years later and embraced the entire German iron-mining industry. France had a similar organization, the Comité des Forges.

From the point of view of output, the coal-mines of Upper Silesia came far behind those of Westphalia and the Rhineland; but they offer an instructive example of the way in which the organization of trade can win large markets from foreign hands. After the railways had come into existence, from 1843 onwards, the Upper Silesian mines had been linked to Berlin and, by way of the Austrian railway system, to Vienna, and had become of interest beyond the range of local demand. For a long time, however, Berlin continued to import English coal for its railways and factories, using the Silesian coal only for domestic fuel and for steam boilers. At the pithead the Silesian coal was considerably cheaper, but low shipping rates, made possible by the fact that the English vessels brought coal as ballast to the North Sea ports where they came to fetch grain, could undercut the higher costs of transport along the inland waterways—the Oder and the canals—and by rail; though in the latter case the expense was reduced by surreptitiously loading the trucks above the declared weight. It was not until 1862, when traffic from Hamburg and Stettin to Berlin was impeded by construction work on the big locks, that Upper

Silesian coal had its first real chance. By 1874 the English Gas Company in Berlin was relying almost exclusively on Silesian coal. The mining industry in Prussian Upper Silesia and in Austrian Silesia owed its tremendous expansion not to the mining companies, but to the coal-merchants Friedländer & Co. and Caesar Wellheim in Berlin and Gurmann Bros. in Vienna. These large firms secured a monopoly of coal supplies from the mines belonging to the Donnersmarck Princes and other big concerns. The Upper Silesian Coal Agreement, concluded in 1890 to fix prices and regulate classification, dispatch by railway, and the standardization of products and types, and the friendly agreement arrived at with the Rhine-Westphalia Coal Syndicate, consolidated the industry throughout Germany, stabilizing prices and ensuring correct and reliable delivery.

Engineers were trained at scientific and technical colleges, among which the Paris Ecole Polytechnique and the Technische Hochschule at Charlottenburg enjoyed the highest reputation. Germany held the leading position in the chemical industry, thanks to the excellent organization of the country's laboratories. The four coal-tar dye-works on which the international fame of the German chemical industry was founded came into existence in the 1860s, in rapid succession—the Anilin & Soda-Fabrik at Baden in 1861, the Meister Lucius & Brüning Dyeworks and the Bayer Dyeworks at Elbefeld in 1863, and AGFA (Aktiengesellscahft für Anilinfabrikation) in 1867. These international firms owed their existence to an Englishman, Perkin, who extracted a mauve dye from by-products of hard coal in 1856. The fact that many advances in applied science and technology originated in Germany must be put to the credit of the laboratories in the German universities. Beuth, a Prussian who did much to promote the industrialization of his country by founding technical schools, opened the Gewerbeinstitut (Institute of Technology) in Berlin. This was soon raised to the status of an Academy, and the Technische Hochschule at Charlottenburg, founded in 1879, was an offshoot from it.

The English chemical industry was still the first in the world, and many German chemists went to England to increase their knowledge. As they already had a good training, they were received with open arms. A. W. Hofmann's laboratory at the Royal College of Chemistry in London was one of the most sought after. Hofmann had been invited to England by the Government in 1845, to reorganize chemistry teaching on the lines advocated by Justus von Liebig. Perkin was one of his pupils, and became his assistant. Among the chemists who went to England to work, study or conduct research were Martius, co-founder, with Mendelsohn, of the Berlin AGFA company, Philipp Pauli, of the Hoechster Dyeworks, Ludwig Mond, from Kassel, who brought I.C.I. (Imperial Chemical Industries) into existence by introducing the Solway method into England, and Heinrich Caro, who joined the Badische Anilin und Soda-Fabrik, while Nikodemus Caro and Alfred Frank discovered a method of producing synthetic nitrate fertilizers, manufacture of which was taken up by the Bayerischen Stickstoffwerke at Trostberg.

8. CAPITALISM AND URBAN EXPANSION

Capital absorbed the feudal system, transformed hereditary estates into large-scale agricultural concerns, mobilized all activity by means of credit, and steered the means of production and the goods produced all over the world in the interests of profit. Capital increased production a hundredfold, and demand in the same proportion, opened the earth to transport by a network of railways and shipping lines and, bursting with optimism, sought to ensure the greatest happiness for the greatest number on a basis of free movement and free trade.[33]

The tendency towards association revealed itself in the credit system as much as elsewhere. The new joint-stock banks came to join the great firms such as Baring's in London or the House of Rothschild, the 'five Frankfurters' at Frankfurt, London, Paris, Vienna and Naples. In Paris, two banks were founded which were to set the pattern for financial institutions all over the world: the Société Générale du Crédit Mobilier, which opened in 1852, and the Crédit Foncier de France, which received its patent in the same year. The Crédit Mobilier was founded by the Pereire brothers, disciples of Saint-Simon, the first great socialist of the industrial revolution. The Pereire brothers wanted to set up an organization which, with Paris as its headquarters, would plan and guide the whole industrial activity—for according to Saint-Simon the industrial age had now dawned. The public would bring their savings to the proposed bank in order to receive interest on them, and the bank would invest these sums in production. There need be no bullion backing, because the notes to be issued by the bank would be covered by the bills of exchange it would discount, and long-term investments by bonds which could be sold on the stock exchange and the amount of which would be proportionate to the shares made over to the bank when a new factory was established. Napoleon III looked upon the Crédit Mobilier as a means of destroying the supremacy of the House of Rothschild. The Société Générale du Crédit Mobilier opened branches in Holland and Spain, launched the Compagnie Générale Transatlantique, floated the shares of the Russian railway companies, in association with Baring Bros. in London and, sponsored by the French Emperor, extended its activities to Austria, where it founded a company to take over from the State the railways serving the north and east of the Austrian Empire.

Germany had one industrial bank of long standing, the Schaffenhausenschen Bankverein, founded at Cologne in 1848. But the first bank to be established in Germany after the pattern and with the co-operation of the Crédit Mobilier, was the Darmstädter Bank, in April 1853, which represented a strong assertion of German separatism. Like the Crédit Mobilier, it was set up in opposition to the Rothschilds; but it was also directed against Frankfurt, the focal point of the money market in Germany. Rothschild's rivals, Oppenheim at Cologne and Bethmann at Frankfurt, took shares in the Darmstadt Bank. For a number

of years Samuel Haber and his brothers had been seeking a means of breaking the power of the House of Rothschild, their enemies, by founding a joint-stock bank. Grand Duke Ludwig of Hesse must have realized that in approving the articles of association of this new concern, he was proclaiming his friendly feelings towards Austria and France and his disapproval of Prussia's efforts to dominate Germany. Bismarck, already displeased by the appointment of Prince Hohenlohe, the son-in-law of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, as Honarary President of the Bank, described it as 'the most prosperous of the new swindles' and called it 'an offshoot of Austrian propaganda'. The Darmstädter Bank and its managing directors, Abraham Oppenheim and Nevissen, then proceeded to open a succession of other firms, including the International Bank in Luxembourg.

The Crédit Mobilier was eager to set up a loan bank after the Paris pattern in Vienna as well, but this time the Rothschilds were too strong for the Pereire brothers. Anselm Rothschild, whose firm was too much involved in loans to the State, felt it to his interest to promote the launching of a big bank in which he need only hold enough shares to keep control of the business. He founded the largest of the monarchy's banks, the Credit-Anstalt für Handel und Gewerbe, which opened in 1855. This 'Credit-Anstalt' had no direct connection with the 'Boden-Credit-Anstalt', founded by French interests, the articles of association of which were approved in 1863: eight members of the board of directors were domiciled in Paris.

At about this time the Anglo-Austrian Bank was founded in London, the first 'foreign bank' to open there. It came into existence owing to the fear of war and inflation in America. The Union could not raise any loans, and was obliged to issue State bank-notes. In 1864 the premium on gold reached its highest point, standing at 1,850, and parity was not established until 1879. Even before the outbreak of the Civil War huge amounts of capital from the northern and southern states had fled to London, where they lay earning nothing; hence the eagerness to find profitable investments in countries that were short of capital. The choice of Vienna as the headquarters of the first 'foreign bank' was made on political grounds, with a view to strengthening the English influence in opposition to the French.

Industrial and financial development was linked with that of towns and cities, and the latter was naturally favoured by the completion of the road system and the introduction of railways. Though there was a disproportion, especially in critical periods, between the influx to the cities and the numbers of jobs available there, their activity nevertheless constituted a magnet, especially when agricultural progress reduced the opportunities for poor peasants. The areas which became overpopulated were firstly those whose economic viability weakened; ground rents dropped, while low-income families huddled together and liberated low-cost housing. Every town developed in an original way; sometimes a fashionable suburb was abandoned to craftsmen and artisans, sometimes a street in which people of the same

trade were concentrated was given over to the ragged proletariat when the corporative organization of that particular sector had been rendered obsolete either by competition from factories or simply by the extension of inhabited areas which dispersed the purchasing centres. Nevertheless, in general the centralization of commercial, financial and administrative systems meant that the central quarters of a town acquired a high value at the expense of the peripheral quarters, some of which became working-class while others enabled bourgeois who had newly acquired that status to set up home more lavishly at lower cost. To the manifestations of this spontaneous vitality were added the effects of the provision of necessary facilities which had been decided by municipal authorities: water and gas supplies, sewers, and so on. Relatively new cities like Berlin were more amply planned than others, like Paris, which were prisoners of a long past; and the introduction of urban transport systems in such cases proved more useful and easier. There was something spontaneous and unforeseeable about the expansion of towns and cities at first; town planning came in as a tardy corrective, which generally favoured already existing situations.

A systematic attempt to set things in order was made difficult because it came up against the rights of property owners and those of the providers of the capital necessary for construction. The procedures of expropriation and public financing did not prevent enormous variations in the prices of land and property; they accounted for the difficulties encountered by Haussmann in re-planning Paris and the difficulties which marked the end of his adventurous handling of the situation, at a time when, nevertheless, private fortunes were being made out of speculation. In the second half of the century a more marked differentation between the different quarters of the city underlined the privileges of wealth which it contributed to strengthening. And though the bourgeois was by nature economical, he none the less liked to show off his success by adopting a lordly style of living, and consequently urban development often became the expression of a new capitalist order and of the successes which that order favoured. Some examples of nineteenth-century bad taste reflected the fact that cultural refinement did not keep pace with increasing wealth and the rate with which people rose in the social scale.

But the importance of the cities was not merely superficial. They were nerve centres, centres of discussions, deliberations and decisions. The development of the city of London, more instinctive and natural than planned and voluntary, reflected an organization without a constitution, by whose power obeyed quite strict imperatives. In the administration of currency, and in a country in which the issue of currency had purposely been made competitive in the first instance, the pre-eminence of English banks was assured. Its world-wide financial authority conformed to usages which were accepted as law. The crystallization around urban nuclei of national interests which trifled with world-wide interests marked the objective limits of capitalist internationalism. Born of the nature of things, this capitalist internationalism

was indebted to social development for having concretized the power of each nation's capital for that nation's benefit.

Free enterprise and the resulting rivalries, aggravated in periods of crisis, concentrated business by a process similar to that which accounted for the growth of towns and cities and linked their destiny with that of the State. The condition of the workers was the resultant of this twin process which stepped up potential consumption but at the same time confined its advantages within national frontiers. Thus we may see national feeling prevailing over any other from one crisis to another, after the socialist failure of 1848 and through the vain attempts of revolutionary trade unionism of the period around 1900. It kept alive a mentality favourable to the expansion of Europe throughout the world; but it also accentuated oppositions between the interests and aspirations of European nations.

Two major crises affected the European economy in the second half of the century; one of them arose mainly in Germany, which was exalted and enriched by its victory over France in the 1870s, and the second in the 1880s, when as we have seen the rest of the world began sending back to Europe part of what Europe had caused it to produce. This made variations in the foreign trade policy of European countries significant.

Though the economy was not under State control, it was governed by trade and tariff policies, which fluctuated between free trade and protection. Free trade, initiated in England, reached its culminating point on 23 January 1860, with the conclusion of the trade agreement between England and France, by which French tariffs were reduced to a minimum and those of England largely abolished. This was known as the 'Cobden Treaty', in tribute to Richard Cobden, the staunch Free Trader who was the negotiator on the English side. Three days after it was signed, Napoleon III made proposals to Berlin for the conclusion of a similar treaty, a preliminary agreement on which was signed on 22 January 1861. The treaty between France and the Prussian-controlled German Customs Union was signed in 1865. But Free Trade was not destined to usher in the golden age. Austria, Russia and, most important of all, the United States, never accepted the system, which would have nipped their industries—still in need of protection—in the bud. Germany abandoned Free Trade in 1879, when Bismarck reinstituted customs duties on corn and iron; and by 1896 only the British Empire was still faithful to it.

International trade was fostered by the internationalization of the great inland waterways. The first declaration on the freedom of rivers that flowed through several countries was made by the French Republic towards the end of the eighteenth century, in respect of the Scheldt. In the declaration that concluded the Congress of Vienna in 1815, shipping on the Rhine was made free; the same was done for the Danube at the Paris Congress of 1856; and by the Berlin Agreement of 1885 the Congo and the Niger were internationalized.

But these efforts at internationalization remained limited, and were unable

to prevail against the course of events which was drawing countries into terrible rivalries of ambition.

9. NATIONALISM AND THE EUROPEAN BALANCE OF POWER

In feudal times, matrimonial alliances between ruling families had played a notable role in the constitution and in the ups and downs of principalities and kingdoms as well as of the Empire. The French Revolution made it even clearer than the English changes of dynasties had done that the destiny of a nation was becoming independent of that of its ruling dynasty. The installation of the Bonapartes on so many thrones of Europe brought up this question once again, and though the family policy of the usurper failed, it none the less laid the way for the restorations of 1815. At the Congress of Vienna, considerations of family relationships were not unknown in the deliberations which Talleyrand placed under the sign of 'legitimacy' in order better to defend the interests of his father-in-law and his King. His views coincided with those of other monarchs, whether because, like the Tsar, they allowed themselves to be won over by some sort of mystic affiliation of princes, or else because, like the Habsburg Emperor advised by Metternich, they had to maintain a state whose unity depended on the fidelity of different people to a single ruler. Only England at that time manifested the lack of interest its Government took in this reversion to an old conception.

This return to the past was moreover all the more precarious in that peoples had become aware of the strength conferred on them by revolutionary patriotism, the more so since they had had to undergo and rid themselves of that of the French. Consequently, to defend themselves against this, European sovereigns met in order to reach a common agreement on how to react against outbursts of popular feeling. The affairs of France, Italy and Spain were successively dealt with at Aix-la-Chapelle in 1818, where the allies decided to withdraw their occupation troops in order to meet the wishes of Louis XVIII; at Leibach in 1821, where Vienna was permitted to intervene in order to come to the aid of the King of Naples; and at Verona in 1822, where French troops were authorized to re-establish the absolutism of Ferdinand VII. However, from 1830 onwards, these congresses took a new turn, and had to take more explicit account of the effects of wars and revolutions.

The diplomatic conferences held in London in the 1830s recognized the independence of Greece and Belgium, the latter having split off from Holland. The Paris Congress of 1856, which concluded the Crimean War, set up the principality of Rumania as a bulwark to protect Turkey against Russia and neutralized the Black Sea, though this last measure was abrogated at the Pontus Conference in London in 1871. The Berlin Congress put an end to the Russo-Turkish War, and it was in Berlin in 1885 that the Congo Agreement was concluded. At the end of 1905 a crisis arose in Morocco, and the Conference of Algeciras was convened in January 1906 to deal with it.

CENTRAL EUROPE, 1815–1866

Cartography Hallwag Berne

UNITED KINGDOM

NORTH SEA

SWEDEN

BALTIC SEA

Bornholm

LITHUANIA

RUSSIAN EMPIRE

POLAND

KINGDOM OF DENMARK

SCHLESWIG

HOLSTEIN

GR. DUCHY OF MECKLENBURG

EAST PRUSSIA

POMERANIA

POSEN

BRANDENBURG

KINGDOM OF PRUSSIA

SILESIA

SILESIA

GALICIA

TRANSYLVANIA

WALLACHIA

NETHERLANDS

THE NETHERLANDS

BELGIUM

HANOVER

WESTPHALIA

RHIN

SAXONY

BOHEMIA

MORAVIA

HUNGARY

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

BANAT

SERBIA

BOSNIA

LORRAINE

ALSACE

DUCHY OF

WURTEM-BERG

BAVARIA

AUSTRIA

SALZBG

STYRIA

CARINTHIA

TYROL

CROATIA

SLAVONIA

ILLYRIA

ISTRIA

ADRIATIC SEA

FRANCE

SWITZERLAND

SAVOY

KINGDOM OF SARDINIA

KINGDOM OF LOMBARDY

VENETIA

DUCHY OF PARMA

1 Mecklenburg-Strelitz
2 Republic of Cracow
3 Anhalt
4 Palatinate
5 Duchy of Modena
6 Papal States
7 Hohenzollern
8 Gr. Duchy of Luxemburg
9 Oldenburg
10 Duchy of Brunswick
11 Nassau
12 Electoral Hesse
13 Gr. Duchy of Hesse
14 Lichtenberg
15 Waldeck
16 Lippe-Detmold and Schaumburg-Lippe
17 Altona
18 Thuringian States

International agreements were concluded in a number of technical fields. In 1865 Belgium, France, Italy and Switzerland signed the Latin Monetary Union; in 1878 the Berne Postal Congress (1874) was expanded into the Universal Postal Union; in 1883 the Union for the Protection of Patents came into existence in Paris, followed in 1886 by the Berne Copyright Convention and in 1891 by the Madrid Agreement on the Protection of Trade Marks.

During the nineteenth century, also, nationalism led to the union of a number of small and medium-sized states to form two great powers, the German Empire and the Kingdom of Italy. (Map I). In the twentieth century, nationalism led to the break-up of two great powers, the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and Turkey. Nationalism alone could not have united either Germany or Italy. The population of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Saxony and Hamburg were no more anxious to be governed from Prussia than were the people of Florence, Rome and Naples to be ruled by the House of Savoy.

The cornerstone of German unification was provided by economic trends. The 'German Customs Union' (Zollverein), set up an economic coalition under Prussian leadership. This offers an example of the way in which economic union, demonstrated in the form of a common customs policy, can serve as a preliminary to the political integration of sovereign states. The military successes of 1866 and 1870 fanned German nationalist sentiment into flame—it had been aroused as long ago as the French wars by Austrian and Prussian propaganda, and kept alive ever since Louis-Philippe had uttered threats of fresh hostilities. Quinet's poem on the Rhine had been published in 1836 and Lamartine's *Marseillaise de Paix* in 1841, while the intervening period had been marked by Schneckenburger's *Die Wacht am Rhein*, Hoffmann von Fallersleben's *Deutschland Uber alles* and Becker's *Sie sollen ihn nicht haben, den freien deutschen Rhein*. But for all that it was Bismarck, not the German people, who created the German Empire.

In the time of railway construction Italy's unity was brought about by Cavour and by England, which preferred an independent Italy to a confederation of states under French protection. Massimo d'Azeglio, the great Savoyard statesman, put the situation in a nutshell when he said 'We have created Italy, now we have to create Italians'.

The Danubian monarchy now represented the only effective commonwealth of nations in Europe. The individual peoples of which it was composed, despite a propensity to seek advantages for themselves, still had no desire to break the ties that held them together and were living in contented and to all appearance indissoluble union.

10. CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS IN GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE

The nineteenth century witnessed the completion of the transition from absolute monarchy to democracy, by way of constitutional government.

France followed the example of England and the United States in this respect, while the rest of the continent followed mostly that of France.[34]

The Parliament of Westminster, which was the admiration of the world, remained unchanged from Tudor times until the electoral reform of 1832. Before the reform, 558 Members of the House of Commons were returned to Parliament by the counties, by the universities, and 432 by the 'boroughs', a miscellaneous collection of towns and villages which had possessed electoral rights since the most ancient times. Only the county seats had any claim to be decided by free suffrage, and it was from the county elections that statesmen gained some insight into public opinion. Many of the smaller constituencies were 'rotten boroughs', of no political significance—some being 'nomination boroughs', where the lord of the manor sent his own candidate to Parliament unopposed. The 'rotten boroughs' sent some of the greatest statesmen to Parliament, including the two Foxes, the two Pitts and Robert Peel.

The greatest impulsion towards electoral reform was given by social motivation and by the July Revolution, which likewise resulted from the demand for more extensive suffrage and which brought the middle classes to the helm. The Reform Bill deprived 141 boroughs —111 nomination boroughs and 30 rotten boroughs—of their right to send members to Parliament. Some of the seats thus released were transferred to the new cities, while others went to increase the county representation. In 1869 electoral reform took another stride towards democracy, and in 1872 the secret ballot was introduced. The bill widened the application of these reforms.

On the continent, one of the models for future constitutions was provided by the charter whose acceptance was the condition laid down by Alexander I for the restoration of the Bourbons. The Tsar, who was a liberal everywhere except in Russia, hoped that the link with the Revolution would weaken the West and further Russian expansionist ambitions. The charter confirmed what the Revolution had established—personal freedom, equality before the law, the Napoleonic Code and religious liberty. The moderate liberals in Europe took the charter as their model because it reflected their aspiration towards the type of democracy described in the words attributed by Thucydides to Pericles:

'The Athenian Constitution is called Democratic because its aim is to serve the majority, not a minority. Its essence is to be found in the equality of all citizens before the law, and in the leadership of the community by those whose abilities fit them for it.'[35]

The struggle for constitutional government which occupied the next fifteen years was directed against the sovereignty of the Crown, with which that of the people was contrasted. But the sovereignty of the people could only be assured by a constitution drawn up by Parliament and accepted on oath by the monarch, together with a government acceptable to the majority and ministerial responsibility. Writing in 1850, Alexis de Tocqueville, the author of

La Démocratie en Amérique and *L'Ancien Régime et la Révolution,* said that people had been mistaken on 18 Brumaire, and again in 1814 and yet again in 1830, when they supposed the Revolution to be finished, for it was still going on and not even the children of that day would see the end of it. He regarded it as a misfortune that France put equality before liberty. The suffrage was restricted to landowners, house-owners and manufacturers, on the basis of a census. The dominant liberal opinion considered that education should be controlled by the State.

The constitutional vicissitudes of France towards the middle of the century were not uninstructive. Since 1815 a parliamentary régime imitated from that on the other side of the Channel seemed to have become established, though it was not without its ups and downs. The Second Republic appeared to make sudden progress in introducing universal suffrage in 1848, yet it also opened the way to the plebiscite system which was to hold up the liberal evolution from 1852 to 1867 and postpone the re-establishment of free parliamentarianism until 1875. Such hitches meant that France changed its written constitutions more frequently than England—whose constitution was unwritten— changed its electoral laws. This difference was linked with that existing between the political party systems of the two countries. There were only two essential political parties in England, one incarnating tradition and the interests of property owners, as well as possibly those of the working class; the other incarnating industrial and commercial liberalism. This simplicity, which was operative except at times of crisis, assured a balanced progression in function of simple ideologies. French political parties were far from possessing this consistency and continuity. Broken down into two main factions in times of crisis—when for instance monarchist and republican ideologies were in conflict—they were much more split up in normal times. This fundamental difference probably accounted for France's difficulties in adopting liberal capitalism and the political institutions normally deriving from it; difficulties reflected in innumerable contests which prevented parliamentarianism from ever being fully and unreservedly accepted except when it appeared to be the ultimate safeguard against the vicissitudes of autocracy.

II. CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS IN AUSTRIA AND PRUSSIA

The two great German powers, Austria and Prussia, both held out for a long time against the granting of a constitution. Austria feared the State would fall to pieces under the influence of a parliament in which representatives of all the different nationalities would have seats, while none of them would represent a majority; and Prussia did not wish to undermine the traditional power of the kingdom.

The south German rulers, anxious to preserve themselves from the risk of a federal parliament which would dance to the piping of Austria and Prussia, were induced to grant constitutions to their states in the hope that this would

have a restraining influence. The example set by Grand Duke Karl August of Saxe-Weimar was followed by the King of Bavaria, who decided in favour of a draft submitted to him by the liberal minority. Financial considerations were the motive of this decision in Bavaria. Control of the Budget by the two Houses of Parliament was to restore the financial credit of the Crown. Franz Joseph was prompted by the same idea when he granted a Constitution in 1860—when the war in Italy had been lost and the State coffers were completely empty—with a view to raising loans from the liberal Western powers. Another consideration, in his case, was the prospect of having the sympathy of the German states on his side in the battle for supremacy in Germany.

In Germany, Austria and Italy the revolutions of 1848 met with only an ephemeral success before they were put down; but the spirit they had awakened survived them, favoured by historical events.

On 18 January 1871 the German princes proclaimed the King of Prussia as the German Emperor—no representatives of the people having a say in the matter. The German national State became a Confederation of Princes. The 25 member states sent representatives to the Federal Council, which placed the reins of government in the hands of the Emperor. The Imperial Chancellor was responsible solely to the Emperor, as the delegate of the federated governments. Bismarck refused to set up an imperial government; he preferred to have secretaries of state who were responsible to him. Elections to the Reichstag were by universal and equal suffrage, with a secret ballot. But in order to avoid the danger of parliamentary control, direct taxation was left in the hands of the individual states, where the suffrage was still restricted. Imperial expenditure was covered by customs duties and indirect taxation. The chief purpose of the protective tariff system introduced by Bismarck was to make the Reich independent of the contributions from the federal states for which the Constitution made provision. The result of the military victories of 1866 and 1870 was to subordinate both nationalist and liberal opinion to the authoritarian régime of Prussia.

12. FREEDOM OF SPEECH AND OF THE PRESS

Full democracy could not be attained without political education, achieved by the Liberals when universal compulsory education was introduced. Stress was laid on freedom of speech and the liberty of the press, which together did much to educate public opinion.

Napoleon had subjected books and periodicals to pre-publication censorship, by a decree of 1810. He once remarked to Metternich that with a free press he would not be able to hold out for three months. The charter promised liberty of the press, and a law of 1819 was confined to prohibiting attacks on religion and the Crown, libel and slander. The impotence of the censorship in France undermined the authority of the Government which, having once left the path of Napoleon had followed so confidently, could no longer find a way

back *to it. Napoleon had set a limit to the number of printing works and compelled printers, publishers and booksellers to take an oath that they would not circulate any material not consistent with fidelity to the Emperor and the interests of the State. He had the theatre supervised, laid down regulations for the universities, and would not even allow military painters to paint anything except regulation scenes of history.* The free press, which mocked at all the rules of censorship framed by the post-Napoleonic governments, was very instrumental in permanently weakening the authority of the State while, on the other hand, it helped the French nation to achieve intellectual freedom. The first attack on the liberty of the press was launched in 1882. It was ineffective, because the prosecutions had to come before a jury and the verdict was usually 'not guilty'. The press laws of 1819 were drawn up by Hercule de Serre. Their chief provisions—the trial of offences by jury and the system of the 'responsible editor'—are still in force today.

A secret committee was appointed by the Government to buy up opposition newspapers without revealing the fact to the readers, so that the illusion of independence would be preserved. The Government made the mistake of buying up the smaller papers instead of the big ones. The money was wasted, for the *Constitutionnel* gave away the secret of the special fund.

In June 1827 censorship was reintroduced. Thereupon a 'society of friends of the freedom of the press' was set up with Chateaubriand as its president. He wrote brilliant articles for the *Journal des Débats*. In 1824 the royalist papers had 30,000 subscribers and the liberal papers 21,000. After Chateaubriand began to write for the *Journal des Débats*, the balance shifted in favour of the liberals.

The strength of the liberals lay in the press. The newspapers relied for their funds on advertisements, which were still on a small scale, and subscriptions— for street sales were forbidden. Competition led to licence and sensationalism.

Napoleon, Fouché and Metternich favoured the prevention of press offences rather than punishment for them. Censorship in Austria, as well as in Napoleon's France, was preventive. Napoleon halted revolution in its tracks; after his downfall it resumed its march. The press took on a new lease of life. The punitive censorship introduced by the Bourbons was ineffectual. It ran the risk of seeing its appeals to the law dismissed; and if it did, as an exception, succeed in getting an offender against the press laws put under lock and key, the sole result was to increase—if not actually to create—his popularity with the public, and to attract attention instead of glossing over the matter. Another reason for the futility of this type of censorship was that once an offending article had been read out in court or in Parliament, it could be reprinted without incurring further penalty.

The most dangerous provision in the *Ordonnances* that led to the downfall of Charles X was the change they made in the press laws. On 26 July 1830, the day when the *Ordonnances* were published in the *Moniteur*, the representatives of eleven newspapers held a meeting in the editorial office of the *National*.

Thiers drafted a proclamation saying: 'The rule of law has been interrupted, force is being applied, and obedience is no longer a duty.' On 27 July this proclamation was read at all street-corners, for the newspapers were sold out. Such was the beginning of the July revolution.

A unique feature of the French newspapers was the *feuilleton*, a serialized novel chosen from the great novels of the world. This ensured the fidelity of the subscribers on whom the papers depended for their existence. Advertisements were a less important feature in France than in England. French readers were always eager for the latest particulars of day-to-day political developments in Paris and about society 'affairs'. They were in no hurry for news from abroad, so the Paris newspapers were saved the expense of maintaining the foreign network which made *The Times* the world's most famous paper. It was not until the independent *Le Matin* was founded in 1884 that French readers began to receive prompt and reliable news from abroad.

In England the reporting of parliamentary debates was forbidden by a proclamation issued in 1771. Secrecy was thought necessary to protect freedom of speech, and the idea that speakers might be indirectly addressing the public was disapproved of. This ban was not repealed until much later, but after John Wilkes appeared on the scene there was no more prosecution of newspapers. The liberty thus acquired led to the foundation of a number of new papers—the *Morning Chronicle*, the *Morning Post*, the *Morning Herald* and *The Times*. The newspapers set themselves not only to satisfy the increased interest taken in politics during the American War of Independence, but to entertain their readers as well.

In an attempt to kill off the radical press, the 'Six Laws' of 1819 introduced a stamp duty on newspapers. These were taxed according to the number of sheets—hence their large format, to which the English press remained faithful even after the stamp duty was repealed. The first number of *The Times* appeared on 1 January 1788. In 1814 the mechanical press was adopted, printing 900 sheets per hour.

In 1821 the *Standard* was founded to oppose Catholic emancipation, and the *Manchester Guardian* began to appear that same year. In 1845 the *Morning Chronicle* became the first newspaper to make use of the telegraph. The *Weekly Examiner* advocated reform of Parliament, the army and the penal laws. The principal champion of parliamentary reform was the *Weekly Political Register*, published by William Cobbett since 1801.

With the invention of lithography, *Punch* came into existence in 1841 and the *London News* in 1842. The *Economist* was founded in 1843 and the *Daily News* in 1846. Literary criticism was the speciality of the *Edinburgh Review* and the *Quarterly Review*.

Germany's chief newspaper in the first half of the century was the *Allgemeine Zeitung*, published by Cotta at Augsburg. The leading papers in the latter half of the century were the *Berliner Tageblatt*, the *Vossische Zeitung*, the *Kreuzzeitung*, the *Kölnische Zeitung* and the *Frankfurter Zeitung*,

with the *Neue Freie Presse* in Austria and the *Zürcher Zeitung* in Switzerland.

The belief in progress, supported by the social structures of the period, grew and remained dominant until the shattering events of the twentieth century. The doctrine that history moved in a meaningless circle was assumed to have been exploded, and the synonym of the spiral, which admitted of unique events, never to be repeated, was also discredited. There was a renewed belief in the triumph of good over evil and the establishment of the kingdom of God upon earth, as proclaimed by Kant in 1792. Herder, Kant, Fichte and Engels were alike in their conviction that the ultimate result of social development would be perfection. This belief in human progress as a natural process superseded religious faith in many circles.

13. THE STATE, LAW, ADMINISTRATION AND PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

The constitutional system reached its culmination during the nineteenth century. In the continental countries the decision between right and wrong found expression in the great legal codes. Modern penal law developed out of a work entitled *Dei delitti e delle pene* (1764) by Marchese Cesare Beccaria of Milan who fought for humane laws and the abolition of physical torture. In 1810 Napoleon's *Code pénal* was promulgated, followed in 1813 by the reformed Bavarian penal code, the work of Anselm von Feuerbach, the leading criminologist of his generation. This heyday of codification also produced the Prussian common law (1794), the *Code civil* (1804) and the Austrian General Civil Code (1811). Only England held firmly to its traditional common law, which was regarded as the best bulwark against State interference. Even here the Statute laws enacted by Parliament were steadily extending their range; but many domains were still left under the control of the case law administered by the judges. And even in countries where justice was entirely dependent upon legislation, the laws were framed by men whose minds were full of the concept of the constitutional State, which would find its highest expression in the provision of legal aid in disputes with the administration.

The civil service enjoyed great respect and came to occupy a privileged position in middle-class society, thus compensating for comparatively poor remuneration. The civil servant had a keen sense of duty, and carried out his functions regardless of party feeling. Only in the Balkans and Russia did the State continue to tolerate the practice of bribing officials, who took money for services rendered to private individuals. This system, though misinterpreted in the rest of Europe as a form of corruption, had something to be said for it. It enabled the Government to reduce the taxpayers' burden by paying very low salaries to its representatives, and helped to ensure that anyone who had business with the administration would be given rapid attention.[37]

The liberal-minded bourgeoisie, whose views shaped the spirit of the age, regarded property and education as the foundations of progress. Compulsory schooling raised the general level of education, technical schools taught their

pupils a trade, and the public school, the *lycée* and the *gymnasium* turned out an intellectual élite. These institutions concerned themselves chiefly with the teaching of Latin and Greek, leaving it to parents to see that their offspring acquired modern languages, studied literature, and learnt to play the piano or the violin. A classical education trained the mind to think, developed the character and inculcated ethical and aesthetic ideals. Classical studies served as an excellent preparation for the University and ensured that whatever profession the graduate might choose he would retain an interest in everything that was worth knowing and that many a doctor, engineer or judge would turn, on a free evening, to the works of Horace or Sophocles.[38]

The education of the lower middle classes and the skilled workers reached its culminating point in the second half of the century. Many houses that had no bathroom were able to find space for a piano and a bookcase. Children and adolescents acquired their earliest instruction and their first desire for education from the history books, classical reprints and scientific and technical manuals on their father's shelves. The bookcase, the small home library, was the irreplaceable source of knowledge for young people.

14. NATIONAL UNITY, TAXATION AND UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE

The nineteenth century believed in combining a number of small states to form a large one, the terms 'nation' and 'state' being synonymous so far as possible. In 1860 the Italian states united to form the kingdom of Italy, in 1871 the German Confederation of States became the German Empire, while Switzerland had transformed itself from a confederation into a federal state as early as 1848. Nationalist sentiment had dominated the European countries ever since the Napoleonic wars. In contrast to the idea of the individual nation there was that of the supra-national empire, exemplified by the two multi-lingual empires of Austria and Turkey. The policy of the Great Powers succeeded in keeping the latter alive until after the end of the century, though it seemed impossible to preserve it any longer. The community of nations ruled by Franz Joseph was still felt, however, to be an essential element in the system of European security. The various monarchies, too, appeared to be firmly established.

But the same nationalist feeling that welded Germany and Italy into single states had the effect of splitting up some of the older communities. In 1830 Belgium broke away from the kingdom of the Netherlands, established after the end of Napoleon's domination; and in 1905 Norway separated from Sweden. More important still was the large measure of sovereignty regained by the kingdom of Hungary when the Austrian Empire was transformed into the Austro-Hungarian monarchy (1867). This was held together by its joint institutions, including the army and the foreign office, by the incorporation of Bosnia and Herzegovina into Hungary in 1878, and by a shared Customs district—all of which had the effect of shifting the balance gradually in favour

of Hungary.[39] In Hungary the Magyars successfully defended their state against disintegration through the encroachments of the other linguistic communities, whereas national rivalries drained the life-blood of the Austrian half of the Empire. The Italian speaking region in the South Tyrol was also largely autonomous.

Of all the non-German-speaking subjects of the monarchy, it was with the Czechs that the Germans had the closest links and were the best acquainted. Landed proprietors, factory owners and their German-speaking subordinates lived on the best of terms with the Czech peasants, craftsmen and industrial workers. In 1900, when the population of Vienna reached the two million mark, more than 100,000 of the inhabitants were Czech-speaking, with their own schools, while there were tens of thousands more who had joined the German-language community. It was enough to stroll through the streets of Vienna looking at the names on the shop-fronts to realize the origin of many Viennese citizens; and a glance at the church registers or a visit to the cemeteries showed how many Czechs had settled in the city, and in what year. The Germans and Czechs were united by friendship and marriage. The banging of desk-lids in the Chamber of Deputies found no echo in outside relations. But competition for the spoils of public service and economic rivalries fostered the unhealthy growth of national antagonism. In order to get the Budget through Parliament, the Government had to secure a working majority; and this could only be done by making concessions to the different national groups. The Czech Members of Parliament made use of their preponderant influence with the Government in a systematic campaign to bring the Post Office, the nationalized railways and other public utilities into Czech hands. The desire to train a greater number of Czech engineers was met by the establishment of the Czech Technical College at Brünn (Brno), although the Czech Technical Institute in Prague was enough to supply the needs of the young Czechs who wished to study in their own language, while the Moravians, who were completely bilingual, found no difficulty in following the instruction given at the German Technical Institute at Brünn. The incitement to attend the Czech colleges, and in particular the Czech University founded at Prague in 1882, was provided by the long-term prospect of a separate state.

So long as the Germans felt themselves to be the strongest, they could not be persuaded to permit national equality, which would have been the best means of safeguarding their rights of ownership in the long run; and when they were reduced to the defensive, the Czechs refused to set limits to their own progress.[40]

At a time when Wellington could still describe his troops as 'the scum of mankind' and conscription was a form of punishment—as it remained until the wars of liberation—compulsory military service was being introduced everywhere except in England. The highly respected officer class, formerly an aristocratic preserve, now began to admit members of the bourgeoisie.

Compulsory service lasted several years, except when curtailed in favour of the educated upper classes, the reserve officers of the future, and represented a painful sacrifice of freedom, particularly at a time when the average expectation of life was so much less than it is today. The morale of the troops was kept up by highly effective patriotic propaganda, with its use of the national anthem, its reverence for the fatherland or the throne, its assurance that the height of virtue was to sacrifice goods and life for their protection, and its reliance on glamorous uniforms: and during a period of peace that lasted for a hundred years (1815–1914) military campaigns seldom involved great slaughter.

The members of the population who were neither under arms nor maintained by the State as civil servants were linked to the State first and foremost by taxation, which in those days was still quite moderate. The introduction of income-tax was extremely unpopular because it meant that all private activities were open to the indiscreet inspection of the tax authorities; but it remained at a reasonable level, never exceeding 5 per cent, and could still be regarded as a fair price to pay for State protection. One of the oldest forms of taxation is estate duty.

This is a form of capital levy, and where the rate is too high it becomes tantamount to confiscation. In France a law was passed in 1901, establishing a progressive scale according to the degree of relationship and the value of the estate. This began at 1 per cent and could rise as high as 20 per cent if there were no ties of blood between testator and beneficiary. In Switzerland this tax went up to the same level, while 10 per cent was the maximum in other countries.

Universal and equal suffrage was not introduced in the majority of countries until the end of the century. Until then the members of all legislative bodies were representatives of the moneyed and educated classes, who resisted all attempts to increase State expenditure at the expense of the well-to-do. In the age of liberalism, property was regarded as the basis of personal freedom. To preserve or obtain property, to provide for one's old age and ensure security for one's children, was the mainspring of an industrious attitude, a motive which extended to the factory workers and made them thrifty. Conscientious administration of the national revenue safeguarded the currency.

This feeling that property was secure and the currency stable, and a firm belief in constitutional government, were essential features of nineteenth-century life. With them went the belief in progress, justified in the age of imperialism by penetration into vast overseas territories formerly closed to outsiders, and by world trade on an unprecedented scale.

15. IMPERIALISM

The age of imperialism, as the period from 1870 to 1914 is often called, brought fresh supplies of raw materials for European and American industry,

through the opening up of the unfamiliar continents; and above all, the colonization to which it led provided the material basis for the existence of the colonial countries which are now securing their independence. The term 'imperialism' was first used to describe the intellectual attitude of the men in England who were opposed by the anti-colonial liberals of the Manchester School.[41] Later on it came to denote the political trend of colonial expansion in Asia and Africa. Imperialism led to competition for a share of the world, hitherto regarded as being divided on permanent lines, it started a battle for the expansion of markets. Imperialism brushed aside the objection that colonial administration cost more than it brought in and that the colonies were merely 'the white man's burden', for it saw power politics as the essential aspect of the matter.

The tropical areas were brought under cultivation by the introduction of plants which were not native to them. In 1870 the Director of Kew Gardens, Sir Joseph Hooker, offered to pay £10 for every 1,000 seeds of the wild Para rubber tree from the Amazonian jungle. Seventy thousand seeds were smuggled out of Brazil, although there was a heavy penalty for exporting them. All the rubber plantations of Malaya, Ceylon and Africa originated from the 2,000 of these seeds that germinated at Kew in 1876. It was from Kew Gardens, too, that the pineapple was taken to Malaya and Ceylon and the West African oil-palm to India, Ceylon and the West Indies.

The Dutch took coffee to Java and Surinam, and the French introduced it in Martinique and Guadeloupe.

A hundred years ago, when the exploration of Africa began, the native population—who served as fodder for the Arab slave traders—were at the lowest possible cultural level; the colonists set themselves to remedy this. The earliest coffee plantations in Nairobi were the work of Benedictine monks, while those of Kibwezi and Kibuyu were started by Scottish Presbyterians. The English opened up Uganda by building a railway from Mombasa to Lake Victoria, and settled the deserted no-man's-land between the warlike Masai and the small agricultural tribes, protecting the latter from raiding by the Masai; they also brought coffee-planting to Tanganyika. Some of the choicest varieties of coffee now come from Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika. The Portuguese planted coffee in Angola and on the islands of St Tomé Principe, Timor and Cabo Verde. Africa now produces nearly 16 per cent of the world coffee supply, the greater part of which comes from Brazil and other Latin American countries.

Tea-planting in India began in 1826 in Assam which had been conquered by the English. By 1869 India had 260 plantations, and English tea from India and Ceylon soon dominated the international market.

The flourishing cocoa plantations on the Gold Coast of Africa were introduced by Sir William Grifforth, the Governor during whose term of office in the 1880s model plantations and experimental stations were set up and roads and harbours built. By 1892 exports from the Gold Coast, Nigeria and French

West Africa covered half the world demand, the other half being met by Latin America.

The enormous capital outlay on the more recently acquired colonies brought no commensurate return. In 1904 expenditure in the Belgian Congo far exceeded receipts. There was no question of interest being paid on the sums advanced by the King of the Belgians; but railways, rubber, palm-oil, cocoa and groundnuts were changing central Africa into a vast source of enrichment for the international economic system. Even in 1905 the black population depended for subsistence on one particular crop, and it was left to the twentieth century to provide new sources of income by the establishment of industries and the promotion of mining, until the experiment of self-determination for the native population could be ventured upon. The withdrawal of the white man from the black continent should not be allowed to obscure the fact that the material prosperity and cultural development of that continent are entirely due to Europe, whose history has included carrying civilizations to all quarters of the globe.[42]

Imperialism is a facet of the contemporary large-scale capitalism on which technology had set its impress. The new conditions in the power industry, which was now based on electricity, coal and oil, together with the tremendous advances made in the chemical industry, created a need for very large firms and the formation of trusts. Individual firms could not hope to compete with groups which could raise the capital they needed by issuing shares. Among the characteristic features of large-scale capitalism are the vigorous intervention of the State in the sphere of labour legislation and as a supplement to private initiative in such matters as the power industry and the construction of railways. Capitalism swept away the last traces of the old social order and introduced a new class structure. Revolutionary socialism, and likewise the social movement within the Catholic Church, exposed the ethical problems inherent in capitalism and presented the demand for social justice, which meant justice in the matter of remuneration.

In the constitutional state the power of the administration is subordinated to the law, which it must never transgress in any of its dealings. The constitutional state sets limits to its own activity and to the freedom of its citizens, and those limits it steadfastly maintains. It does this by recognizing the basic rights of the individual, the independence of the judiciary, and the obligation of the government to observe the law and of the courts to apply it. The constitutional state provides a guarantee against State interference with personal freedom or property. Not until the twentieth century was the validity of the constitutional system called in question.

Every social and administrative order or system, like everything else created by man, has its defects, which finally cause its downfall. Every period in history has had its task to fulfil, and each of them has carried out its task until it outlived and made way for a new period.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XIII

1. It was obviously very difficult to present an objective study on this subject. The author, Professor H. Benedikt, accepted that I make some important alterations in the text, in the light of the criticism that it received. Changes primarily affected the treatment of economic institutions and certain aspects of government development. I have also modified certain statements, so as to put more emphasis on the positive aspects of some traditional institutions and of the bourgeois society (Charles Morazé).

1a. V. M. Dalin, Doctor of Historical Sciences, points out a grave shortcoming in the whole of this section: whereas the creative role of the bourgeoisie is emphasized and extremely clearly illustrated, very scanty reference is made to the part played by democratic elements in nineteenth-century history. There is not even any mention of such names as Garibaldi, the major leading figure of Italian revolutionary democracy in the nineteenth century, August Bebel, one of the founders and leaders of German social democracy and of the Second International, W. Liebknecht, one of the founders and leaders of the German Social Democratic Party, or the Russian revolutionary democrats A. I. Herzen, V. G. Belinsky and N. G. Chernyshevsky.

2. Professor Asa Briggs thinks that in this context the role of Star Chamber, particularly with respect to peasants, is greatly exaggerated. The reference to the Justice of the Peace is misleading. This judiciary institution (which should be described more fully perhaps leaving out the Star Chamber in this volume altogether) was a decentralized system with immense variety in it. Many Justices of the Peace were extremely conscious of their social (and moral) responsibilities. The most relevant court was Quarter Sessions. The whole of this interpretation (including the details about diet which varied immensely from one part of the country to another) has been superseded by recent research.

3. In Doctor Dalin's opinion, the author advances the debatable assertion that enclosures became necessary during the French wars, as only large farms could ensure an adequate corn supply. However, the process of the eviction of the small peasant had begun much earlier in England, at the end of the fifteenth century. The enclosures in England, involving the ruin and impoverishment of the peasantry, laid the foundation for the process of the primary accumulation of capital. Part of the dispossessed peasantry became hired labourers, whilst part became beggars and paupers. The land seized from the peasants was leased by the landlords to big farmers, who started using hired labour in the sixteenth century. The parliamentary enclosures of the eighteenth century led to the disappearance of the peasantry as a class. C. F. Semenov V. F., *Ogorazivanija i krestjanskie dvizenija v Anglii 16-ogo voka* (Enclosures and peasant movements in England in the 16th century), (Moscow–Leningrad, 1949): Lavrovsky V. M., *Parlementskie ogorazivanija obscinnyh zemel v Anglii konca 18–nacala 19 v.v.* (Parliamentary enclosures of common lands in England at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries) (Moscow–Leningrad, 1940).

4. Professor Briggs, however, feels that there were fluctuations throughout the century: the miseries of unemployment did not begin with the continental blockade.

5. Professor Briggs points out that there was no uniform poor law system before 1834, the 'Speenhamland Act' was not adopted in all other counties.

6. Doctor Dalin believes that the author has given a one-sided picture of the factors leading up to the peasant reform in Prussia. The author fails to point out that the reform was preceded by the complete defeat of Prussia by Napoleon at the battles of Jena and Auerstaedt (1806), following which, by the Treaty of Tilsit in 1807, Prussia lost a third of her territory and was forced to pay huge reparations. The military defeat of Prussia was clear proof of the rottenness of its regime, which had been the personification of extreme reaction and stagnation. It was for this reason that the ruling circles undertook a number of reforms, including the liberation of the peasants.

7. Doctor Dalin regrets that, in his remarks about Austria, the author completely fails to bring out the significance of national contradictions. Something might at least have been said about the policy of Metternich (1821–44), who, in order to strengthen the Austrian monarchy, deliberately played off the many nationalities of the 'patchwork' Austrian Empire against each other, skilfully juggling complicated class and national relations whilst carrying out a reactionary policy.

'He kept the bourgeoisie and peasantry of each nationality in subordination with the help

of the aristocracy of the same nationality and of the peasants of the other nationalities: he kept the aristocracy of each nationality subordinate by fear of the bourgeoisie and peasantry of the same nationality' (Marx and Engels, *Works*, vol. 7).

8. Doctor Dalin writes: In actual fact, it was the other way round: serfdom held back the development of the country's productive forces and was responsible for the low standard of farming techniques and the low output of agriculture. It impeded the development of the domestic market, including the labour market, restricted the process of accumulation of capital, and hindered the development of more progressive capitalist production methods.

9. Doctor Dalin points out that Heine is wrong in his assertions that landowners treated the Russian peasants 'indulgently and benevolently'. If this was the case, how is one to explain Pushkin's poem 'The Village', Turgenev's *Sportsman's Notebook* and Nekrasov's *Reflections at the Front Door*? Heine's remarks on the situation of the peasants in Russian Poland would best be left out altogether.

10. Doctor Dalin writes: the author incorrectly attributes the peasant movements in Russia to local famines and 'agitators who spread false rumours among the masses'. They were in fact a spontaneous protest by the masses against feudal oppression and the tyranny of the Tsarist administration. For further details, see the chapter 'The Russian Empire'.

11. To Professor Briggs, the reason given for Alexander's emancipation of the serfs is probably the least important of several, and the event was of such importance that it deserves more sustained treatment. See the chapter 'The Russian Empire'.

12. Professor Briggs states that Australian wool production did not start because of the continental blockade and that clothing habits in England did not follow the pattern described.

13. According to Professor Briggs, the account of the English corn laws is quite wrong.
    (1) the 1670 act is of no importance in this context, (2) eighteenth-century legislation is ignored, (3) the new corn law of 1815 is the critical piece of legislation, (4) 1816 was not as bad a year as 1817 or 1819, (5) the account of the events of 1816 is a caricature, (6) the debate about the repeal of the corn laws long preceded the repeal of 1846 or the potato blight, (7) the potato blight was the occasion not the cause of repeal, (8) no real account is given of why the legislation of 1846 did not damage British agriculture.

14. Doctor Dalin comments that, in explaining the economic decline of Ireland, the author speaks about early marriages, the high birth-rate and the effect of the removal of customs duties on corn, but says nothing about the importance of the large-scale English land ownership. It should have been pointed out that six-sevenths of the land had been taken away from the Irish after the suppression of the anti-English risings in the seventeenth century. Thus, the whole of the province of Ulster was settled by the English. The Irish freeholders became feudally dependent *metayers*. The effects of Ireland's colonial subordination began to be felt particularly keenly in the nineteenth century as a result of the completion of the industrial revolution and the growth of English capitalist industry. The country became an English agricultural province and a market for cheap labour and agricultural raw materials. In the 1850s and 1860s, Ireland underwent an agrarian revolution. The small tenants were ruthlessly expropriated and forced to emigrate from Ireland en masse. This process was even further accelerated by the agrarian crisis of the seventies and eighties; the land of the small tenant farmers was swallowed up by the landlords and big farmers.

15. To Professor Briggs this account given of food habits does not correspond to the facts. Did the rich eat more plain food? Did the differences widen? How? What about food distribution and markets? branded products? advertising?

16. Professor Briggs, however, points out that 'The Manchester School' was not so much a school of political economy as a political group. Bright was no economist.

17. According to Professor Briggs not all Telford's works were built for the Post Office.

18. To Professor Briggs, MacCulloch's essay is not in the same class. Moreover, he does not think that their interest was in the greatest possible quantity of goods. Ricardo was particularly interested in *distribution* of goods.

19. Professor Briggs asserts that here Pitt's acts are not put into proper perspective—nor the attitude of the State to associations. There was no essential change in the law in 1799. Nor were trade unions blotted out as a result of it.

20. Professor Briggs reminds us that there was no Royal Commission *of* Mines. There were a

whole series of royal commissions and of select committees reporting on a whole range of issues in Blue Books.

21. In Professor Briggs' opinion, these paragraphs do not do justice to the struggle not only to limit child labour but to reduce the long working day of adults. The agitation started long before Mrs Gaskell, whose role is exaggerated.

22. Professor Briggs asks what the evidence is for suggesting that the English average standard of living was lower than in other countries. Which countries ?

23. For Professor Briggs, this account of the Luddites is jejune and old-fashioned (see Hobsbawm, Thompson). The Luddites did not win the support of the miners and farm labourers. They were not as explicit as is suggested here in their attack on the capitalist system. The whole sense of the development of a *working class* is confused in this account.

24. Doctor Dalin emphasizes that the author is wrong to regard the Act of 1824 introducing the first measures in England to limit working hours as 'a victory for the classical school of political economy'. Marx on the contrary defined it as a victory 'for the political economy of the working class' and with every justification, since classical bourgeois political economics, whatever its merits, in fact repudiated State interference.

25. Professor Briggs comments that the Chartist claims became law only after the collapse of Chartism. There is too much on the events of 1848, and not enough on the conflicting tendencies within Chartism.

26. Doctor Dalin draws attention to the incorrect assertion that the word 'socialism' was made popular by the massacre in the Rue Transnonain in 1834. How the word became popular is a debatable point, but the massacre in the Rue Transnonain has nothing to do with it; the 'Society of the Rights of Man' was by no means a socialist organization. The word ' "socialist" in favour of "communist" ' should be taken out.

27. Doctor Dalin writes: the author claims that the phrase 'Proletarians of all lands, unite!' was the motto of the one and only issue of the *Kommunistische Zeitung* in September 1847 in London. As is generally known, however, this motto became widely current after the publication in February 1848 of the *Communist Manifesto*, which ended with the ardent call 'Proletarians of all lands, unite!'

28. Doctor Dalin points out that there are inaccuracies and bias in the treatment of the theoretical forerunners of Marx. The author writes that the 'idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat' was borrowed from Blanqui. It is a universally acknowledged fact that Marx continued and brought to a brilliant climax the three main ideological streams of the nineteenth century, which belonged to the three most advanced countries: classical German philosophy, classical English political economy and French socialism combined with French revolutionary doctrine as a whole.

29. Doctor Dalin says that the Paris Commune cannot be dealt with in one line as the author does. The Paris Commune is a term applied broadly to the proletarian revolution of 18 March 1871 in Paris and the whole period from then until 28 May 1871. The Paris Commune was the first experiment with the dictatorship of the proletariat, a new type of state, the prototype of Soviet rule. The Paris Commune began a new period in history, the beginning of the decline of capitalism, at which the Commune had struck the first blow, the period in which the old 'free' capitalism developed into imperialism. Cf. G. Laronze, *Histoire de la Commune de 1871 d'après des documents et des souvenirs inédites* (Paris, 1928), E. Lepelletier, *Histoire de la Commune de 1871* (Paris, 1911–13), I–III, P. M. Kerzhenstev, *Istorija Parizskoj Kommuny 1871 g.* (Moscow, 1959), etc.

    Professor Briggs also claims that the reference to the Commune fails to seize upon its main historical significance.

30. Doctor Dalin points out that history does not know such a league of anarchists.

31. However, Professor Briggs points out that the industrial power of the banks was never strong in England. Germany ought to be singled out here. A dose of Schumpeter would be useful.

32. Doctor Dalin writes: it is quite impossible to agree with the author when he says that by the end of the nineteenth century the proletariat had become 'a class that supported the State'. It is only necessary to think of the work done by the First International (1864–76), an international organization of the proletariat which played an immense part in the development of its class-consciousness and the strengthening of the international solidarity

of the workers in Europe and America. The work of the Second International, founded in 1889 and continuing until its leaders betrayed Marxism during the First World War and went over to social chauvinism, was an important milestone along the road of the strengthening of international proletarian solidarity. One of the most important resolutions of its first congress, in 1889, was the proclamation of the international proletarian day, May day. The Second International held its second, third and fourth congresses at the end of the nineteenth century (in 1891, 1893 and 1896 respectively). These congresses were attended by representatives of nearly all the workers' parties of Europe and the U.S.A. and Engels took a direct part in the work of the third congress. The fifth congress, meeting at the crossroads of two centuries in 1900, was attended by 791 delegates and, after discussing the report by Rosa Luxembourg on the struggle against militarism, the participants at this conference condemned the colonial policy of the imperialist State and urged the workers in the colonies to form socialist parties and to unite their activities. We consider the whole passage from the words 'By the end' to the words 'that supported the State' should be taken out.

33. Doctor Dalin remarks that this is a veritable paean of praise to capital, claiming that it 'strove to ensure the greatest happiness for the greatest number on a basis of free movement and free trade'. However, even many bourgeois writers do not deny the dark sides of capital. For instance, the Hammonds, in their researches which gave a sweeping picture of the new social conditions created in England by the industrial revolution, admit that the growth of productive forces in a bourgeois society is accompanied by progressive impoverishment of the workers, and they noted the aggravation of the class struggle. Cf. J. and B. Hammond, *The Town Labourer, 1760–1832* (London, 1919), *The Rise of Modern Industry* (London, 1927), etc.

In addition to this, nothing is mentioned in this section about colonial policy. It should have been pointed out that the process of colonization, which had begun during the period of the primary accumulation of capital, was intensified in the nineteenth century. Whereas previously the countries battling for colonies had been in the main Portugal, Spain, Holland and England, in the nineteenth century Belgium, Germany and U.S.A. also joined in. Russia's ambitions were mainly directed towards bordering territories (the Caucasus and central Asia).

In the pre-monopoly capital period, the colonies were an important market for European goods, chiefly textiles, and source of raw materials for the capitalist industrial monopolies. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, capitalism developed into a world-wide system of colonial oppression, whereby a handful of 'advanced' countries held the vast majority of the world's population in a financial stranglehold. The territorial partition of the world was completed and there grew up the colonial system of imperialism, embracing the whole range of colonial, semi-colonial and dependent countries.

34. But in Professor Briggs' view the rest of the continent did not follow the example of France. The Scandinavian story is distinct, though related.

35. Doctor Dalin comments that the author is mistaken in his explanation of the motives behind Alexander I's support for the charter as a hope 'that the link with the Revolution would weaken the West and further Russian ambitions'. The real motives were Alexander's fear of revolutionary convulsions and his desire to avoid them by making trifling concessions. In addition to this, he was obliged, as the defender of the interests of the serf-owners, to take into account in his policy the demands of that section of the nobility who wanted to adapt their farming methods to the capitalist relationships which were developing in Russia.

36. Professor Briggs asks what the 'radical press' was in this context. It was certainly not those newspapers mentioned in the previous paragraph.

37. In Professor Briggs' opinion the passage about the civil service is quite inadequate. The English civil service was a product of this century—and one of the most remarkable. Other civil services, e.g. the Prussian, had old roots. There is no intelligent discussion here of the relationship between old and new, or a real disentangling of the issue behind 'bureaucracy'. Nor is there any analysis of the difference between the profit motive in operation and the 'service' motive.

38. Professor Briggs finds this paragraph a quite uncritical eulogy of classical education in an increasingly technological society.

39. Doctor Dalin points out that the author is inaccurate in his account of the 'incorporation' of Bosnia and Herzegovina into Austro-Hungary. Following the anti-Turkish rising of 1875–78, Bosnia and Herzegovina received autonomy and a Christian Governor by the Treaty of San Stefano, which ended the Russo-Turkish war of 1877–8; but the Berlin Congress in 1878 gave Austro-Hungary the right to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina and establish its own administration there, although strictly speaking they remained under the sovereignty of Turkey. Austro-Hungary proclaimed the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908.

40. Doctor Dalin considers that the national question, on which the political life of the reactionary, multinational Austro-Hungarian monarchy turned, was further aggravated when the country entered the period of imperialism. The national liberation movement among the oppressed Slav peoples was intensified at the beginning of the twentieth century and became widespread under the impact of the Russian revolution of 1905–7. The annexation by Austro-Hungary on 5 October 1908 of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which it had occupied since 1878, gave further impetus to this struggle. Fearing the possibility of a break-away by Croatia and Slavonia, the Hungarian Government stepped up its policy of repression. Early in 1912 the Croat Parliament was dissolved and a régime of open dictatorship was established in Croatia and Slavonia by the Hungarian ruling circles. Even before this, the Austrian authorities had meted out cruel treatment to the liberation movement in eastern Galicia (the western Ukraine) when in June 1911 the Sturgkh Government had organized the shooting down of a workers' demonstration in the industrial town of Drogobych, in which about a hundred people were killed or wounded. In July 1913, the Sturgkh Government dissolved the Czech Parliament, concentrating all power in the hands of the Austrian Viceregent.

41. Professor Briggs notes that the first use of the term 'imperialism' was not in England. Professor Koebaner devoted his life to a detailed exposition of this subject. The account of imperialism given here is anecdotal and inadequate.

42. Doctor Dalin writes: the last few pages of this chapter are in contradiction with what was said about the consequences of colonialism in the introduction. The author asserts, for instance, that 'the belief in progress was justified in the age of imperialism by penetration into vast overseas territories, formerly closed to outsiders' (p. 489) and that 'the withdrawal of the white man from the black continent should not be allowed to obscure the fact that the material prosperity and cultural development of that continent are entirely due to Europe, whose history has included carrying civilizations to all quarters of the globe' (p. 490). The facts, however, tell a different story. The continent of Africa, with its rich resources and ancient culture, lost about 150 million inhabitants as the result of the slave trade and other acts by the colonialists. In the course of three centuries, Africa's share of the world's population fell from one-fifth to one-fourteenth; 90 per cent of the population of Africa were unable to read or write; Africa's share in the industrial production of the capitalist world was a little over one per cent (cf. Jacques Arnault, *Procès du colonialisme*, Paris, 1958).

CHAPTER XIV

LITERATURE IN EUROPE

BY MARIO PRAZ*

I N the last quarter of the eighteenth century a new mood gradually found its way into Western European literature—first of all in England and Germany—with the results that the classical ideals of balance and smoothness, which had been prevalent throughout the Age of Reason, were discredited in favour of opposites. How can one describe the new state of sensibility which came into full flower towards the end of the eighteenth century ? The term 'romantic' is universally adopted for it, and the initial stages of the movement are described under the label 'pre-romanticism'. The word 'romantic' appears for the first time in the English language about the middle of the seventeenth century, meaning 'like the old romances', and shows how there began to be felt about this time a real need to give names to certain characteristics of the chivalrous and pastoral romances. These characteristics, thrown into relief by contrast with the growing rationalistic spirit which was soon to triumph with Pope and Dr Johnson, lay in the falsity, the unreality, the fantastic and irrational nature of events and sentiments described in these romances. Like the terms 'gothic' and 'baroque', therefore, 'romantic' started as an unfavourable connotation. The term was frequently associated then with words such as 'chimerical', 'ridiculous', 'unnatural', 'bombast'. Nature's truth was contrasted with the falsity of the romances. Everything that seemed to have been produced by a disorderly imagination came to be called 'romantic'. But a new current in taste can be discerned right from the beginning of the eighteenth century; there is a growing tendency to recognize the importance of imagination in the works of art. 'Romantic', though continuing to mean something slightly absurd, takes on the flavour of *attractive*, likely to please the imagination. Side by side with the depreciatory use of the word in relation to the events and sentiments of the old romances, 'romantic' came to be used also to connote scenes and landscapes similar to those described in them, and this time without any note of scorn. In this second sense, the adjective has gradually ceased to retain its connection with the literary *genre* (the romances) from which it was originally derived, and has come to express more and more the growing love for wild and melancholy aspects of Nature. It is so closely connected with certain qualities of landscape that French translators of English books of the period, when the word 'romantic' is used, often render it with *pittoresque*: which shows that the French were not yet aware of the new state of sensibility suggested by the word 'romantic'. It was not until 1776 that

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Letourneur, translator of Shakespeare, and the Marquis de Girardin, author of a book on landscape, deliberately used the word *romantique*, noting the reasons in favour of the adoption of this *mot anglais*. It is possible to see from their notes how these French writers had finally grasped the exact shade of meaning.

'Romantic', they say, means more than *romanesque* (chimerical, fabulous) or *pittoresque* (used to describe a scene which strikes the eye and arouses admiration); 'romantic' describes not only the scene but the particular emotion aroused in the person who contemplates it. Rousseau probably came by the word from his friend Girardin, and conferred upon it full French citizenship in the well-known *Rêveries du promeneur solitaire*. In *romantique* Rousseau found the appropriate word to define that elusive and indistinct thing which hitherto he had vaguely expressed by *je ne sais quoi*. Nature described as 'romantic' is seen through a veil of associations and feelings extracted from poetry and literature in general. The term *pittoresque*, which arose at the same time, stands for a similar phenomenon. The 'picturesque' (a word of Italian origin, meaning the point of view essentially of a painter) was elaborated as a theory in England between 1730 and 1830 (*'Le Pittoresque nous vient d'Angleterre'*—Stendhal), and was, in a sense, a prelude to Romanticism. If we regard the 'picturesque' period merely as the period during which this particular point of view became conscious and assumed the importance of a fashion, then undoubtedly the English poets James Thomson and John Dyer, with their descriptions which translate into terms of literature the pictorial manner of Claude Lorrain and Salvator Rosa, are the godfathers of the Picturesque. The collectors who, on their return from the 'Grand Tour', filled their ancestral homes with Italian canvases, promoted the taste for the Picturesque, already heralded by the poets. Edmund Burke's *Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1756) was the first to give a clear-cut form to such axioms as 'No work of art can be great but as it deceives', and 'A clear idea is another name for a little idea'. From the books of Burke and Sir Joshua Reynolds (*Discourses . . . on the Principles of Art*) we go on to those of Uvedale Price and Richard Payne Knight, of William Gilpin and A. Alison, who complete the definition of the Picturesque in relation to the Sublime and Beautiful. Its characteristics are found to consist in dazzle and flicker of effects, in rapid succession of colours, lights and shades, in roughness, sudden variation, irregularity. A sign of the new fashion in taste is shown in the capacity to appreciate Alpine scenery (both the Alps and the English Lake District). It was in garden-designs that the new 'picturesque' sensibility eventually ran riot.

The subjective element, implicit in 'romantic', rendered this word particularly suitable to describe the new kind of literature in which suggestion and aspiration had so large a part. It is true that in England, where the word 'Romanticism' only came to be used later, the antithesis between 'romantic' and 'classic', German in its origin, was at first expressed by the contrasting of

'magical and evocative poetry' with rhetorical and didactic poetry as exempli-
fied by Pope and his followers. *Magic der Einbildungskraft* (Magic of the
Imagination) is the title of a well-known essay in which Jean Paul Richter
(1763–1825) defines the essence of romantic sensibility. How does it come
about, asks Jean Paul, that everything which exists only in aspiration (*Sehn-
sucht*) and in remembrance, everything which is remote, dead, unknown,
possesses this magic transfiguring charm ? Because, the answer is, everything,
when inwardly represented, loses its precise outline, since the imagination
possesses the magic virtue of making things infinite. And Novalis (Friedrich
Leopold von Hardenberg, 1772–1801): 'Alles wird in der Entfernung Poesie:
ferne Berge, ferne Menschen, ferne Begebenheiten. Alles wird *romantisch*.'
The English poet Thomas Campbell (1777–1844) formulated the same idea
in the famous lines (1799):

> ' 'Tis distance lends enchantment to the view,
> And robes the mountains in its azure hue.'

The word 'romantic' thus comes to be associated with another group of
ideas, such as 'magic', 'suggestive', 'nostalgic', and above all with words
expressing states of mind which cannot be described, such as the German
Sehnsucht and the English 'wistful'. It is curious to note that these two words
have no equivalent in the Romance languages—a clear sign of the Nordic,
Anglo-Germanic, origin of the sentiments they express. Such ideas have this
in common, that they supply only a vague indication, leaving it to the imagina-
tion to make the final evocation. A Freudian would say that these ideas appeal
to the unconscious in us. It is the appeal of Yeats' *Land of Heart's Desire*.

The essence of Romanticism consequently comes to consist in that which
cannot be described. The word and the form, says Friedrich von Schlegel
(1772–1829) in *Lucinde*, are only accessories. The essential is the thought and
the poetic image, and these are rendered possible only in a passive state. The
Romantic exalts the artist who does not give a material form to his dreams—
the poet ecstatic in front of a forever blank page, the musician who listens to
the prodigious concerts of his soul without attempting to translate them into
notes. It is romantic to consider concrete expression as a decadence, a con-
tamination. How many times has the magic of the ineffable been celebrated,
from Keats, with his

> 'Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard
> Are sweeter . . .'

to Maeterlinck, with his theory that silence is more musical than any sound!
Hence the great role which exoticism plays in romantic literature and art.
It has been pointed out that there is a certain resemblance between the
exoticist and the mystic. The latter projects himself outside the visible world

into a transcendental atmosphere where he unites himself with the Divinity; the former transports himself in imagination outside the actualities of time and space, and thinks that he sees in whatever is past and remote from him the ideal climate for the contentment of his own senses. Actually it is a question of starting from the same sensual basis and arriving at opposite points; for, while true mysticism tends to the negation both of expression and of art, exoticism, of its own nature, tends to a sensual and artistic externalization. But between the mystic who denies the world of the senses and the exoticist who affirms its existence, between the mystic who empties the universe of all material content and the exoticist who invests remote periods and distant countries with the vibration of his own senses and materializes them in his imagination, there is certainly a similarity of purpose; both transfer the fulfilment of their desires to an ideal, a dream world, both, in order to bring about the necessary conditions for the intense realization of their dreams, generally resort to stimulants, such as fasts and vigils in the case of the mystic, opium or other narcotics in the case of the exoticist.

A kind of exoticism can be documented in all periods and all literatures. To speak only of the eighteenth century, the vision of Cathay, which dated as far back as the fascinating accounts of the Far East contained in Marco Polo's *Milione* and in the imaginary *Voyage and Travel of Sir John Mandeville* (second half of the fourteenth century), culminated in the vogue of that hybrid style, *Chinoiserie*, which ran riot in the decoration of Anglo-Chinese parks and charming 'follies', and betrayed its pre-romantic character in combining itself with the Gothic. As early as 1764 a writer in *The World* remarked:

'It has not escaped your notice how much of late we are improved in architecture; not merely by the adoption of what we call Chinese, nor by the restoration of what we call Gothic; but by a happy mixture of both.'

In 1747 and following years Horace Walpole (1717–97) had revived the Gothic in his country house at Strawberry Hill, and William Beckford (1759–1844) outdid him towards the end of the century by building a short-lived Gothic tower at Fonthill Abbey. Beckford's exoticism is witnessed in his published works, the Oriental tale *Vathek* (originally in French, 1784, in the tradition of Voltaire's *contes philosophiques*, with an added streak of morbidity particularly calculated to appeal to that side of the romantic sensibility which fell under the spell of the Marquis de Sade), impressions of travel contained in *Dreams, Waking Thoughts and Incidents, in a Series of Letters*, 1783, and in his effusive letters to Alexander Cozens, in one of which he dwells on the charm of the farthest North. The appeal of the exotic is paramount in Johann Jakob Wilhelm Heinse's (1749–1803) *Ardinghello*, 1787, and in Wilhelm Heinrich Wackenroder's (1773–98) *Herzensergiessungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders*, 1797 (*Outpourings from the Heart of an Art-Loving Monk*); but the priority in the field of exotic evocation belongs to the English, who in the very heart of the Age of Reason began to long for that period of the past

whose ideals were considered the opposite of the eighteenth-century ideals, the mystical and picturesque Middle Ages. Desire anticipated its object, created it; documents of the past were faked. James Macpherson (1736–96) supplemented his free versions of traditional Gaelic songs (of the so-called cycle of *Ossian*) with inventions of his own (1760 and following years), and created a northern counterpart of Homer, full of mystery and gloom, for an admiring Europe. These songs, alternating the epic tone with the lyrical and the elegiac, breathe a profound melancholy, a feeling of vain dreams and hopes, of the tragical end of all love, and at the same time the emotion stirred by the relics of the past. Stimulated by the publication in 1765 of *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* collected by Thomas Percy (and partly rewritten by him), Thomas Chatterton (1752–70) forged archaic poems which he attributed to an imaginary fifteenth-century poet, Rowley, and succeeded for a time in mystifying even the learned. A typical figure of romantic genius, Chatterton killed himself in his youth, and his memory lingered with the romantics as a symbol of the poet's destiny in a hostile world. Revulsion against the artificialities of the eighteenth century, over-ripe with civilization, and a passionate cult of Nature, led in Germany Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803) to collect documents of popular poetry (which he believed to be the highest form of poetry, the expression of a collectivity) in his capital work, *Stimme der Völker in Liedern* (1778–9), and to rework in a continuous epic narrative the old Spanish romances about the Cid. In his revolt against civilization he followed the same aim of Rousseau, whose central tenet was that 'Nature has made man good and happy, but society corrupts him and makes him wretched'.

Instinctive nature, the natural goodness of the heart, had been also exalted by Henry Fielding in *Tom Jones* (1749); and it was this very faith in the essential right of deep impulses (contrary to the self-control and balance of the Age of Reason) that prompted Rousseau to give in his *Confessions* the first example (leaving aside the remote one of Saint Augustine) of that romantic urge to *mettre son cœur à nu* which, alongside some masterpieces, has produced a vast literature of not uniformly interesting outpourings and not always artistic exhibitions of moral striptease throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The exploration of the individual went hand in hand with the passionate interest for the race (and with the preoccupation for the purity of it, an exalted form of nationalism, also a romantic product): the same significance that the work of Percy and Macpherson had for the English, that Herder's collection of popular songs had for the Germans, that the rediscovery of the *Lay of Igor's Campaign* had for the Russians in a period when the Napoleonic invasion had stirred and stiffened the national feeling. Exoticism combined with folklore was at the root of many collections of folk-songs during the nineteenth century throughout Europe (such as Niccolò Tommaseo's *Canti popolari toscani, corsi, illirici, greci*, Venice, 1841, Stanko Vraz's *Narodni piesni ilirske (Popular Illyrian Songs)* 1839), as well as of cycles of poems inspired by the myths and historical events of various nations (such as Victor Hugo's

Légende des siècles, 1859–63, Leconte de Lisle's *Poèmes antiques*, 1852, and *Poèmes barbares*, 1862, Friedrich Rückert's *Oestliche Rosen*, 1819–20, and other poems inspired by the East, Robert Southey's long poems on Oriental and Barbarian themes [*Thalaba*, 1801, *The Curse of Kehama*, 1810, *Don Roderick*, 1814,] and many others).

The Sublime, expounded by Burke, acted as a catalyst in the process of disintegration of the neo-classical theory, attracting into its orbit the strongest emotions and the more irrational aspects of art which that theory had not sanctioned. The starting-point was the treatise *On the Sublime* (Περὶ Ὕψους) ascribed (possibly wrongly) to a Greek critic and philosopher of the third century, Longinus: it was exhumed by Boileau in seventeenth-century France during the famous *Querelle des 'Anciens et des Modernes* and, by twisting its meaning, was invoked by English eighteenth-century philosophers and dilettante to justify the evaluation of a work of art not according to its conformity to the time-hallowed rules, but according to the emotions aroused by certain objects. Among these emotions, particular stress was laid on the emotion of terror, and by the end of the century Nathan Drake (*Literary Hours*, 1798) developed the aesthetics of awe and horror to the point of making it the doctrinal justification of the tale of terror. The anonymous *Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Taste* (1785) went so far as to make the Sublime a common label for all the elements which are most typical of romanticism: 'Where pure grace ends, the awe of the sublime begins, composed of the influence of pain, of pleasure, of grace, and deformity, playing into each other, that the mind is unable to determine which to call it, pain, or pleasure, or terror'. Such words seem to herald Gustave Flaubert's *grande synthèse*. The sense of the Sublime was for Drake 'the pinnacle of beatitude, bordering upon horror, deformity, madness; an eminence from whence the mind, that dares to look further, is lost'.

In the figurative arts the revolution of taste which took place in the name of the Sublime turned on the preference given to Michelangelo over the so far undisputed excellence of Raphael. Michelangelo, whom the classicists had found full of defects, was now hailed as the creator of a titanic beauty made of both pleasure and pain: the same kind of beauty one found in Ossian and Shakespeare. The influence of Michelangelo was kept within the bounds of an academic education by Reynolds, but bordered on the verge of the magic and the frantic in William Blake (1757–1827) and in Henry Fuseli (1741–1825). This latter, a Swiss by origin, brought to England in his painting some of the spirit of the German Stürmer und Dränger, so-called after the title (*Sturm und Drang*) of a drama by Friedrich Maximilian von Klinger (1752–1831) inspired by Shakespeare. The Stürmer und Dränger found their sponsors in Rousseau and in Johann Georg Hamann (1730–88), 'the Wizard of the North', a forerunner of Herder with his *Aesthetica in nuce* in which poetry was defined as the mother tongue of mankind: but it was not so much in Germany that the spirit of the Sturm und Drang found its full expression (although also Goethe

was touched by the movement, its representative figures are minor writers, such as Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz, 1751–92, and Friedrich Müller, better known as Maler Müller, 1749–1825), as in England, with the paintings of Fuseli, in which cruelty and violence alternate with a manneristic voluptuousness, and with the paintings and writings of Blake, who presents in his unique personality a strange synthesis of rationalist and mystical currents. On the one hand he is a freethinker in the wake of Voltaire, on the other he is an anti-rationalist under the influence of time-honoured traditions of occultism. The philosophy of Diderot and the Encyclopaedists, the so-called *Système de la Nature*, had brought materialism to its extreme consequences by proclaiming the supreme right of the individual to happiness and pleasure outside the bounds set by morals and religion, thus paving the way to the justification, in the name of Nature, of sexual perversions, and to the paradoxical novels of the Marquis de Sade. Not unlike this latter, Blake, in his *Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (*ca.* 1790) goes so far as to proclaim that Evil, which is the product of Energy, is the positive element in man. Romanticism never found a more radical exponent than Blake, with his theory of the 'holy insurrection', his belief in the peremptory rights of the Imagination, his conception of the artist as a prophet, inspired by divine messages. The Bible and the Elizabethan songs are at the root of Blake's highly original verse, now fresh and direct with a childlike candour (*Songs of Innocence and of Experience*), now utterly abstruse owing to a system of symbols derived from occult lore (the *Prophetic Books*).

One of the effects of the theory of the Sublime, perceptible also in Fuseli, was the identification of it with certain spectral and terrific themes. Already Horace Walpole had tried to infuse terror into his *Castle of Otranto* (1764), a 'Gothic novel' written under the influence of Piranesi's powerful etchings, the *Carceri*, which, like the other works of that bizarre and grandiose genius, found a large clientele in England. Now, at the end of the century, several writers cultivated the most specious aspect of the Sublime, terror, occasionally treading on the same ground as that of the Marquis de Sade. For the protagonists of the tales of terror, whose usual backgrounds are sinister castles and horrible dungeons, are as a rule a perverse and mysterious fatal man and a persecuted maiden (a type derived from Richardson's Clarrissa). On the type of the fatal man of these novels (Mrs Ann Radcliffe's [1763–1822] *Mysteries of Udolpho*, 1794, *The Italian, or The Confessional of the Black Penitents*, 1797, etc.; Matthew Gregory Lewis' [1775–1818] *The Monk*, 1796) Byron was going to model his melancholy hero. Towards the end of the eighteenth century Milton's Satan had transfused his own sinister charm into the traditional type of generous outlaw or sublime criminal. Schiller's Räuber Karl Moor (*Die Räuber*, 1781) is an angel-outlaw in the manner of Milton's and of those of his German imitator Klopstock; he had in him the stuff of a Brutus, but unfavourable circumstances had made him into a Catiline. Certain qualities can be noticed in these rebels of the English tales of terror as well as

of Schiller's drama and of Heinrich Daniel Zschokke's *Aballino der grosse Bandit* (1794), which were destined to recur insistently in the fatal men of the Romantics: mysterious (but conjectured to be exalted) origin, traces of burnt-out passions, suspicion of a ghastly guilt, melancholy habits, pale face, unforgettable eyes: thus new myths took shape in the heated fantasies of writers released from the observance of time-hallowed rules and encouraged to trust the free play of their own sensations. The cult of the emotions, even the painful ones, is discernible in a follower of Sterne, Henry Mackenzie, the protagonist of whose novel, *The Man of Feeling*, 1771, seems almost to enjoy his own solitude and unhappiness, as Goethe's Werther was going to do in three years' time.

Old myths, on the other hand, were coming to an end: after the corrosive criticism of philosophers and encyclopaedists throughout the eighteenth century, very lit+le was required to throw down the old dispensation. A Scottish peasant and the son of a French watchmaker voiced in literature the new spirit which was going in a short while to inform the French Revolution. Robert Burns (1759–96), who in his love songs breathed the genuine flavour of that rustic life of which the upper classes were giving a travesty in their affected fashion for *bergeries*, invested with a kind of ironical grandeur the beggars, strumpets and drunkards who vent their *Galgenhumor* in the most powerful of his poems, *The Jolly Beggars:* its tone is halfway between the *Beggar's Opera* and the French revolutionary song, *Ça ira*. The aristocratic society raved for Burns and spoiled him; it had applauded some twenty years before, in Lombardy, the polished but inwardly indignant satire of its frivolous and cruel behaviour written by another plebeian, whom necessity had turned into a priest, Giuseppe Parini (1729–99). Parini's attitude to refined society is not unlike that of the *peintre des Fêtes Galantes*, Antoine Watteau, as seen by Walter Pater: he underwent the fascination of the very society whose manner of life he despised; hence his onslaught on the aristocracy adopts the elegant garb of a mock-heroic poem in the tradition of Pope's *Rape of the Lock*: the polemic accent is softened by a veil of delicate irony. The first two parts of *Il Giorno* were published in 1763 and 1765 respectively; the last part saw the light only in 1801, after the death of the poet, who thought it best to continue to attack a society which had been severely hit by the French Revolution. *The Jolly Beggars* were written in 1785; one April day the year before, the Parisian stage had seen the cream of French society applaud the very ideas which meant its overthrow at a memorable performance of *Le Mariage de Figaro*, by Pierre-Augustin Caron, called Beaumarchais (1732–99). The author of this play, which released in a sudden outburst all the feelings the philosophers had instilled into the hearts of the people—joy of life, eagerness for pleasure, hatred for the present and the tradition, desire of novelty—transfused his own mercurial, arrogant and insolent personality into the character of Figaro. Though Figaro has his forerunners in the servants of Molière's and Marivaux's comedies, and in the adventurers of the picaresque

novel which Lesage had made French, his sensibility and ambition have been brought up to date by Beaumarchais: he is the talented plebeian expert in the art of intrigue and in all crafts, who is going to rise with the Revolution and make a career under Napoleon. Beaumarchais' dialogue, full of wit and epigrammatic points, breathes a saucy irreverence against the established order, and the restlessness of undisciplined individualism.

While the tale of terror and the popular ballads (both the traditional ones and those which imitated and exaggerated their violent and weird aspects, such as the celebrated *Lenore* [1773] by Gottfried August Bürger [1747–94]) were paving the way to the more showy and fashionable manifestations of romanticism, the main trend of development of its message lay in that poetry of Nature which had taken a new turn with James Thomson, who had succeeded in conveying a new sensibility in the didactic descriptions of his *Seasons* (the first one, *Winter*, appeared in 1726). The feeling for Nature is freer from conventional descriptive passages and strikes a lyrical note which is unprecedented in the century, in the melodious *Ode to Evening*, breathing the sweet peace of twilight, by William Collins (1721–56), an admirer of Thomson, who ended his short life insane. Inklings of a new sensibility had appeared in elegiac poetry. A taste for melancholy and sorrow for their own sake had developed out of austere meditations of a Puritan character. The *Night Thoughts* (1742–45) by Edward Young (1683–1765), blank verse considerations on life, death, and immortality, had begun a literature of sensibility and started the vogue for sepulchral poetry. They were followed by Robert Blair's *The Grave* (1743), and chiefly by the famous *Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard* (1750) by Thomas Gray (1716–71), the masterpiece of this short-winded, fastidious and melodious poet; from this elegy Ugo Foscolo was to draw inspiration for his *Sepolcri* (1807). Gray had been also among the first to feel the charm of primitive poetry: Welsh and Scandinavian subjects inspired him to write *The Bard, The Fatal Sisters, The Descent of Odin.* Most of all, William Cowper (1731–1800) in his masterpiece, *The Task* (1785), by confining poetry to the expression of everyday experience, by his making it adhere to the precise details of a certain landscape or even of a humble object, in a word, by the perfect fitness of his meditation to the circumstances which suggested it, formed a transition between the didactic and capricious Muse of the school of Pope and the lyric and philosophic inspiration of the Lake poets, particularly of Wordsworth, who was going to develop Cowper's idea of the healing power of Nature (Cowper's creed may be resumed in his line: 'God made the country, and man made the town').

A symptom of the new type of meditative poetry which was arising out of an intimate feeling for Nature is the return of a vogue for Petrarch. Gray had concluded his *Elegy* with a quotation from Petrarch, after more than a century in which his name, so popular in the age of Elizabeth I, had been neglected or had become a byword for an unmanly attitude in matters of love, that of the scorned and yet clinging lover. With the spreading of the new romantic

sensibility, which, as we shall say in a moment, found in Goethe's *Werther* a supreme expression, it became possible for Englishmen once more to weep for love and die of sorrow. The growing popularity of Petrarch in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, in which he was frequently translated, caused the Italian sonnet to appear an ideal form for the expression of sorrow, disappointment and despair, in brief, of the then fashionable melancholy mood. Out of a host of sonneteers of this period, there emerge only Mrs Charlotte Smith, in whose *Elegiac Sonnets* (1784) we perceive a distinct echo of Petrarch and a faint anticipation of Keats, and William Lisle Bowles, whose *Fourteen Sonnets, Written Chiefly on Picturesque Spots during a Tour* (1789) show him wandering, *solo e pensoso*, like Petrarch, in the midst of natural scenery.

While the feeling for Nature took with some the intensity of a mystical experience, it bred also a new awareness of the realities of country life. In George Crabbe (1754-1832), under the veneer of the polished form still redolent of the classical tradition, we detect a realistic picture of the life of the lower classes, with no trace of pastoral idealization (*The Village*, 1783, *The Borough*, 1810). These are the lower classes which, just then, revolted in France against the aristocrats who had seen them through rose-coloured spectacles. With all this, one could not call Crabbe a romantic. He was one out of a few important writers who were unruffled by the new currents of taste, such as Miss (Frances) Burney (1752-1840), who continued to write in the manner of Richardson, and Jane Austen (1775-1817), who possessed the unparalleled gift of representing the little, provincial society around her with classical restraint and a dry sense of humour (she actually made fun of the romantic craze for tales of terror in *Northanger Abbey*). Her six novels (*Pride and Prejudice*, 1797, *Sense and Sensibility*, 1811, and *Emma*, 1816, being the best ones) belong to a type of narrative which seems to be peculiar more to a nation and a class (the middle class) than to a specific period; Jane Austen could be equally well at home in the Age of Elegance in which she lived (the Regency Period) and in the age of Queen Victoria.[1]

The horizon of some writers is very narrow; one would think that a protective hedge separates them from the world at large. The reader of Jane Austen is never reminded that while the characters of her novels visited each other in their village, the whole of Europe—England included—watched anxiously the wars of Napoleon, or that *Emma* was begun in that fatal year 1814 which was so momentous for the destinies of the peoples of Europe. The eyes of other writers wander about: the world is their theatre, one would say, but they see only the face of things, they capture the whim of a fashion, the echo of a song, they glance, do not penetrate. Genius only has a world within itself which can match the outside world. Like Shakespeare, Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749-1832) has seen everything and understood everything. He is one of the Stürmer und Dränger and admires popular poetry with Herder, but he is also neo-classical with Winckelmann,[2] he feels the morbid fascination

of voluptousness combined with death in a vampire story (*Die Braut von Corinth*), he is both repelled and attracted by the bizarre decoration of the Prince of Palagonia's villa at Bagheria (*Italienische Reise*). He is aware that at the battle of Valmy a new era of history is inaugurated; an idealist with Kant, he believes in evolution as a scientist. In the wake of Rousseau, he creates with Werther the most successful incarnation of the man of feeling (*Die Leiden des jungen Werther*), he feels the restlessness of his age and of its search after the infinite, and, divining the power of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* through a debased puppet-show, he makes of the Faustus myth the symbol of the romantic quest (various stages: *Urfaust*, 1773-75; *Faust, ein Fragment*, 1790; *Faust, eine Tragödie*, 1808; the second part complete, issued posthumously in 1832); he anticipates the temper of the Biedermeier period with the domestic. idyll *Hermann und Dorothea* (1797); he inaugurates the novel of experience with *Wilhelm Meister* (the first part, the *Lehrjahre*, finished in 1796; the second, the *Wanderjahre*, only in 1829), he vies with Shakespeare in a chronicle-play (*Goetz von Berlichingen*), feels the appeal of the exotic (*West-östlicher Divan*), describes beyond the veil of the mundane scene the awful presence of the Mothers. A lyrical and tragical poet, a novelist, he is also a scientist, a universal man, the hero of his time in *Werther*, the hero of all times like Shakespeare or Leonardo. One day he is caught exalting a Gothic cathedral, another day he refuses to see a famous medieval church and concentrates his attention on a pagan temple, almost following the fashion of a period when architects planned the same building in either Gothic or neo-classical style. He can yearn after the ancient world with the *Sehnsucht* of a romantic classicist like Friedrich Hölderlin (1770-1843); *Der Archipelagus*, written in 1800, the elegy *Brod und Wein*, 1801, several odes and hymns, *Hyperion*), and write Roman elegies with the sensuousness of a contemporary of Tibullus and Propertius; he belongs to the climate of Casanova and to the climate of Schelling; he is classical with the yearning of a man of the North, and Gothic with the serenity of an Augustan; he is Proteus, he is Pan. Some writers are separated from the wide world by an ideal hedge; Goethe knew no limits to his curiosity and to his creative power; except, of course, death. And the most surprising thing about him is perhaps that he should have died.

Goethe, through giving full expression to certain themes and myths which were deeply felt by his contemporaries (the melancholy of Werther, the titanic aspiration of Faust), secured for German literature a prominent position in Europe; the name of another German writer, Friedrich von Schiller (1759-1805), was coupled with his, not only for the close friendship which existed between them, but also for literary merits that in the course of time have come to be much less appreciated. Highly as one may think of Schiller's contribution to the aesthetic theory through his writings on art, inspired by an idealistic point of view which owes much to Kant as well as to Greek influence, and is both aesthetic and moral, one fails nowadays to see in him the stature which impressed his contemporaries to the point that they proclaimed masterpieces

his historical dramas, the fruit of a compromise between the classical and the Shakespearean theatre (*Maria Stuart, Don Carlos, Wilhelm Tell, Die Jungfrau von Orléans, Die Braut von Messina, Wallenstein*): these dramas, together with the early *Räuber* we have mentioned already, were frequently imitated, and inspired famous musical composers and, as in the case of Byron, the inspired works were frequently superior to their models (one has only to think of Delacroix inspired by Byron, and of Rossini and Verdi inspired by Schiller). Perhaps what Schiller had to say was better expressed in music: as his dramas are more convincing as operas, so his *Lied an die Freude* (1785) became immortal only by being incorporated in Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. His message, as embodied in the once celebrated poem *Das Lied von der Glocke* (1799), a grand symbolic fresco of individual and social life unrolled under our eyes at the sound of the bell, has a mechanical and didactic quality which is hardly compensated by metrical skill. But the obviousness of the symbol and the catching quality of the verse were calculated to appeal to many, including Edgar Allan Poe. Also another famous poem, *Die Götter Griechenlands*, a complaint on the decay of the ancient gods and on the contrast between the gay pagan world and sad Christianity, struck a nostalgic note which was frequently echoed by the Romantics, from Vincenzo Monti's *Sermone sulla mitologia* (1825), to poems of Louis Ménard, Leconte de Lisle, and Giosuè Carducci. A conciliation between the Greek gods and Christ was, together with other dreams, such as Hellenization of Germany, which later were to be taken up by Nietzsche, the aim of Hölderlin's hymn *Der Einzige*. Like Nietzsche an isolated genius, Hölderlin, whose fame has risen high in modern times, mirrors in an extreme form the conflict between classical and romantic ideals which was typical of his period: in fact, it was hardly a conflict though felt as such, because, as we have said, the idealization of the pagan world was itself a form of exoticism, that is of romanticism. Of all the poets of the period who found inspiration in the Greek world, only the Italian Ugo Foscolo (1778–1827), half Greek by birth, felt that world as immanent, not as a nostalgic aspiration, and wrote polished and impassioned verse (the unfinished poem *Le Grazie* in particular) which is the literary counterpart of Canova's statues.

While in England the romantic movement, as defined in the preface to the *Lyrical Ballads* (1798), was a decided reaction against the classical ideals of Pope and his followers, in Germany there was no such clear-cut opposition; the very word romanticism came to be used later; the new movement was at first called merely the 'Neue Schule'. The peculiarity of the movement, so far as the period dominated by the personalities of Goethe and Schiller is concerned, lies in the fact that it did not declare itself anti-classic; both those writers, as we have seen, had an ambivalent attitude; they frequently resorted to a compromise, as (we have seen it) Schiller did for the structure of his dramas; as for minor writers, they did not claim absolute originality, rather sought inspiration in foreign literatures, particularly those of the Romance

countries (Spain and Italy: Cervantes, Dante, etc.), besides Shakespeare, and frequently worked together; they formed groups. At Jena Schiller held his courses which were attended by Novalis; at Jena lived the linguist and literary critic Karl Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835), to Jena often came Goethe; Jena was for a few years (between 1796 and 1800) the residence of the brothers Schlegel and of Johann Ludwig Tieck (1773-1853), best known for his fairy tales; at Jena taught the philosophers Fichte and Schelling who paved the way to Hegel. (Schelling's philosophy of Nature came close to the mystical idea of Nature proper to the Romantics, while Friedrich von Schlegel broached the highly romantic idea of a 'Progressive Universal Poesy', according to which life will become poetry, dream will join reality, and there will cease to be boundaries between sensations or emotions, between the heart and the spirit, between individuals as between nations: syncretism was his aim also in the novel *Lucinde*, a glorification of total love, both of the mind and the senses.) Of all the personalities of the Jena group Novalis is certainly the most interesting, a thinker who has left record of his bold and genial intuitions in a number of fragments, a mystic who has embodied his conception of the world in two unfinished novels (*Die Lehrlinge zu Sais* and *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*), and a poet who in his *Hymnen an die Nacht* initiated that form of nocturne on the combined themes of love and death which was to find the most celebrated expression in Wagner's *Tristan*.

The second group of German romantics, also called *die jüngere Romantik*, had its centre in Heidelberg, and included the brothers Jakob (1785-1863) and Wilhelm (1786-1859) Grimm, who made a famous collection of folk-tales, Frederick Creuzer (1771-1858) who attempted a systematization of myths and religions in his *Symbolik und Mythologie der alten Völker*, and several poets, of whom Clemens Brentano (1778-1842) is the best known. His sister Bettina has entered literary history thanks to her exchange of letters with Goethe (*Briefwechsel Goethes mit einem Kinde*, 1835); she had married the novelist Achim von Arnim (1781-1831) who made a delightful collection of folk-songs, in collaboration with Brentano, *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*.

A number of gifted story-tellers greatly contributed to the popularity of German literature in the first part of the nineteenth century: the keyboard of these writers is extremely varied; the fanciful, the weird, the humorous are the peculiar romantic notes side by side with the homely and the realistic which anticipate the temper of the Biedermeier period. Jean Paul's treatment of idyllic themes centring on figures of slightly ridiculous and at the same time pathetic schoolmasters, clergymen and cantors, finds a counterpart in a later painter, Karl Spitzweg (1808-85), typical of the Biedermeier spirit. On the other hand his more ambitious novels are imbued with romantic idealism and harp on the contrast between pure heroes actuated by unflinching aspirations and demonic natures tormented by interior conflicts (*Die unsichtbare Loge*, *Esperus*, *Der Komet*, and particularly *Titan*, 1800-3). Though loaded with didactic bias (Jean Paul wrote also on education, combining Rousseau and

Kant in the treatise *Levana oder Erziehlehre*) these novels are relieved by humour, which the author considered an efficacious means of education, and by a number of descriptions, meditations and observations conceived in a delicate and musical strain bordering on poetry. In Ernst Theodor Amadeus Hoffmann (1776–1822) the humorous notes are inextricably blended with the bizarre and uncanny ones. He greatly contributed to the legends about his eccentric personality of which all his works bear the unforgettable stamp, from ghost-stories to evocations of places real or fantastic, in which he can be minutely realistic (*Des Vetters Eckfenster*) or recklessly swayed by the whims of an unbridled imagination (*Phantasiestücke in Callots Manier*, 1814, *Prinzessin Brambilla*, *Nachtstücke*, 1817, *Serapionsbrüder*, 1819–21, *Lebensansichten des Katers Murr*, 1820–22, and especially *Die Elixiere des Teufels*, 1816, partly derived from Lewis' *Monk*, the most famous of his novels on account of the macabre and sinister elements which appealed to the taste of the period). The magical and diabolical strain of Adalbert von Chamisso's (1781–1838) little novel, *Peter Schlemihls wunderbare Geschichte*, the story of the man who sold his shadow, made the reputation of an otherwise second-rate talent; the vogue for this type of story is witnessed in other countries by Charles Robert Maturin's *Melmoth the Wanderer*, 1820, which, though largely under German influence, shows an original insight into the terrors of the soul almost anticipating Poe's and by Balzac's *La Peau de chagrin*, 1831. On a single fantastic story (*Undine*) rests also the fame of Friedrich Heinrich de la Motte Fouqué (1777–1843); in this case, however, the fairy theme breathes only delicate poetry, as in the eerie world of Joseph Karl von Eichendorff's (1788–1857) tales. Eichendorff and Chamisso belong to the second romantic generation, which contributed the names of Kleist and Werner to the field of the drama.

Heinrich Wilhelm von Kleist (1777–1811), who concluded with a suicide his unhappy life, treated the theme of the conflict between a pure individual and a corrupt society in four great tragedies (*Penthesilea*, 1807, *Das Käthchen von Heilbronn*, 1808, *Die Hermannsschlacht*, posthumously published in 1821, and *Prinz Friedrich Homburg*, 1810), and though the yearning after an extremely high ideal is the author's main source of inspiration, the despair of not being able to achieve it elicits from him a violent treatment which, in the case of *Penthesilea*, rises to a hysterical fury and causes the work to resemble superficially the products of the frantic school of popular romanticism; on the other hand, it bears also a resemblance to Richard Strauss' kind of musical violence (*Elektra*, *Salome*). Certain elements which had fascinated the audience in the plays of the Sturm und Drang dramatists (a sense of mystery and fatality, and sheer declamatory rhetoric) were taken up by Zacharias Werner (1768–1823), who treated subjects from the Germanic past, and in *Der vierundzwanzigste Februar*, 1809 (inspired by George Lillo's *Fatal Curiosity*, 1736), heralded that *Schicksalstragödie* which later on became so fashionable on the European stage. The horrible theme (the killing of a stranger by a ruined peasant, who finds too late that the victim is his son) was so congenial to the

taste of the period that Goethe sponsored the play and Madame de Staël 'wept precious tears' at the performance.

While Germany, chiefly owing to Goethe's genius, was at the head of the romantic movement, the romantic lyric found its highest expression in England. The first generation of the great English romantic poets presents an ethical attitude as marked as the aesthetic one. The return to national traditions, of the people and the countryside, announced in the programme of the *Lyrical Ballads* (1798) by William Wordsworth (1770–1856) and Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834)—the so-called Lake poets, from the region of the Lakes (Cumberland and Westmorland) where they resided—is a cognate phenomenon to that renewal of the ethical foundations of society which took place with the French Revolution, whose influence was felt for a time by the English poets. Ideals of political and moral freedom are inseparable from the inspiration of Byron and Shelley, and the third great poet of the second romantic generation, Keats, transcends his early aestheticism in a well-defined consciousness of the significance of beauty and sorrow in the world, and of the poet's mission in it.

The programme of the *Lyrical Ballads* announces the revival of that creative originality, that free play of emotional and imaginative life which had once characterized the Elizabethan period. It is an actual restoration of the sense of wonder of the child, according to Wordsworth's famous *Ode on Intimations of Immortality from Recollections of Early Childhood* (1807). In order to express the sense of this mystery, Wordsworth proposed to transfigure humdrum reality with the help of a homely and significant language, whereas Coleridge aimed at making the supernatural real and palpable. In this latter sense *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner* (published in the *Lyrical Ballads*) represents the highest achievement of European romanticism. The national revival thus advocated by Wordsworth and Coleridge had, however, no following. The poets themselves came back to traditional ideas when the Terror first, then the Napoleonic conquests, had alienated them from the revolutionary ideals. Wordsworth diluted the message of human brotherhood in the orthodox didacticism of *The Excursion* (1814; the successive stages of his spiritual crisis were analysed by the poet in *The Prelude*, composed 1799–1805, published 1850); Coleridge tried to reconcile German idealism, whose mouthpiece he had become, with the Anglican faith. An intuition for the natural scene is at the root of Wordsworth's poetry; he has a genius for isolating the essential in things, and giving a massive, perennial image of them; when facing Nature the poet seems to be again stirred to those feelings of awe and wonder which inspired the primeval myths. Hence his belief in the child's power of penetrating the mystery of things better than grown-up man (according to the Platonic idea of recollection of a divine existence before birth); hence his selection of humble and elementary characters as protagonists of his poems. *The Solitary Reaper*, *The Reverie of Poor Susan*, 'I wandered lonely as a cloud', the *Sonnet Composed on Westminster Bridge*, are good illustrations of

Wordsworth's gift for rendering the impact made by natural sights on the soul of man, while the 'Lucy poems' show his power of encompassing in terse, concise language the deepest emotions. The feeling that the poet draws from Nature is one of 'organic pleasure': the peace of Nature becomes, as it were, an emblem of the peace to which moral man should aspire. And happiness is no longer to be sought in some Utopia, in dreams of the Revolution or of a social regeneration like that preached by William Godwin (1756–1836, the author of the *Enquiry concerning Political Justice*, 1793, and the adapter of the tale of terror to didactic aims). Happiness must be sought upon this humble earth on which we live: a concept which was to become fundamental in George Eliot's conception of life; a Biedermeier concept, as are also the poems written by Wordsworth, at the beginning of the century, in which the poet turns to the birds that know the ways of wisdom better than man with all his books. The stars in their unchangeable courses, the patient hills that endure without complaint the sun's ardours and the shock of the storm, the days and the seasons in their comings and goings, the birds, the flowers, the clouds—these things, to Wordsworth, seem never to be rebellious or weary: their life appears to him not only beautiful, but full of a profound sense of joy, a joy in which men could have a share if they would discover the law of their own being, and obey it without murmuring. That is the form in which reaction to the revolutionary gospel of freedom manifests itself in Wordsworth: for the Romantics Nature was the symbol of freedom, for him it becomes the symbol of law.

Although Coleridge's poetical production is uneven, his major poems (*The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, *Christabel* and *Kubla Khan*) show powers unsurpassed by any of his contemporaries: the psychological situations expressed in them are like dreams of haunted souls: they mirror the tragedy of the life of the poet himself, who was a passive feckless character, a procrastinator who dissipated his energies in inconclusive plans and journalistic work. The beauty of those marvellous poems consists chiefly in their music and colour: a subtle play of shades takes place within the slender outlines of the verse, as in Oriental painting. His critical and philosophical production is abundant, though shapeless; his contribution to the development of English philosophy is nevertheless remarkable. He initiated his countrymen into the German idealistic system[3] (he had visited Germany in 1798–9); as a thinker he paves the way to Carlyle, as a critic he is among the first to bring back the appreciation of the Elizabethans. All enthusiasm for the French Revolution having been extinguished in him, thanks to the influence of the anti-Jacobin Burke, there developed in him conservative tendencies; he rejected revolution and was for a gradual, natural evolution of the life of the State; and it was exactly in this direction that English politics in the Victorian era were to develop.

In England the currents of bourgeois thought which dominate the first portion of the nineteenth century are closely connected with the economic development of the middle class, and continue the eighteenth-century rationalist tradition; this is chiefly the case with Jeremy Bentham, whose

utilitarianism was tempered later by John Stuart Mill, with Thomas Robert Malthus, who recommended the restriction of population in order to reduce poverty, with David Ricardo, who applied utilitarianism to political economy and preached free trade. These currents inspired the policy of the Liberals who took over the Whig inheritance and prepared the Victorian compromise. The quintessence of the Whig spirit, moderate and positive, is embodied in the writings of Sydney Smith (1771-1845), an Anglican clergyman who promoted political and utilitarian reforms; his polemic art makes one think of a milder and more humane Swift.

The Liberal campaign for reforms finds a counterpart in the spirit of rebellion which animates the great poets of the second romantic generation, although the source of inspiration is different in the politicians and the poets. It is possible to detect an affinity between the romantics' return to nature and William Cobbett's aggressive liberalism;[4] but there is hardly any similarity between the Liberal currents which culminated in the Reform Bill and Byron's and Shelley's aristocratic anarchism. Byron and Shelley, whose spirit was in unison with the revolutionary movements of the Continent, were ostracized in England; both found a second home in Italy.

George Gordon Byron (1788-1824) was first of all the creator of a fashion which spread the more rapidly as the type of the passionate outlaw, the fatal man, had already been foreshadowed in Europe during the first romantic wave (in Schiller's drama *Die Räuber*, in the tales of terror, etc.). Contemporary Europe saw in Byron the very essence of the revolutionary spirit, the symbol of that *mal du siècle* spleen: hence the enormous influence exerted by the author of *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (first two cantos 1812, third canto 1817, fourth 1818) and of the tales in verse (1813-16: *The Giaour, The Bride of Abydos, The Corsair, Lara, The Siege of Corinth, Parisina*). But Byron's romanticism is confined to the moral attitude; his imagination lacks the subtle shades of the real romantics. Byron, *qua* artist, still belongs to the eighteenth century (he greatly admired Pope); he writes first-hand poetry when he chatters in verse (as in his letters to his friends he chatters in prose), in *Beppo* (1818), his first attempt to write a mock-heroic poem on Italian models (Luigi Pulci, and Giovan Battista Casti's—1724-1803—*Poema tartaro*, 1797), *The Vision of Judgment* (1822) and *Don Juan* (which began to be published in 1819); for these poems he may be linked to the eighteenth-century humorists and satirical writers. An abiding feature of the great romantic poets has been the capacity to see the two aspects of reality, the severe and ecstatic figures of the saints and the grinning gargoyles of that cathedral, life. Thus Goethe and Hugo saw the world, and even more so did Byron, whose career as a poet falls neatly into two periods divided by the climacteric year 1816 in which he abandoned England in consequence of the scandal connected with the separation from his wife. While Harold had much in common with the protagonist of Schiller's *Räuber*, Don Juan clearly pointed the way to Pushkin and Heine. More than Byron's art (of whose shortcomings the Continentals

were hardly aware), it was the tremendous charge of vitality and energy of his verse which fired his contemporaries throughout Europe. Though his ideas about liberty were confused, the vision he had of tyranny was clear; fire and vitriol were the weapons he used against it, and the voice of this single man rose higher than the cautious and hypocritical verbiage of European chancelleries.

While in England Byron's influence prevailed only over minor writers, and it was merely a passing phase in the case of those who were to become leaders in the literary field (about 1830 Carlyle wrote the famous sentence: 'Close thy Byron, open thy Goethe'), on the Continent Byron's reputation soon surpassed that of all other foreign writers, and his works found hosts of translators and imitators. In Italy he was equally praised by the romantics and the classicists, and Vincenzo Monti said that his romanticism was of such a kind that Homer himself would have forgiven him; however, also in Italy his influence is noticeable only on minor writers, such as Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi, who drew inspiration also from Mrs Radcliffe for his turbid novels, and a number of Calabrian imitators of the tales in verse; Mazzini, though, said of him that 'the eternal spirit of intellect free from fetters never found a more splendid incarnation'. Byron's influence played a major role in Spanish romanticism (a peripheral movement which produced much *littérature engagée* and rhetorical flashes: the names of Manuel José Quintana, 1772–1857, the poet of the war of independence against Napoleon, Francisco Martinez de la Rose, the Duke of Rivas, and Antonio García Gutiérez, may be remembered: the last two supplied Verdi with subjects for *La Forza del destino* [1862] and *Il Trovatore* [1853] respectively); Spanish romanticism culminated in the performance, in 1837, of *Los amantes de Teruel*, the dramatic rendering of an old legend by Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch, and in José Zorrilla's (1817–93) drama *Don Juan Tenorio* (1844) on a subject created by Tirso de Molina with *El Burlador de Sevilla* (1630), rehandled by Dumas père in *Don Juan de Marana* (1836) and by Mérimée in the story *Les Ames du Purgatoire* (1834), from both of which Zorrilla derived: the most famous Spanish poet of the nineteenth century, José de Espronceda (1808–42) not only imitated Byron in his works, but tried to build, like Byron, a legend about his own stormy life and restless personality. Byron exerted also a passing influence on the national poet of Hungary, Sándor Petofi (1823–49), of whom Hermann Grimm wrote this high praise: 'Petöfi, Homer, Dante, Shakespeare and Goethe appear sometimes as the recurring incarnations of one same poet.'

Ethical romanticism in Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822) (in whom Godwin's anarchical rationalism becomes an exaltation of the instincts, and eighteenth-century atheistical materialism turns into idealistic pantheism) goes together—as is not the case with Byron—with a powerful imagination: his myth-begetting lyrical inspiration represents the quintessence of European romanticism (for example, in the *Ode to the West Wind*, *The Cloud*, *To a*

Skylark, To Jane: the Recollection, The Sensitive Plant, etc.). Shelley, who saw himself as the apostle of a new religion, humanized Nature and made all Earth's aspirations converge towards a freer and more ethereal type of mankind (*Prometheus Unbound,* a dramatic poem published in 1820): the goal is still dim in the mist, but the poet yearns towards it with all his might, his song seems to soar on the wings of powerful images, in wider and wider circles, until it loses itself in a dazzling light, where things and words lose weight and hover in a halo of mysterious possibilities. Shelley's poetry, full of vague suggestions and ethereal charm, possesses opposite qualities to those of classical poetry.

It is a well-known fact that romanticism in England failed to produce great drama. When Lord Byron turned to the stage, he took for a model the tragedies of Vittorio Alfieri (1749-1803), the greatest Italian poet of the eighteenth century who, though of noble birth, had written an enthusiastic ode for the fall of the Bastille, but later had found that the tyranny of the populace was worse than that of the kings and had become violently anti-French. Though his mind was still steeped in the philosophical climate of the Age of Reason, his feelings were those of a romantic; his obsessive hatred of tyranny, his Plutarchan idea of virtue (his autobiography, *Vita,* is conceived according to an ideal pattern), his clear-cut contrasts, to the point of hardness, between passions and duties, his boundless individualism, show him a contemporary of the Stürmer und Dränger on one side, and of the French neo-classical painter David on the other. Like this latter, he compressed a passionate, revolutionary spirit in the statuesque forms of a stiff classicism (*Saul,* 1782, and *Mirra,* written between 1784 and 1787, are the most powerful of his tragedies). It was the passionate contents clothed in a marble-like form that made Alfieri congenial to Byron, but Byron's dramas, with the exception perhaps of *Cain,* did not impress his contemporaries so much as his poems. The place of dramatic literature during the English romantic period can be said to have been taken by the novels of Walter Scott (1771-1832). Having abandoned poetry (in which he had had notable successes with *The Lay of the Last Minstrel,* 1805, and *The Lady of the Lake,* 1810) after Byron's triumph in that field, Scott turned to novel-writing; in 1814 and following years he wrote a series of retrospective novels of Scottish life (*Waverley, Guy Mannering, The Antiquary, Old Mortality, Rob Roy, The Heart of Midlothian, The Bride of Lammermoor, The Legend of Montrose*), and in 1819 he produced a work which was in perfect unison with romantic taste: *Ivanhoe,* a historical reconstruction of twelfth-century England, the epoch of Richard Coeur-de-lion and the Crusaders; this novel, together with *Quentin Durward* (1823), whose plot takes place in France, under Louis XI, had an enormous influence in Europe, starting as it did the vogue for the 'historical novel', in which the writer's imagination avails itself of all the resources of learned research. Thus Scott opened a limitless field for the exotic yearning of the romantics to exploit. Other novels of Scott have for their background Scotland in the time

of Mary Stuart, England under Queen Elizabeth, etc. The epic rhythm of the narrative redeems much that is conventional in the plots and characters of these novels; their most vital portions are those in which Scott gives a fresh and living picture of Scottish popular life: a kind of genre-painting achieved with the gusto of a facile, but rich, comical vein. A romantic for his love of the picturesque and the Middle Ages, Scott's was a balanced nature, with no trace of the more intimate aspects of romantic sensibility; he does not share the taste for mystery and horror which characterizes the authors of 'tales of terror', his immediate predecessors. In fact, bereft of the fictitious background of second-hand medieval stage-scenery with which he loved to surround himself, this Scottish laird with his very provincial accent and kindly sense of humour, this creator of *bambocciate* in the Dutch manner, appears to us as one of the forerunners of Victorian bourgeois literature; and it was this aspect of him—which escaped, or appeared of secondary importance to so many of his contemporaries, especially on the Continent—that was to make so strong an impression upon his great Italian follower, Alessandro Manzoni (1785-1873).

The *Promessi sposi* (1825-27), in fact, owes only the external form of a historical novel to Walter Scott: in reality it could be called, as George Eliot's *Silas Marner* has been called, a 'lyrical ballad' in prose. For while on the whole the romantic vogue affected only external elements in Italy, such as the use of medieval instead of Arcadian paraphernalia, or ghosts and apparitions instead of classical allegories and divinities (the fashionable aspect of romanticism is apparent in Vincenzo Monti [1754-1828], the official poet of Napoleonic Italy, whose polished verse could not hide the vagueness and late baroque taste for allegories and artificial contrasts: he imitated *Ossian* and Goethe, but in his outmoded garb whole passages of *Werther* become unrecognizable; Foscolo, too, remodelled his juvenile autobiographical novel, *Le ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis*, on *Werther*, and clothed in superb neo-classical verse a theme from Gray's *Elegy* in his *Sepolcri*), there was one side of romanticism, familiar to the English through the poetry of Wordsworth, which struck firm roots in Italy: that interest in the lives of humble folk that found its first expression in Gray's *Elegy*, became the leading theme of Wordsworth, and culminated in the message of George Eliot. Wordsworth's programme as outlined in a passage of the *Prelude* (text of 1805-6, XII, 161-68, 181-84, 231-40) is also Mazoni's programme. Mazoni, too, takes the dignity of the humble, the true, and the ordinary for his theme, and his language is calculated to appeal to the heart and enlist the sympathies of everybody through its direct simplicity; like Wordsworth, he aimed at doing away with the time-hallowed distinction between the language used in literature and everyday speech. He sees the role the humble folk play in history, indeed in his eyes it is they who really make history, and not all of them together as armies or social groups, or indiscriminate crowds, but each one on his own, with his individual face and his little patrimony of feelings, ideas, and good works. Manzoni's creed in this respect comes very close to Tolstoy's who in *War and Peace* (Book IV, Part 1, 4)

insists on the importance of the anonymous crowd, of the acts which history fails to record: the same democratic creed George Eliot embodied in *Felix Holt* (Vol. I, ch. XVI). Indeed the whole of Manzoni's production, including his lyric poetry and tragedies as well as his great novel, is instinct with sympathy for the oppressed, for the tears no one has ever comforted in the course of centuries, for the toil and the sacrifices which form the web of history; for the weak who tremble in silence, for the dispersed and nameless tribes; Ermengarda (in the tragedy *Adelchi*, 1822) is redeemed and exalted by her humiliation, Napoleon (in the famous ode *Il Cinque Maggio*, which Goethe admired and translated), and Carmagnola (in the drama which bears his name) are enlightened and saved by misfortune and death. In one important point, however, Manzoni's idea of humanity is different from Wordsworth's on one side and Tolstoy's on the other: humility is for him a disposition of the soul rather than a social position; only the man who does not presume to fashion his own life but accepts it as it is, is truly humble. The parallel of Manzoni with Wordsworth could be extended to the evolution of the ideas of the two writers, who both started as followers of French rationalism and ended in a moderate Christian conformity, which tended towards conservatism in Wordsworth, and towards liberalism in Manzoni; and also to their careers, for both became 'teachers' in the latter part of their lives, as cultural and educational interests took the place of poetic inspiration and artistic production.

While the new themes and forms introduced by Byron and Scott soon became the fashion throughout Europe, and characterized the external physiognomy of romanticism, the more intimate aspects of romantic sensibility found expression, after Coleridge, in the classical exoticism of John Keats (1795–1821). Enthusiasm for the art of ancient Greece (fostered by Lempière's classical dictionary and the Elgin marbles) directed the poet's romantic imagination (which had first blossomed in the luxuriant romance, *Endymion*, 1818) towards a cult of the classical world, which contains the seeds of later romantic developments such as the decadent school at the end of the century. Although he may be called the father of aestheticism, Keats is no mere aesthete: his deeper poetry has an ethical basis; he fights rationalism by upholding a view of life as a gift to be accepted in its entirety and, as such, endowed with beauty. Such is the meaning of the famous conclusion of the *Ode on a Grecian Urn:*

> 'Beauty is Truth, Truth Beauty,—that is all
> Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know.'

The poet, who in *Endymion* yearned after a life of sensations rather than thoughts, and professed himself a devotee of Beauty, listens to a deeper inspiration in the prodigious poetical output of 1819, chiefly in the odes (*Ode to a Nightingale*, *Ode on a Grecian Urn*, *To Autumn*, *Ode on Melancholy*, *Ode*

to Psyche), and in the unfinished poem, *Hyperion*, where the progress of the universe is represented as a transmission of the kingdom of heaven to still 'more beautiful' gods; immeasurable knowledge and sympathy for human sorrow make a man-god of Apollo, a more perfect deity. Other poems of 1819, such as *Lamia, Isabella, The Eve of St Agnes, La Belle Dame sans Merci*, obeyed a more sensuous and decorative inspiration, and illustrate a romantic taste for the Middle Ages, which was to be taken up by the Pre-Raphaelites. By continuing the glorious tradition of Spenser, Shakespeare, Chapmen, and Milton, Keat's verse marks the highest point of perfection achieved by romanticism.

In the tracks of Wordsworth's idea of the progress of the soul described in the *Lines written abuve Tintern Abbey*, Keats compared human life to a large mansion of many apartments (letter to J. H. Reynolds, 3 May 1818):

'The first we step into we call the infant or thoughtless Chamber, in which we remain as long as we do not think. We remain there a long while, and notwithstanding the doors of the second Chamber remain wide open, showing a bright appearance, we care not to hasten to it; but are at length imperceptibly impelled by the awakening of the thinking principle—within us—we no sooner get into the second Chamber, which I shall call the Chamber of Maiden Thoughts, than we become intoxicated with the light and the atmosphere, we see nothing but pleasant wonders, and think of delaying there for ever in delight: However among the effects this breathing is father of is that tremendous one of sharpening one's vision into the heart and nature of Man—of convincing one's nerves that the World is full of Misery and Heartbreak, Pain, Sickness and oppression—whereby this Chamber of Maiden Thought becomes gradually darken'd and at the same time on all sides of it many doors are set open—but all dark—all leading to dark passages—We see not the balance of good and evil. We are in a Mist—*We* are now in that state—We feel the "burden of the Mystery".'

There is a striking similarity between Keats' passage and a passage in the *Zibaldone*, the jotting-book written from 1817 to 1832 by Giacomo Leopardi (1798–1837), where the great Italian romantic poet considers three different ways of seeing and appreciating things: the first proper to children and primitive people, entirely illusory, fantastic, poetical, previous to the knowledge of truth, and therefore happy, but ephemeral; the second proper to grown-up and civilized men, who accept mediocrity, poverty, in a word the prose of everyday life, and find satisfaction in it and a kind of happiness suitable to common beings; and finally the third, full of unhappiness and misery, lugubrious, mad, but still the only true one, proper to those who, having come out of ignorant infancy, perceive the nothingness and emptiness of life. This third manner of looking at things, this mood of despair and lucid madness proper to all 'sensitive and gifted men' was adopted by Leopardi, who, persuaded that Nature is evil and cruel to man, advocated solidarity and com-

passion among men, so as to mitigate the blows of their destiny: the attitude of Goethe's Prometheus, echoed by other leading poets of the nineteenth century (Hölderlin, Byron, Shelley, Vigny). This stoical attitude instinct with love and compassion for his fellow-men, which culminated in Leopardi's last group of poems (*Pensiero dominante, Amore e Morte, A se stesso,* and most of all *La ginestra*), shows that the great Italian pessimist poet was a brother spirit of Keats, whose final message was a similar heroic acceptance of life as a whole. Another group of Leopardi's poems illustrates his awareness of the humble life around him, and belongs to the main trend of Italian nineteenth-century literature, which was, in one way or another, linked with the people, either by inspiration, or character. (We have already mentioned Manzoni, and we name here two great vernacular poets, Carlo Porta, 1775–1821, and Gioacchino Belli, 1791–1863, who adopted the dialect, the former of Milan, the latter of Rome, for the picture of the life of the lower classes of their respective towns, and surpassed in vividness and wit, most contemporary poets writing in the literary language.) Some of the greatest poems of the aristocratic Leopardi were not those conceived in the solemn, time-hallowed form of the *canzone* (*All'Italia, Ad Angelo Mai,* etc.), but the idylls suggested by the life of humble folk of the little town where he was born: *Il sabato del villaggio, La sera del dì di festa, Il passero solitario, A Silvia.*

The mood of regret for the imagined happiness of a primitive world, which is no more than a note among many in Leopardi (the poem *Alla Primavera*, 1822), takes the form of a yearning for, and an idealization of, ancient Greece in Hölderlin and Keats. In a sense they had a forerunner in France in André Chénier (1762–94), who, like Foscolo, had a Greek mother, travelled in Italy and fell a victim to the Terror. A delicate humanist, he tried to combine the sweet cadences of Racine with the majesty and spontaneity of Homer and the poetic simplicity of Theocritus; he was an Alexandrian enriched by the experience of the voluptuous and refined eighteenth century; his motto was: *Sur des pensers nouveaux faisons des vers antiques,* and he conceived the plan of great didactic poems in which he would have embodied the ideas of the Encyclopaedists and Buffon. His most celebrated poems, *La Jeune, Tarentine* and *La Jeune Captive*, breathe through their classical garb a tender romantic sensibility saturated with a voluptuous melancholy; they were published, together with the rest of his work, only in 1819.

The contrast between followers of the classical principles and romantics which was rife in Europe in the early nineteenth century took into account only externals; as we have noticed already, romantic sensibility was common to both. This fact, which appears obvious to our modern eyes, escaped those who wrote about literary theory at the time: they presumed to make clear-cut distinctions, to oppose two completely different worlds to each other. Thus Madame de Staël (Germaine Necker, 1766–1817) in her famous book *De l'Allemagne*, 1810 (whose suppression, ordered by Napoleon, is the best-known episode of the Emperor's relentless campaign against any form of

freedom of speech) divided universal literature into two great fields with opposite characters: North and South, Christianity and paganism, Middle Ages and Antiquity, finally romanticism and classicism;

'pagan poetry has to be simple and vivacious like external objects, Christian poetry needs the thousand colours of the rainbow in order not to get lost in the clouds'.

Following the lead of August Wilhelm Schlegel, Madame de Staël became with that work the apologist of the romantic school; she contributed to spread in France the cult for Shakespeare, who had at first been exalted, then called a barbarian, by Voltaire; but her two novels, *Delphine* (1802) and *Corinne, ou l'Italie* (1807), though instinct with a warm faith in the creative and liberating power of thought, a faith she defended against the dictatorship of Napoleon, reflect a far from romantic temper, and completely lack magic of style.

This was on the contrary the chief characteristic of the other great writer who together with Madame de Staël greatly contributed to the triumph of romanticism in France, François-René de Chateaubriand (1768–1848). Chateaubriand's literary career offers in one point a curious analogy with that of Byron, whom he described as a plagiarist of his *René* (1805), whose protagonist had similar traits to Childe Harold's: a fatal man who wandered and indulged in meditation among the ruins of the ancient world. The analogy was probably due to common sources of inspiration: both authors admired Milton's Satan, and Werther's influence was in the air. (The same influences are at work in another typically romantic book, Etienne Pivert de Sénancour's [1770–1846] *Obermann* [1804] which shows a man's will disintegrating for metaphysical reasons.) Pride, a self-centred attitude, weakness of will—all contributed to concentrate Chateaubriand's life in his imagination. Whether he describes exotic countries (America, which inspired that famous episode, *Atala*, 1801, the Near East, on which he wrote a standard travel book, *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*, Spain, which forms the background of the *Aventures du dernier Abencérage*, 1826), or musters arguments in favour of religion (*Génie du Christianisme*, 1802), he constantly has recourse to images: he clothes with images both his grand and melancholy visions and his frequently naïve reasonings. He knows how to find the images which make the deepest appeal to the emotions; he stirs the religious feeling of the French through his picturesque and pathetic descriptions, where he conjures up tender, solemn and mystical ideas in defence of Christianity, which the Encyclopaedists had presented in a hateful and grotesque light. His religion was based on ideas proper to a poet and an artist. Side by side with its aspect of religious propaganda, his *Génie du Christianisme* had a no less important one, of literary manifesto: Chateaubriand pronounced the classical school dead, because it had turned its back on religious truth; a Christian nation must find inspiration only in the living religion, as the medieval artists had done in their candour; he declared also that the classical school had confined itself to the

study of man, whereas it was necessary to watch Nature, the work and image of God, and thus make imagination richer and deeper. Mythology, which had belittled nature, had to be banished, and Gothic art and the Bible had to take its place. Thus the *Génie du Christianisme* joined Madame de Staël's *De l'Allemagne* in laying the foundations of French romanticism. The most remarkable of Chateaubriand's work is however the autobiographical *Mémoires d'outre-tombe* (posthumously published in 1849), for he was incapable of creating a live character: all the women of his stories belong to the same type of figure idealized by love, reminding one of the insipid lithographs of the period (with the exception, perhaps, of Velleda, the Druidess of *Les Martyrs*, 1809, who was possibly inspired by the heroine of M. G. Lewis' *Monk*, and was to inspire Bellini's *Norma*), and all his heroes are rhetorical dramatizations of his own self. When he describes the sensations and emotions stirred by a landscape, Chateaubriand is one of the greatest word-painters who ever existed: Hugo's picturesque descriptions, epic visions and use of historical erudition owe much to him; and his fatal hero contributed with Byron's to the creation of a myth. The whole French poetry of the first half of the nineteenth century has its deep source in his work.

Chateaubriand's melancholy was bequeathed on Alphonse de Lamartine (1790–1869), who was brought to the limelight by his *Méditations poétiques* in 1820; he lacked, however, Chateaubriand's bitterness, and though he possessed an equally vast imagination, he had not his eye for precise and picturesque details, so that we are not arrested by anything striking in the melodius flow of his verse, but we are only lulled by waves of delightful music. His lyre responds to all sweet feelings: love, filial love, domestic love, love of God; but was never disturbed by the *mal du siècle*, by Harold's and René's spleen. However, after the surprise caused by the new manner of the first *Méditations*, his *Nouvelles Méditations*, 1823, and his *Harmonies poétiques et religieuses*, 1830, were no novelty; he followed the taste of his time in trying to overcome the personal strain by philosophical and humanitarian poetry, and wrote, as fragments of a vast spiritual epos on human destiny, *Jocelyn* (1836) and *La Chute d'un ange* (1838), casting on everything a halo of misty sadness, sublime and vague hopes, and hazy symbolism; the souvenir of an early sojourn in Naples was consecrated by him in the sweet story of *Graziella*, 1852, which enjoyed a wide popularity.

The enormous success of his *Méditations* (two editions of which were sold out in a few days, eight in a year's time; in ten years some forty thousand copies were sold) was largely due to the fact that Lamartine was the perfect incarnation of the type of the poet at a time when a poet was looked upon as the ideal of a higher humanity, a kind of pensive Messiah who took upon himself all the sorrow and hopes of men, and led these latter towards the kingdoms of pure spirit. This explains also the triumph of Alfred de Vigny's (1797–1863) drama on *Chatterton* (1835), in which the young English poet by his suicide eluded all the malign powers which humiliate and enthral. Vigny's complete

figure as a lyric poet was revealed only with the posthumous publication of *Les Destinées* (1864): a lyric poet who chose to express his emotions through the medium of symbolic figures: Moses, Jesus, a wolf, a bottle cast on the shore by the waves (*Moïse, Le Mont des Oliviers, La Mort du loup, La Bouteille à la mer*). The keynote of this poetry is solitude, and the bitter anguish which accompanies it; the poet feels that men are indifferent or hostile, nature impassible, disdainful in her beauty (thus in *La Maison du Berger*, a poem which may justify a comparison with Leopardi, and contains already many themes which Baudelaire was going to appropriate), and that the skies are immense and deserted: if God exists, he turns a deaf ear to the cry of his creatures. Whatever exists, suffers, and superior beings the more so; therefore wisdom consists in a calm despair, a virile resignation, which is stoical, but not apathetic; compassion for mankind produces love, and man is greater than God, because he, at least, can sacrifice himself and die for the being he loves. Vigny wrote also a historical novel, *Cinq-Mars* (1826), dramatic and picturesque, though falsifying the facts, and other narrative works (*Stello*, 1832, and *Servitude et grandeur militaires*, 1835).

The restless political history of France during the nineteenth century—Napoleon's tyranny, revolutionary violence that twice (1830 and 1848) shook the monarchy, the rise of the proletariat, the dawn of socialism and communism, minor risings, and the plots, the outrages—all this climate of uncertainty and strife is reflected by romantic literature: hence its fondness for gloomy tonalities, its enthusiasm for all the myths—political, scientific, religious—bred by dissatisfaction with the present, its yearning towards a higher and nobler kind of life. Hence, also, the widespread sympathy for all the themes which symbolize the drama of a soul which fights against destiny: literary works teem with rebels, knights of the Ideal, seekers after the infinite; the traits of the Wandering Jew, of Faust, Don Juan, and Christ repeat themselves in innumerable characters. Influence of foreign literatures, which was never so powerful as in this period, favoured these tendencies; Shakespeare, Byron, Schiller, Goethe, Hoffmann were extensively read and imitated; Goethe's Faust in particular seemed a symbol of the thirst of infinity which haunted the spirits. The bizarre and gifted poet Gérard de Nerval (1808–55), who ended his tragic life by killing himself, was well read in the German romantics (especially Hoffmann), and translated *Faust* (1828). His obsessive theme was the adoration of a dreamlike woman through her various incarnations as Isis, the Madonna, most of all the Queen of Sheba, the mysterious Aurélie of the work of this title, whose last pages were found in the pocket of the suicide: the magic of some of his sonnets and stories (*Sylvie*, 1854) and of some travel impressions is deservedly famous.

But the stormy political history of France is chiefly mirrored in the most versatile writer of the time, who was first of all an epic poet, Victor Hugo (1802–85). When in 1823 the first romantic coterie formed round Charles Nodier (1783–1844) who, in the wake of German literature, had introduced

many romantic *clichés*, Hugo had friendly relations with the members of that coterie, but refused to be classified either as a classicist or a romantic. But suddenly from a laggard he became a leader with his preface of the drama *Cromwell* (1827), in which he brilliantly condensed the ideas of Diderot, Madame de Staël and others, and asserted that 'whatever exists in Nature exists also in art', that the antithesis between the beautiful and the ugly, the sublime and the grotesque could be overcome only in art: Shakespeare had shown how tragedy and comedy could coexist. Following his example, romantic art would reflect life in its entirety. Beauty, as Diderot had said, consisted in 'character'. Rules and conventions of the literary genres were henceforth abolished, as opposed to the free performance of Nature, which seizes what is typical, either beautiful or ugly, in each being. Hugo was joined by Charles-Augustin Sainte-Beuve (1804–69), who began as a poet (*Vie, poésies et pensées de Joseph Delorme*, 1829) and a novelist a literary career in which he was to excel as a critic noted for his subtle psychological penetration (*Causeries du lundi*, 1841–62, *Nouveaux Lundis*, 1863–72, etc.): Sainte-Beuve tried to justify romanticism by connecting it with the tradition of the Pléiade and with André Chénier, and making of it chiefly a question of artistic technique; but towards 1835 he put an end to the misunderstanding about his romanticism, and became that independent critic possessing a sure taste and an unflagging aesthetic sensibility who is still considered a master.

Hugo's chief triumphs before 1850 were in the field of the historical novel (*Notre-Dame de Paris*, 1831, the greatest among European novels inspired by Scott) and on the stage, where his dramas abounding in lyrical and epic elements outshined those of Alexandre Dumas père (1803–70) who produced a number of historical dramas in prose before dedicating himself to the historical novels which were to make him so popular. Some of Hugo's dramas survive nowadays thanks to Verdi's music (*Le Roi s'amuse*, 1832, which supplied the subject of *Rigoletto*; *Hernani*, 1830, from which Verdi took the plot of *Ernani*). Exiled for his republican ideas at the accession of Napoleon III, Hugo gave himself up to an intense literary activity first in Belgium, then in the Channel Islands where he fixed his home: indignation inspired him with prophetic and caustic verse (*Les Châtiments*, 1853), while in the field of the intimate emotions he wrote some of his best poems in *Les Contemplations* (1856); humanitarian philosophy and love of the picturesque combined in a masterpiece, *La Légende des siècles* (1859): these three collections of verse contain the best of Hugo's poetical output. To the same period belong the novels *Les Misérables* (1862) and *Les Travailleurs de la mer* (1866): the former, an uneven and often chaotic, both historical and philosophical novel, shows the spiritual rise of an individual (Jean Valjean, an idealized character, still the most true to life of all the characters created by Hugo) through repentance and voluntary atonement; depicts the oppressed and suffering low classes and a self-satisfied and egotistical bourgeoisie, and exalts the virtues of humble folk, the outcasts of society (a convict, a prostitute), in contrast with the vices

of respectable people. This humanitarian novel had a no less powerful influence abroad, particularly in Russia, than Dickens' novels with which it had in common also the realistic description of interiors and urban scenery.

With an imagination and a sensibility vastly superior to his intelligence, though he presumed to be a thinker and a philosopher, Hugo is first of all a superb painter of frescoes: everything in him becomes vision, image, frequently powerful, at times far-fetched and verbose; the *Légende des siècles*, a prodigious gallery of paintings illustrating the history of mankind from a humanitarian and democratic point of view, breathes a mythopœic spirit: we almost see reviving in it the inspiration of the medieval 'moralities', made infinitely more effective by a soaring fantasy and a masterly art: some have not hesitated to compare it to the *Divina Commedia*.

In order to give a complete survey of Hugo's work we have pushed as far as the second half of the nineteenth century; let us now come back to the other poets of the second romantic generation, Musset, Gautier, Barbier. Alfred de Musset (1810–57) joined the romantic group in 1828, and in 1829 produced a book which was typical of the exotic taste of the period, characterized by a love of violent passions and southern local colour: *Contes d'Espagne et d'Italie;* having himself experienced such a passion, he consigned his sorrow to a group of elegies, *Les Nuits* (1835–7), included in his *Poésies nouvelles*. His great passion was George Sand (Aurora Dupin, Baronne Dudevant, 1804–76), the author of a number of novels imbued with lyrical inspiration, and the romantic and idealistic traits of an admirer of Rousseau (*Indiana*, 1832, *Lélia*, 1833, etc.); others stamped with a mild and mystical kind of socialism which is akin to Dickens' sympathy for humble folk, and anticipates certain features of Dostoyevsky (*Le Compagnon du tour de France*, 1840, *Consuelo*, 1842, *Le Meunier d'Angibault*, 1845, etc.); still others of an idyllic character, breathing love for Nature and the author's native country (*La Mare au Diable*, 1846, *La Petite Fadette*, 1848, etc.), and finally of others dealing with bourgeois or aristocratic love affairs, described without the romantic exaggerations of her first phase (*Jean de la Roche*, 1860, *Le Marquis de Villemer*, 1861, etc.). Musset met George Sand in 1833; they were together in Italy, at Venice; in 1835 they broke off for good; this love affair, among the most famous ones in literary history, inspired Musset with the deeper strain of his poetry and with an autobiographical novel, the *Confession d'un enfant du siècle* (1836). Musset was also a delightful talker in verse, in the manner of Byron, with Byron's often negligent ease, mixing throbs of emotion with points of delicate irony; he put much of himself, of his own feelings and aspirations, into the protagonists of his dramas in prose, remarkable for psychological subtlety and art of the dialogue (*Comédies et proverbes: Les Caprices de Marianne*, 1833, *Lorenzaccio*, 1834, *Fantasio*, 1834, *On ne badine pas avec l'amour*, 1834, *Le Chandelier*, 1835, *Il ne faut jurer de rien*, 1836).

Théophile Gautier (1811–72), though paying his tribute to romantic conventions in his beginnings, distinguished himself by the skill with which he

tried to transpose into literature things he had seen with a painter's eye. A visit to Spain in 1840 helped him to get rid of current romantic trappings, and to strive harder for pure form and an art free from morality and philosophy: thus creating the theory of 'art for art's sake'. The title of his chief collection of verse, *Emaux et camées*, 1852, is a clear indication of his artistic ideals. Gautier's refined romanticism shows through his precious attitude of a dandy full of hatred for bourgeois mediocrity, and of admiration for the pomp and voluptuousness of the East, the colour and violence of Spain, the magnificent and fatal women of the past, the spectacular orgies and the splendid crimes: he was the real founder of that exotic aestheticism which was going to haunt the decadents, he anticipated certain aspects of Flaubert and Baudelaire particularly in his prose tales and the novel *Mademoiselle de Maupin* (1835). The school of 'art for art's sake' which started with Gautier and counted among its members (the so-called 'Parnassians') such distinguished poets as Théodore de Banville, Leconte de Lisle, and the Cuban José Maria de Heredia, the author of sonnets once celebrated for their perfection, represented a reaction of conscientious and severe artists against the formless improvisation of the disciples of Lamartine and Musset. A forerunner of Leconte de Lisle may be seen in Maurice de Guérin (1810–39), whose prose poem *Le Centaure*, which was much admired when it appeared in 1840, breathes a delicate classicism and a dreamy pantheistic feeling for Nature.

Henri-Auguste Barbier (1805–82) had an enormous success with the publication (1831) of his poems in *Iambes*, in which a violent political satire became impassionate song, chiefly in *L'Idole* (against the cult of Napoleon) and *La Curée*. But in the thirties the most popular poet was Béranger (1780–1857), who found the most suitable medium (though hardly an artistic one) for the feelings that stirred the majority of French people. His *Chansons*, of which various editions appeared from 1815 to 1833, have a catching rhythm, bring sublime ideas down to the level of the man in the street and render mediocre ideas susceptible of song; they clothe convivial poetry with the dignity of political and social satire.

Several writers tried through books or the press to fight or to spread the ideas of the Revolution in the first part of the nineteenth century: the best known of them in France are Joseph de Maistre (1754–1821; *Considérations sur la France*, 1796, *Soirées de Saint-Pétersbourg, ou Entretiens sur le gouvernement temporel de la Providence*, 1821); Paul-Louis Courier (1772–1825), a staunch enemy of the throne and the altar so dear to de Maistre; Hughes-Félicité-Robert de Lamennais (1782–1854; *Essai sur l'indifférence en matière de religion*, 1817, and *Paroles d'un croyant*, 1834, which caused a deep stir for the light they threw on the democratic and socialist tendencies of the Gospels); Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (1809–65; *Qu'est-ce que la propriété?* 1840, in which the famous definition appeared: 'Property is theft'). De Maistre's brother, Xavier (1763–1852), presents a sharp contrast to the sombre and tragic genius of Joseph; a narrator full of grace and moderate sentimentality,

he published in 1794 *Voyage autour de ma chambre*, in a conversational style which reminds one of Sterne, and in 1811 the moving story of *Le Lépreux de la cité d'Aoste*.

Scott's novels (particularly *Ivanhoe* and *Quentin Durward*) and Chateaubriand's description (in *Les Martyrs*) of the customs of the semi-civilized Franks, contributed to awaken the taste for history and to imbue it with imagination: Augustin Thierry (1795–1856) made his discoveries in the archives throb with life in his *Récits des temps mérovingiens*, 1840, and Jules Michelet (1798–1874) set to historians the task of 'resurrecting the whole of life'. Taking from Giambattista Vico the idea of history, Michelet was a scientist and a poet at the same time, more the latter than the former, for he had the passionate soul of a man of the people. His *Histoire de France*, at which he worked for about forty years (1830–68), is one of the masterpieces of French romanticism; he sees symbols and contrasts in things, like Hugo, and like Hugo he frequently lets himself be carried away by emotions and visions.

The future of the novel however was not in historical fiction like that of Hugo, but in those novels in which the spirit of analysis and the sense of reality were getting refined; more in Constant and Stendhal than in Balzac.

Benjamin Constant (1767–1830), orator, philosopher, author of several political works, a companion of exile for Madame de Staël, left a masterpiece in a psychological novel, *Adolphe*, 1816, where he has described all the phases of an unhappy love with great power and insight.

Henri Beyle, who adopted the pseudonym Stendhal (from Winckelmann's birthplace) (1783–1842), lived long in Italy where he was a French consul. A disciple of Condillac and the Encylopaedists, he believed that man's main aim is happiness, and described the means men employ to achieve it with a precise analysis of mental processes; he was first of all a student of the human heart. He too, like the romantics, looked towards the past (in the *Chroniques italiennes*), but not out of the curiosity of an exoticist, but because he saw examples of energy there. He was satisfied with the present when he found in it the qualities he valued in life. His ideal world was the Renaissance, but among the Italians of his own time he found sufficient 'virtù' (in the Machiavellian sense) to make him decide to live among them and to call himself Milanese. The chief preoccupation of Stendhal in his literary work lies in his taste for action and for the display of will-power, in his study of energy. *Le Rouge et le Noir* (1831) makes a piece of crime news into a profound study of psychology and social philosophy, showing us in the misfit Julien Sorel a figure of social climber whose name has come to denote a no less permanent type than Hamlet or Werther. In his other masterpiece, *La Chartreuse de Parme* (1839), he traces the career and adventures of a young Italian, Fabrizio del Dongo, from the time of his juvenile enthusiasm for Napoleon to the moment in which, seeing his love-dream shattered, he becomes a famous preacher, and finally, after the death of his beloved, retires to the chartreuse which gives the title to the book. In this novel he gives a minute description

of the intrigues and the passions which agitated the petty Italian courts after 1815, and delights in observing with what skill, energy, and absence of scruples the Italians pursue the supreme aim, happiness. The description of the battle of Waterloo at the beginning of the novel inaugurates a new era in narrative technique: that description is made from the necessarily limited standpoint of the common soldier, who does not see the battle as a whole, but as a string of unrelated episodes: this description, much more true to life than the set-pieces of previous novelists when they had to tackle such a theme, is written in a matter-of-fact and colourless style like that of the Code Napoléon. Stendhal wrote also two well-known travel books (*Rome, Naples et Florence,* 1817, and *Mémoires d'un touriste,* 1838).

A friend of Stendhal, with whom he had some traits in common, was Prosper Mérimée (1803-70): he too admired the robust passions of the Renaissance and the human type represented by that stern Corsican woman, Colomba; he too seemed to regret that murder was out of fashion. But Mérimée combines this cult for energy with pessimism and a lack of tenderness which add a touch of cruelty to his impassibility and irony. Perhaps it was the fear of appearing ridiculous that made him adopt a habit of unfeelingness and cynicism; and his world, though pretending to be an objective mirror of reality, has been thought sinister by some, as if there was nothing else to tell about the world but various forms of hatred (*Colomba, Matteo Falcone*), and a love which is like madness (*La Vénus d'Ille, Carmen*); and as if the sole alternative to this was a world of malignantly active and horrible ghosts (the vampire stories of *La Guzla,* 1826). However, thanks to the mastery of his precise style, Mérimée succeeded in giving the accent of actual truth to his stories of the past: his *Chronique ce Charles IX* (1829) is a case in point. In the *Théâtre de Clara Gazul* (1825) Mérimée created a type of drama both unpretentious and picturesque, free from traditional conventions: *Le Carrosse du Saint Sacrement* is a little masterpiece of irony and bizarrerie.

Though some have seen in Honoré de Balzac (1799-1850) the founder of realism, he was rather a romantic and fanciful writer. That very imagination which served him badly in actual life (he made many ambitious business projects, but succeeded only in running into debt), worked wonders when he used it in his novels to give a picture of a money-ridden society. With its two thousand characters, with its visionary richness of life, its grandiose symbols and sound understanding of causes and influences at work, *La Comédie humaine* (general title given only in 1842, with a general preface, to the series of novels which were published between 1829 and 1850) has appropriately been placed at the side of Michelet's *Histoire de France* as the supreme expression of romanticism: the writer compared his own effort to that of Napoleon who 'had inoculated himself into the armies'. *La Comédie humaine* includes scenes of private life (*Le Colonel Chabert, Le Père Goriot*), scenes of provincial life (such as *Eugénie Grandet, Le Curé de Tours*), scenes of Parisian life (such as *César Birotteau, Le Cousin Pons, La Cousine Bette*), scenes of

political life, scenes of military life (among which is *Les Chouans*, the first of Balzac's novels to have a good reception, in 1829), scenes of country life (such as *Les Paysans*, *Le Curé de village*), philosophical studies (*La Recherche de l'absolu*), and analytical studies.

This vast work has obvious defects; first of all bad taste in fact of style: whenever Balzac takes pains to write well, he produces a pompous phraseology, full of swollen or trite metaphors, so that the subtle analysis of tender passions and idealistic exaltations is denied him. Besides he poses as a thinker, interrupts his story with social or philosophical dissertations, in which he dilutes accurate remarks that spring much more forcibly out of that very action of the novel. He lacks sense of proportion: he expatiates at length on minute details of interiors, on typical conversations of unimportant characters; he has no feeling for Nature; and also as a painter of social relations and human character he is capable of writing novelettish stuff, or blatant melodrama when he devises extravagant plots, worthy of popular novelists like Eugène Sue (1804–57), the author of the famous *Mystères de Paris* (1842–3); moreover he is unable to depict the more delicate characters and customs, such as those of the aristocracy. Balzac shares some of these defects with Dickens, who has also a robust but vulgar genius, who also exceeds all proportion in rendering the minutiae of the details of places, rushes into melodrama and mawkishness: their defects are those of the prevailing taste of the Biedermeier period, with its bourgeois retailing of romantic ideals, and its puerile fondness for crowding details into a picture.

They have, nevertheless, also the merits of that very taste: a unique power in representing material and sensible things, in eliciting a kind of subdued poetry out of what is apparently mediocre or even trivial. Balzac and Dickens resemble each other also in their magnifying certain features of observed reality as in a caricature; Dickens, as we shall see, is supreme in the creation of humorous types, Balzac in building monumental characters who are representative of an entire social class: the miser, the libertine, the ambitious man, the courtesan, the virtuous woman; so typical, in fact, that their ruling passion often takes the proportions of a mania, and they become monsters of virtue or of vice. But Balzac knows so well how to bring his characters into relief, how to build round them the most suitable background, that he is second only to Shakespeare in the art of producing an immortal gallery of human figures. Balzac's psychological insight is at its best in the description of the surroundings that create the atmosphere in which a particular character lives, that form, so to say, its outward envelope: as for instance in the celebrated description of the house of Grandet, the miser. He is supreme also in the study of social groups, chiefly of the laborious, meddlesome, selfish and greedy middle class, and in the description of the rising or falling curve of individuals and families, by following their birth, development and decline in the progress of time. Among Balzac's stories in which the romantic element prevails, *La Peau de chagrin* (1831) is the most famous.

In Germany the exaltation of the past, which was one of the characteristics of the Heidelberg romanticism, had been joined in 1813 by a new wave of patriotism in consequence of the war of liberation. Fichte's *Reden an die deutsche Nation* (1808) had prepared it, but its sudden outbreak was due to the events. These latter inspired the little group of 'poets of 1813' and were responsible for their rapid success: the war songs (*Leyer und Schwert*, 1814) of Karl Theodor Körner (1791–1813), who died on the field of honour, are the abiding monument of this group, while other political and patriotic songs of the period (by Max von Schenkendorff and Ernst Moritz Arndt) knew only a passing reputation. On the whole this wave of patriotic poetry, to which contributed also poets who had made a name in other fields, like Rückert, was short-lived and shared the fate of the romantic movement which, as a school (to be distinguished from its more widespread aspect of a state of soul and an atmosphere) became more and more conservative and aroused opposition. While this latter took a definite shape in a new school, *Das junge Deutschland*, other writers developed exotic sidelines of romanticism, Friedrich Rückert deriving inspiration from the East (he was University professor of Oriental languages) for his *Orientalische Rosen* and *Weisheit des Brahmanen*, Karl August von Platen (1796–1835) both from the East (*Ghaselen*) and from ancient Greece, while he parodied the excesses of romanticism in comedies in the manner of Aristophanes (*Die verhängnisvolle Gabel*, *Der romantische Oedipus*). Nikolaus Lenau (pseudonym of Nikolaus Niembsch von Strehlenau) (1802–50) was closer to the romantics in temper (a literary historian has called him the Byron of German literature), though he actually did not belong to any school: before becoming insane in consequence of a reckless life, he produced a considerable amount of poetry mostly lyrical, though he had also philosophical, religious and social strings to his lyre (*Faust*, *Savonarola*, *Die Albigenser*).

Rückert, Platen, and Lenau were independent from particular currents and schools, and so in a sense was Heinrich Heine (1797–1856); but his name is linked with that of the 'Young Germany' movement, of which he was the most prominent personality. A romantic by nature, he developed that strain of whimsicality and irony which Byron had inaugurated in his mock-heroic talk in verse (*Don Juan* in particular): in this sense he had something in common with Pushkin, as we shall see. *Das Buch der Lieder* (1827) in its four parts (*Junge Leide*, *Lyrisches Intermezzo*, *Heimkehr*, and *Nordsee*) illustrates the progress of the poet towards formal perfection and fitness of expression to mood; we watch the poet borrowing at first from popular poetry, then developing his peculiar form of irony (*Intermezzo*); then letting himself range over the rich variety of his feelings, from melancholy and bitterness to gaiety and carelessness; finally, in the last cycle of poems, telling the story of the recovery of his moral health at the contact of the sea which reflected his soul in its various moods. The frankness of self-revelation that gave such modern accent to the poems, was also the main feature of the *Reisebilder* (in prose, 1826) in which the author recounted his wanderings in the Harz region, through the

coasts and islands of the North Sea, and in northern Italy. Though some of his themes and images can be traced to other romantic poets (Tieck, Brentano, Eichendorff, besides Goethe), the freshness and modernity of expression stamped Heine's writings with an originality of their own. After an interval dedicated in Paris to an activity of political journalist and literary critic (*Die romantische Schule*, 1833), Heine came back to poetry, partly taking up again the themes of his early production (*Neue Gedichte*, 1844), partly striking a new note of political invective against the German sovereigns of the Restoration period (*Zeitgedichte*; *Deutschland, ein Wintermärchen*, 1844, *Atta Troll*, 1843, where the satire of bad poetry alternates with lyrical earnestness). Heine's melancholy became deeper in consequence of a serious illness which made of him an invalid: in *Romanzero* (1851) he vented his resentment against the author of his misery, God, and the despair of a man who loved life intensely and did not want to die, prayed and cursed by turns. His work, typical of that phase of romanticism which elsewhere produced the English eccentrics (Lamb, De Quincey, Peacock) and Pushkin, obtained enormous popularity abroad, and enjoyed numberless translations. His imitators were legion; in Spain Gustavo Adolfo Becquer (1836–70) echoed him in his *Rimas*; while he echoed Hoffmann in his prose, Teodoro Llorente (1826–1911) was later to give excellent translations of his poems; in Italy Vittorio Betteloni (1840–1910) took him, as well as Byron's 'talk in verse', as models in his attempt to introduce a breath of fresh air into poetry that was languishing in mid-century Italy, so that when Betteloni gave in his verse the price of the frock worn by the milliner he loved, it was considered a daring felicity, which shows at least that even there taste had travelled a long way from the classical paraphernalia and the romantic sighs which had characterized the first half of the century.

No other writer of 'the young Germany' came near Heine in stature; Karl Ferdinand Gutzkow (1811–78), the author of novels and plays which have great documentary value for the study of conditions in Germany after 1848, and Ludwig Börne (1786–1837), a brilliant journalist and polemic writer, deserve only a passing mention. Outside the group, the so-called Swabian writers, Johann Ludwig Uhland (1787–1862), Justinus Andreas Kerner (1787–1862) and Edouard Mörike (1804–75), continued the glorious tradition of a region from which Schiller and Hölderlin had sprung; the first wrote some of the most fresh and popular lyrics in the German language, the second gave in his youth an anticipation of what was later to be called the psychological novel (*Reiseschatten: von dem Schattenspieler Luchs*, 1811), while Mörike, a delicate and tender poet with a keen feeling for form, also distinguished himself in the field of the novel with *Maler Nolten* (1832), which in some parts anticipates modern realism, and chiefly with a little masterpiece, *Mozart auf der Reise nach Prag* (1856). There are some realistic traits also in the lyric production of the Westphalian poetess Annette von Droste-Hülshoff (1797–1848), whose religious poems, *Das geistliche Jahr* (1852), and a gloomy tale. *Die Judenbuche* (1842) have become classics.

The principal literary trends of Western Europe were echoed in Russia in the first thirty years of the nineteenth century, until there took shape that tendency in which Russian writers excelled, realism.

Classicism in Russia died hard, but the taste for popular poetry, a romantic acquisition, introduced a fresh note into Ivan Andreyevich Krylov's (1768–1844) *Basni* (*Fables*, 1805), derived from Aesop and La Fontaine, with the addition of many sharp hints at contemporary men and events. He was the first Russian author to be known abroad: his fables were translated into many languages. Pre-romanticism made its appearance in Russia under the aspect of sentimentalism, with an unmistakable English flavour; Nikolay Mikhaylovich Karamzin's (1766–1826) *Bednaja Liza* (*Poor Liza*, 1795) belongs to the tradition of Richardson and Bernardin de Saint-Pierre.[5] Also the poet Vasily Andreyevich Zhukovsky (1783–1852) owed much to English sentimentalism. The period after Alexander I witnessed the efforts to adapt foreign currents to Russian feelings, or to instil a Russian spirit into them. Thus the sentimental trend became tinged with mystical aspirations peculiar to the Russians, while the 1812 war and other political events such as sympathy for the Greek insurrection strengthened the national spirit and the cult for the glories of the Slavic past: in this sense the findings of the *Slovo o polku Ingoreve* (*The Lay of Igor's Campaign*, whose date is extremely controversial) in 1795 was a memorable event (the manuscript perished in the fire of Moscow).

An English influence of another kind came with the vogue for Byron, who was looked upon as the supreme model and 'ruler of the spirits' about 1820. His political message was certainly one of the main stimuli, if not the main one, at the back of the so-called Decabrist movement (the conspirators of December 1825); when one of them, Ryleyer, was led to execution, he carried in his hands a copy of Byron's works. A lyrical justification of the movement was contained in two poems (the ode *Freedom*, and *The Village*) of Alexander Sergeievich Pushkin (1799–1837), the great poet from whom one can date the era of independence of Russian literature: his indirect connection with the Decabrists caused him to be banished to various parts of Russia and his works to be submitted to a complicated system of censorship. Liked by the insurgents who however declined to consider him one of them, despised by the bureaucrats, who did not deem him worthy of a better mission than that of ascertaining the damage done by an invasion of locusts, tolerated by the Tsar who conferred upon him the almost ludicrous title of 'gentleman of the chamber' only in order to enable him to accompany to court balls his pretty coquettish wife who had attracted his attentions, Pushkin throughout his life gives the impression of a misfit, even if his outburst: 'Why on earth have I chosen to be born in Russia, having a soul and brains', is not so much peculiar to him as typical of all romantic poets feeling the shackles of their surroundings. To what extent, though, was Pushkin actually a romantic ? If we bear in mind his harping on the theme of *ennui* (*skuka* in Russian), if we remember certain aspirations of his, such as:

'O far-off, longed-for shore!/There would I soar into free air, and in a cell beyond the clouds hide myself in the neighbourhood of God!',

or:

'And full of happiness, I would contemplate the deserted skies, and be free like the hurricane which ravages the fields and cuts down the forests . . .',

then we would place him next to Shelley, Hölderlin, and Lamartine, who all of them have similar accents of yearning to get free in the whirlwind. But also the Italian eclectic poet Vincenzo Monti had exclaimed in the tracks of Goethe:

'O, why can't I mix myself with the passing hurricane, soar on the wings of the wind and tear the clouds, and awaken the sleeping tempests in the measureless fields of the sea ?'

One cannot say that Pushkin was more of a romantic than Monti, who was such more by reflection than by a native impulse. There are in Pushkin a balance, a clear-sightedness, a wisdom tinged with mockery, a geniality compacted of humaneness and scepticism, which go much beyond the somewhat acid and naughty outbursts, the dandyish and ostentatiously blasphemous lightheartedness of the author of *Beppo* and *Don Juan*, from whom the Russian poet took the idea of the 'talk in verse'. Nevertheless Pushkin was not serene like an Apollo in a land devoted to Bacchus, unless we want to term also Sterne an Apollonian—and the very idea sounds absurd—for Pushkin found the Shandean humour extremely congenial. In the romantic period there are certain poets whose interior clockwork still belongs to the balanced eighteenth century, whereas their external habit has all the trappings of a later age. One such poet was in a way Byron, and Pushkin too. Another quality some critics have found in Pushkin is universality; one of them has compared him to Goethe in this respect, and seen in him what Friedrich Schlegel saw in Goethe, both the Shakespeare and the Voltaire of his nation and of his time, noticing how Pushkin merged in himself the traditions of two opposite centuries, now resembling Pope, now Wordsworth, and did not disdain at times to assume also the minor roles of a Russian Parny or Rochester. This long list of analogies threatens to denounce the mutability of a chameleon rather than the universality of a genius.

Pushkin's claim to universality finds a stumbling-block in his imitable and untranslatable style: his masterpiece, the novel in verse *Eugene Onegin*, at which he worked for many years (from 1825 to 1833), may sound flat in a translation, as Flaubert found (*Mais il est plat, votre poète !*), and when Alexandre Dumas, in his *Voyage de Russie*, ventured to give a free translation of the celebrated passage on St Petersburg in the poem *Mednyj vsadnik (The Bronze Knight*, 1833), he added so many trite frills that it became unrecognizable: obviously the divine plainness of the original failed to appeal to

him.[6] A literal translation of Pushkin falls as flat as a literal translation of Horace. The magic of such poets lies mostly in the language, and one wonders why on that account also Ugo Foscolo might not be as universal as Horace or Pushkin, unless for the fact that Foscolo had no original message to communicate (though he claimed to have one, and embodied it in the symbols of *Le Grazie* and in his prose essays) whereas the varied texture of Pushkin's thought makes a modern of him. But the shot quality of his stuff vanishes in that colour print which is a translation. It would be almost worth while to coin for him a new adjective, *Pushkinian*, as Sterne coined one for his own kind of humour, *Shandean*. This elusive quality pertains also to his life: there is a tragicomical touch about his death in a duel (curiously foreshadowed in the destiny of one of the characters of his major poem). Besides being the first Russian to write a psychological novel, which was also a novel of manners, Pushkin wrote the first chronicle-play (under the influence of Shakespeare), *Boris Godunov* (1831), and pointed the way to realism with the *Povjesti Belkina* (*The Tales of Belkin*, 1830), and with the historical novel *Kapitanskaja dočka* (*The Captain's Daughter*, 1836), though, curiously enough, when unalloyed realism triumphed towards the middle of the century, it was considered as a repudiation of the art of Pushkin and his followers.

Mikhail Yuryevich Lermontov (1814–41), the greatest Russian lyrical poet after Pushkin, was prevented by an early death (he also was killed in a duel) from getting much beyond the data of the current romantic experience: he echoed Vigny, Heine, Goethe, but most of all Byron, writing poems which are typical of the taste of the period, *Demon* (*The Demon*, 1840), and *Mtzyri* (*The Novice*, 1840), though in the *Pesnja pro tzarja Ivana Vasil'eviča* (*A Song about Tsar Ivan Vasilyevich, his Body-guard and the Merchant Kalashnikov*, 1837), deriving inspiration from popular poetry, he employed a direct and powerful style which shows him already on the way to realism. A further step in this direction was taken by him in the four prose tales which form the partly autobiographical *Geroj našego vremeni* (*A Hero of Our Time*, 1840), centred on the figure of the young Russian officer Pechorin: though not a novel in the proper sense of the word, this work is considered an important landmark in the development of Russian fiction.

Lermontov was the most complete representative of Russian romanticism in the first half of the nineteenth century; during the same period an equally typical figure appeared in Poland, Adam Mickiewicz (1798–1855), whom Giuseppe Mazzini defined 'the most powerful poetical nature in the world', since, unlike most romantics, who were self-centred and egotistical, the Polish patriot poet preached a gospel of action. Foreign influences, of course, came into play also with him: Schiller's in *Oda do mlodosci* (*Ode to Youth*, 1820), and of other poets in *Dziady* (*The Ancestors*, second and fourth parts published 1823, the third 1833) and in *Grazyna* (composed 1823). An intercourse with Russian intellectuals, during his sojourn there, particularly with Pushkin (whose attitude towards the Polish revolution of 1831 spoiled their

friendship), developed his talent, and stimulated him to write some of his best-poems, one of them on that very monument to Peter the Great on which Pushkin had written *The Bronze Knight* (a polemic reply). Mickiewicz is however chiefly remembered for *Pan Tadeusz* (1834), a vast epic poem having the life of Polish rural nobility as a background, and the *Księgi narodu polskiego i pielgrzymstwa polskiego* (*Books of the Polish Nation and of the Polish Pilgrimage*, 1832), a Messianic work which became a gospel for Polish exiles, and was imitated by Lamennais in *Paroles d'un croyant*: it breathes love of freedom and hatred for hypocrisy, injustice, and oppression. Two other names shine in the history of Polish romanticism, Juliusz Slowacki (1809–49), and Zygmunt Krasiński (1812–39). In *Król Duch* (*King Spirit*, first part published 1847; unfinished) Slowacki, inspired by the theory of metempsychosis, imagines a sublime spirit who, through successive incarnations, leads the Polish nation to a better destiny, an era of justice and happiness. Also his prose poem *Anhelli*, written between 1835 and 1838, under the impression of the failure of the 1831 revolution, breathes a Messianic spirit of immolation, and follows the pattern of the *Divina Commedia*. The title of Dante's poem inspired Krasiński's *Nieboska Komedia* (*The Non-divine Comedy*, 1835), which depicts the hell of human society rent by bloody strife and on the way to perdition; also Krasiński believed in a millennium, as is amply illustrated in the dramatic poem *Irydion* (1836), in which the political struggle between Poland and Russia is adumbrated in the fight between a Good and an Evil Principle, against the background of two remotely distant ages, the third century and the nineteenth, the decadent Rome of Elagabalus, and modern Poland under the Russian yoke.

The spirit of Polish as well as of German romanticism (particularly Novalis) is reflected in the work of the first modern Czech poet, Karel Hynek Mácha (1810–36), whose eight-hundred-verse poem *Màj* (*May*, 1836) centres on the reflections of a young brigand while he awaits his death-sentence in prison. As in Byron's *Prisoner of Chillon*, the thoughts of the protagonist are those of the poet himself under a thin veil.

Any division into periods within literary history is to a large extent arbitrary, and it is particularly so in the case of romanticism. Not all nations keep pace, so that what in 1830 was still a novelty to Czech readers was no longer so to English readers; there is therefore a lag to be taken into account in many cases. But roughly speaking one can say that by 1830 taste had taken a new turn; there was a partial return to rationalism within the very sphere of romantic taste and sensibility, features that had appeared before sporadically became dominant, and the new resultant climate, strongly tinged with middle-class taste and ideals, has been called Victorian in England, and Biedermeier in Germany. Biedermeier seems to be the term better suited to describe the form of attenuated romanticism merging into realism which prevailed in Europe in the mid-century,. The name Biedermeier was an invention of the poet Ludwig Eichrodt (1827–92) who, in *Fliegende Blätter* in 1855 and follow-

ing years, published parodies of the poems of a humble Swabian schoolmaster, Samuel Friedrich Sauter, whom he renamed Biedermaier. (These were republished in book form as *Biedermaiers Liederlust* in 1869.) 'Simple good-heartedness', according to Eichrodt, was the keynote of Sauter's poems, and 'a naïve observance of the simplest relationships of life'. He sings the small joys of a restricted life with an eye to their utilitarian aspects.

'With a scanty wage this worthy man finds in the depths of his simple up-right and serene Swabian soul the precious source which helps him to banish the cares of family life and to bear the burdens of his profession . . .'

Biedermaier became Biedermeier, and the term was adopted in Germany in the first place as a term of mockery (just as Gothic and Baroque had been used as derisive terms) to describe typical aspects of the bourgeois culture of the nineteenth century. It is chiefly current nowadays to describe the style of furniture which came after the Empire style; but it has also been extended to the whole bourgeois *Weltanschauung*. Thus 'Biedermeier' is both a style and a conception of the world, of a small world of good sense and good manners, domestic pleasures and the cult of a gentle, well-groomed Nature, subservience to sane principles, minute love of the concrete with, from time to time, a few flights on the wings of a mild and perhaps slightly melancholy dream. It is a world of bourgeois morality and bourgeois art, avoiding extremes, conciliating eclectic, half classical, half romantic, which maintained its balance roughly from 1815 to 1870 (the initial date might be put back, just as the final date can certainly be brought forward, according to countries). Not all the art and litera-ture of the nineteenth century comes under the definition, but it is the dominant note, the background, the unfailing ingredient even in the great artists and writers.

In England the group of the so-called 'eccentrics' presents the first inklings of the Victorian compromise: the romantic outlook in them appears softened and tempered with humour. Personal experiences, instead of being raised to the sphere of lyric poetry, are recollected in a partly critical, partly effusive kind of composition, the essay, the confession. Charles Lamb (1775–1834) recorded events of his early years, his whims, opinions, and intimate feelings, under the disguise of Elia, in the *Essays of Elia*, first contributed to the *London Magazine*, then published in book form in two series, 1823 and 1833. Some of the essays are written in the tradition of the eighteenth-century humour or the still older 'characters' and paradoxes (such, for example, is the famous *Dissertation upon Roast Pig*), but the autobiographical essays (*Christ's Hospital five-and-thirty years ago*, *Blakesmoor in H****, *Dream Children*, *Old China*), inaugurate a new kind of essay, the romantic essay, tinged with sub-dued pathos and subtle shades of humour. In his *Tales from Shakespeare*, written for children in collaboration with his sister Mary, and chiefly in his *Specimens of English Dramatic Poets who lived about the Time of Shakespeare* (1808), Lamb was among the first to appreciate and interpret the Elizabethan

dramatists in an adequate way. Thomas De Quincey (1785–1859) sought an escape from morbid obsessions in humour (*Murder as one of the Fine Arts*), and bared his innermost self in the famous *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater* (1821). Both he and Lamb occasionally borrowed turns of phrase and ornaments from seventeenth-century writers; De Quincey owed much also to the German writers Jean Paul (Richter), and E. T. A. Hoffmann (for instance in *The English Mail-Coach*, 1849); his *Levana and Our Ladies of Sorrow* is a sustained effort of solemnly cadenced prose. Mistakenly considered a fore-runner of the decadents, in consequence of Baudelaire's interests in his opium-dreams, De Quincey's conscious attempts to create romantic art have all the characteristics of a tradition in decay, while with his attack on Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* (1824) he foreshadows the moralistic criticism of the Victorians. Thomas Love Peacock (1785–1866) also evaded the attraction of romantic themes by resorting to witty caricatures: in the novel *Nightmare Abbey* (1818) he offered a parody of certain external aspects of romanticism; he created a new form of novel, the 'novel of talk', which tries to capture the intellectual atmosphere of a period in a series of conversations between rep-resentative characters. The taste of the romantic period is well illustrated in William Hazlitt's (1778–1830) terse and vigorous critical essays (*Characters of Shakespeare's Plays*, *Lectures on the English Poets*, etc.), though we miss in them the suggestive power of other romantic essayists; while Leigh Hunt's (1784–1859) essays are of a decidedly journalistic character. This period saw the birth of a number of famous reviews: the *Edinburgh Review*, the *Quarterly* the *Westminster*, *Blackwood's Magazine*, the *London Magazine*.

The first Reform Act of 1832, the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, the London Exhibition of 1851 are the chief dates of the coming into power and apotheosis of the Victorian middle class. Economic interest is the mainspring of the whole movement, but although the most reckless competition and unscrupulous sweating of labour are the foundations of the industrial pros-perity, which celebrates its triumph in 1851, utilitarianism is not openly proclaimed. Scientific progress, the publication of works such as Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology* (1830–3), and Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species* (1859), the success of the theory of evolution and of positivism shake traditional beliefs, but there is a general desire to avoid drawing extreme conclusions; an attempt is made, rather, to reconcile opposite needs in an equilibrium which is successfully maintained throughout the greater part of the century. The middle class, of Puritan origins, stamps everything with its moral standard. Optimism is the catchword. This is what is called the Victorian compromise. One may estimate the character and development of the Victorian era by considering the figure of Macaulay at its opening, and that of Thomas Henry Huxley, an elegant interpreter of Darwin's ideal and champion of agnosticism, at its close. The scientist is the hero of the period of Queen Victoria.[7]

Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800–59), historian, essayist and politician,

began his career with the success of his essay on Milton published in the *Edinburgh Review*, in 1825 and had an unparalleled triumph with his *History of England from the Accession of James II* (1848–61), where he is an eloquent advocate of Liberal principles and of the 1688 revolution (his history does not proceed beyond the death of William III). His one-sided view was to Macaulay the objectivity of history itself; therefore, notwithstanding its undeniable qualities of clearness of exposition and picturesque description, he cannot rank as a great historian; his best essays are those on Clive and Warren Hastings, whereas those on literary subjects lack subtlety. Self-satisfied, thoroughly convinced of his far too simple and limited outlook, Macaulay was the cynosure of his age, the idol of middle-class mediocrity.

Several reactions of an idealistic character against the prevailing rationalism and the illusion of a finally achieved equilibrium took place in the course of the century.

The attempts at treating religion scientifically provoked, by reaction, the return to medieval traditions and ritualism in the Oxford Movement, which culminated in the conversion to the Roman Church of its chief exponent, John Henry Newman (1801–90), a master of polemical prose (*Apologia pro Vita Sua*, 1864).

The triumph of the machine found a bitter opponent in Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881), born of Calvinist peasant stock in Scotland. He devoted himself to the study of German literature, of which he became an enthusiast (he worshipped Goethe as a master). He translated and imitated German works; his *Sartor Resartus* (1833–4), a kind of allegorical autobiography, combines the influence of Swift with that of the German humorist Jean Paul. Self-centred and animated by a stubborn will, Carlyle sought dynamic personalities in past history who might answer to his Calvinist ideals. In 1837 he gave a one-sided epical picture of the French Revolution, in 1841 he published a series of lectures *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*, in which he sees the essence of government in the enlightened rule of great leaders rather than in parliamentary institutions. He developed his disbelief in collective wisdom in the essays on *Chartism* and *Past and Present*, full of bitter criticism of modern social organization. Carlyle pours scorn on the doctrines of political economy and sees salvation only in a return to medieval systems and to the government of a single just and strong man. Such ideal statemen he saw in Cromwell and Frederick the Great, on both of whom he wrote voluminous works. Carlyle's prose, rugged and vigorous, like that of the Biblical prophets, is instinct with rhetorical power and caustic humour. In a sense he anticipates the imperialist current at the end of the century (particularly Rudyard Kipling).

The fire of Puritan zeal is also the driving force of John Ruskin's (1819–1900) campaign against the threatening ugliness of industrial civilization and the dead conventions of academic art. In 1843 the first volume of *Modern Painters* was published, containing a warm apologia of Turner. While

travelling in Italy, Ruskin studied the monuments of architecture and sculpture in northern Italian towns and became enthusiastic about 'primitive' painters. In *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849) he is the most eloquent mouthpiece of that Gothic revival which had been astir for some time in England. This current of taste maintained that the first condition of any great art was the virtuous disposition of the artist, and that imitation of Nature was the only way to create beauty. The study of the merits of Gothic architecture led Ruskin to meditate on the virtues of the men who had created it; thus from an art-critic he turned into a critic of society, and spent the last forty years of his life in expounding his theories on social and industrial problems, on morals, religion, education, in a quantity of lectures, pamphlets, essays; the most popular among his works of this type is *Sesame and Lilies* (1868). Ruskin advocated the necessity for any work to be enlightened by a religious purpose and creative joy. Such ideas started a new chapter in European aesthetics, by introducing into them what has since been recognized as an ethical prejudice. Ruskin was able to invest this prejudice with the warmth of his native sensibility; this sensibility outlived all his abstract ideas and widened the horizons of taste; it is responsible for the renewed appreciation of the art previous to the Renaissance, of which Ruskin discovered perfect specimens in Italy (*The Stones of Venice*, 1851–3, *Mornings in Florence*, 1875–7, a revaluation of Giotto's art). In 1851 Ruskin wrote an essay on *Pre-Raphaelitism* which greatly promoted the fortune of that school. In the social field, though his theories have often a Utopian flavour and proved to be based on evident errors, one cannot deny the penetration of his structures on industrial civilization, and his divination of the eternal springs of collective happiness. He was the first to formulate the idea of mystical devotion to the welfare of the community expressed in the word 'service'.

Also Matthew Arnold (1822–88), who had been bred in a humanistic atmosphere at home (he was the son of Dr Thomas Arnold, the headmaster who raised Rugby to the rank of a great public school). and had had wide experience abroad as an inspector of schools, rose against contemporary materialism, and attacked the 'philistinism'—as he called it, after a German word—of his self-satisfied countrymen. He defined poetry as 'a criticism of life', and insisted on the importance of classical culture (as chiefly represented by the literatures of Greece and France) to integrate and balance the northern qualities of the English. The traditional dogmas of Christianity, which he saw endangered as facts by scientific research, should in his view have continued to live and operate on the conscience, no longer as science but as poetry, since the noblest races were those which made the most serious use of poetry. His critical essays, *On Translating Homer*, *Essays in Criticism* (1865, second series, 1888), *Culture and Anarchy*, etc., and his essays on religion (*St Paul and Protestantism*, *Literature and Dogmas*, *God and the Bible*) are remarkable for terseness of style, although some of the opinions expressed in them can be appreciated only in relation to the author's own times.

The anti-utilitarian currents we have just examined are a continuation of the idealist movement of early romanticism, although the writers who represented them were so little aware of the connection that Carlyle imagined he was fighting against the romantic conception of life (one of his famous slogans runs, as we have seen: 'Close thy Byron, open thy Goethe!'), and Newman and Ruskin went back to the Middle Ages for inspiration, almost as if they ignored the fact that such a return had been preached by the romantics. Dickens, whom a sure instinct stimulated to fight side by side with the idealists, seemed still less aware of his position among his contemporaries. He restored the repressed sources of sensibility and preached a humanitarian gospel; his criticism of industrial society occasionally takes a radical tone, but on the whole recoils from violent revolutionary solutions. In consequence of his family's poverty (his father, a government clerk, was imprisoned for debt), Dickens suffered in early life the humiliation of having to work in a blacking factory, and this left an indelible scar on his sensibility. The success of the *Pickwick Papers* (1836–7) decided of his career as a novelist. He dedicated himself to the social novel with a humanitarian intent, and published serially *Oliver Twist* (1837–8), *Nicholas Nickelby* (1838–9), *The Old Curiosity Shop* (1840–1), *A Christmas Carol* (1843). With *Dombey and Son* (1846–48) Dickens, who until then had been carrying to their extremes the picturesque traditions of Fielding and Smollett, and the sentimental novels of Goldsmith and Sterne (with the passing influence of Scott on *Barnaby Rudge*), started a new type of novel, the study of a social group, using it as a weapon to attack the hateful aspects of Victorian society. In 1849–50 Dickens published his masterpiece, the semi-autobiographical novel *David Copperfield*. He wrote successively *Bleak House, Hard Times, Little Dorrit, Great Expectations, Our Mutual Friend;* in *A Tale of Two Cities* (1859) he attempted the historical novel with a subject inspired by the French Revolution. In *Great Expectations* (1860–1) and in *Our Mutual Friend* (1864–5) his psychology becomes subtler, and a psychological interest seems to predominate in his last, unfinished novel, *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*. It is not, however, his psychology which makes Dickens immortal as a novelist. Notwithstanding the strictures against him during the reaction against the Victorians, which lowered him to the rank of a popular, or even demagogic writer, slipshod in style, preposterous and mechanical in his plots, appealing to the most outrageous sentimentality, his is great art, but wholly external: picturesque stage settings of squalid town life (he was the first novelist to understand the romance of a huge and sinister metropolis); picturesque little genre scenes, pathetic, comic, or sentimental; picturesque passages of dialogue (though his natural genius was for human soliloquy, not for conversation). The picturesque is a bizarre design or pattern that the eye of a certain type of artist discovers in things; at farthest, such an artist will reach the point of seeing, in some object or arrangement of objects, some kind of allusion to a spiritual and moral world which he is incapable of representing by any other means except conventionally. The eloquence of

external things is exploited by Dickens, just as it is in our time by film directors, who isolate an object, a significant detail, to make it say something that words could not convey. He had a natural propensity for the stage, and serial publication favoured his conception of the novel as a play, with a tangling of threads and their disentanglement in a series of melodramtic episodes towards the end. The Victorian period, remarkably poor in dramatic production, had actually in Dickens its great dramatic author, just as the Romantic period had found its own in Scott. His vigorous and picturesque characters, some of whom have become proverbial (Mr Micawber, Mrs Gamp, Spenlow and Jorkins, etc.) form a gallery such as English literature had not known since Chaucer and Shakespeare.

It is natural that in a period so rich in social and economic developments, and new scientific discoveries, art should reflect practical interests to a larger extent than usual. This is particularly true of the novels, which are frequently problem novels. Such novels were written by Benjamin Disraeli, the famous statesman (1804–81), Elizabeth Cleghorn Gaskell (1810–65), the author of that memorable study of provincial life, *Cranford*, and of other novels with a background of the industrial districts, and stressing the duty of charity and mutual sympathy in the social struggle; and by Charles Kingsley (1819–75), the founder of the Christian Socialists (a movement which by 1857 was nick-named 'muscular Christianity'), the author of novels in which he conveyed his ideals of reform, who is chiefly remembered now for his once-famous book for children, *The Water Babies*.

The democratic outlook, an inevitable concomitant of industrial civilization, finds its way into fiction. The hero of a novel is no longer presented with a romantic halo, but tends to become like any of us, an ordinary person, whose reactions to experience are interesting in so far as they are common to many; he no longer controls the course of events, in fact the novel is frequently a novel without a hero (as Thackeray announced in the very title-page of *Vanity Fair*). Mediocrity, prevailing in an industrial society with a solid and limited bourgeois background, is exploited by the novelists, who looked to the Dutch genre-painters of scenes of rustics and common people as models worth following. Genre-painting had already been Scott's strong point; and was to be so for Dickens, whose minor characters have more vitality than his protagonists, and for Thackeray, who debunks the idols of society from the point of view of common sense. Interest in the feeling of humble folk becomes tinged with an ethical message in George Eliot who, in the wake of Wordsworth, lays stress on ordinary duties. Fidelity to nature, amounting in some cases to a painstaking realistic rendering of details, is a common trait of painters and writers in this period, though the easily ruffled Victorian morality prevented any serious attempt at describing life in all its aspects. It was in this Victorian reticence and squeamishness that the reaction at the end of the century found an easy target.

In the formation of William Makepeace Thackeray's (1811–63) ambiguous

temper the strong influence of his mother, whose point of view was conventional, and the inferiority complex induced by his experience of life at school, were determining factors: on the one hand he challenges contemporary society and wants to tear off the mask of its smugness (*The Book of Snobs*, 1846-7, *Vanity Fair*, 1848, *Pendennis*, 1848-50), on the other hand he conforms with its canons of respectability and reticence: he sees a bold path to follow, but withdraws, and glosses over his defeat with an ironical smile. A typical exponent of the Victorian compromise, Thackeray saw his irony accepted by his contemporaries because its bitter shafts were never aimed against the institutions which formed the basis of Victorian society; his dislike of all excesses, his disbelief in heroes, were largely shared by a matter-of-fact middle class. At bottom he is a sentimentalist in disguise, who never so much as alludes to the innermost feelings of the human soul and, minute as he is in the representation of externals and the exposure of obvious shams, shrinks from actual realism. He aimed at going back to the lucid art, the novel of 'humours', or type, of Fielding, and wrote his best book of criticism on *The English Humourists of the Eighteenth Century* (publ. 1853). While Dickens can be blamed for letting himself go too often, Thackeray's lack of abandonment, his sarcastic aloofness, give a chilly quality to his pages, to the point of making us uncomfortably aware of a repression. He seems to overcome his narrow limits only in the description of the love affairs of the protagonist of his historical novel *Henry Esmond* (1851-2), though Esmond's relation to Lady Castlewood, with its obvious reference to Thackeray's own relation to his mother, is likely to be felt uncomfortable too. Thackeray's style has a classical ring which is absent from Dickens', but his pages, admirable as they frequently are for the sureness of his psychological touch, are just as frequently marred by his too readily indulged taste for preaching.

An admirer and occasionally an imitator of Thackeray, Anthony Trollope (1815-88), who combined an active life in the service of the General Post Office with the composition of novels which he wrote with mechanical regularity, gives a much more faithful picture of real life than most Victorian novelists, and thanks to this almost photographic verisimilitude he has appealed to modern taste. His novels are perfect mirrors of the manners and conversations of various social milieux, particularly of ecclesiastical circles in the provinces, of political and upper-class circles, etc. His minute chronicle is here and there relieved by touches of humour; he is notably free of the sentimental and melodramatic elements which date so much in the work of other Victorian novelists, especially Dickens. Trollope's best novels are those of the 'Barsetshire series': *The Warden* (1855), *Barchester Towers, Framley Parsonage*, etc.[8]

Charles Reade (1814-84) followed methods of documentation similar to those Zola was to adopt later in France, keeping files of notes, actual archives of observations from real life; his social novels are however less remembered than the historical novel *The Cloister and the Hearth* (1867).

The emancipation of women, another sign of the times, is witnessed to by a number of women novelists. Besides George Eliot and Mrs Gaskell, first-rate novels were written by the Brontë sisters, whose family history is one of the most popular in literary annals, both for their heroic struggle, and the eerie and gloomy background of the Yorkshire moors. Charlotte Brontë's (1816–55) novels, *Shirley* and *Villette*, next to crude and conventional parts, have passages of the same intensity of emotion which is the chief quality of her masterpiece, *Jane Eyre* (1847). Intensity of emotion of an even deeper degree causes Emily Brontë's (1818–48) novel, *Wuthering Heights* (1847) to appear a unique work in English literature, pitched as it is to an acute note of passion which the novelist succeeds in keeping up from beginning to end. Emily Brontë also wrote poems, where she reveals the ardent soul of a pantheist mystic and an indomitable stoic.

Mary Ann Evans (whose *nom de plume* was George Eliot) (1819–80) from her very first book, *Scenes of Clerical Life* (1857) revealed herself as a follower of a tradition which went back to the *Elegy* of Gray and to Wordsworth's poems inspired by humble life (*Peter Bell, The Idiot Boy*, etc.). She meant to show

'some of the poetry and the pathos, the tragedy and the comedy, lying in the experience of a human soul that looks out through dull grey eyes, and that speaks in a voice of quite ordinary tones'.

Some of her novels have been called, with reference to Wordsworth, 'lyrical ballads in prose'; but Wordsworth's *Ode to Duty* is echoed also in her subtle studies of conflicting consciences: *Adam Bede* (1859), *The Mill on the Floss* (1866) (the first portion of this novel, describing the early years of Maggie Tulliver, a thin disguise of the author herself, ranks with the first part of *David Copperfield* among the greatest achievements of Victorian narrative), and particularly *Middlemarch* (1872), at the end of which we read a statement that Tolstoy could have signed:

'That things are not so ill with you and me as they might have been, is half owing to the number who lived faithfully a hidden life, and rest in unvisited tombs.'

With George Eliot the anti-heroic strain (that is, the discarding of the romantic cult for showy heroes) of Victorian fiction reaches its climax; parallel with this is the discovery of heroic elements in humble souls, though mixed with much that is trivial, and the new importance given to little things, not necessarily beautiful in themselves, but invested with a momentary beauty by some sudden circumstance. George Eliot's novels suffer from being loaded with moral casuistry, and at least one of them, *Daniel Deronda* (1874–6) is positively marred by a thesis, and lives only in the sub-plot, while her historical novel with a background of Florence at the time of Savonarola, *Romola* (1863), is painstaking and unconvincing, but by laying stress on the gradual action of ordinary causes, on the cumulative weight of imponderable elements, and the

slow running on of life, the insensible alteration of character produced by the passing of time, she paved the way to the type of novel which was to triumph in the twentieth century with Virginia Woolf. She was the first novelist to reveal that trivial things, if looked at with passionate intensity, can possess an intimate beauty of their own.

George Eliot developed the novel in the direction of a subtle analysis which eventually, in modern times, was to disintegrate the narrative and threaten to kill this form of fiction; Wilkie Collins (1824-89), on the other hand, perfected the mechanism of plot-construction and the external devices of mystery, suspense, and terror (*The Woman in White*, 1860, *The Moonstone*, 1868), anticipating the detective novel and the thriller which have become nowadays a kind of literature for the masses.

The state of spiritual unrest which was latent in the background of the Victorian compromise occasionally found expression in verse. Thus in Matthew Arnold's poems (*Empedocles on Etna*, 1852, etc.) one is made aware of the painful contrast between the critic's reasoning thought and the poet's yearning for a life of serene happiness. Arnold's verse, based on classical prosody, tends spontaneously towards the elegiac mood (*The Scholar-Gipsy*, *Thyrsis*, *The Forsaken Merman*). *Thyrsis* is a lament on the death of his friend, the poet Arthur Hugh Clough (1819-61), whose short lyric 'Say not the struggle naught availeth' is one of the best-known poems of the whole of English literature.

The torment of doubt is also at the centre of Alfred Tennyson's (1809-92) inspiration: his perplexity at the revelation (thanks to the new geological discoveries) of an apparently irreconcilable contrast between Nature and the foundations of religion, may be compared to that of the seventeenth-century poet John Donne in an equally critical period of the spiritual history of Europe. Tennyson's philosophical dismay found expression in *In Memoriam*, written on the occasion of the death of his friend Arthur Hallam in 1833: he occasionally vented his irritation against the conditions of contemporary society in satire (*The Princess*, 1847, a satire of the feminist movement), and in accents of bitter violence (*Locksley Hall*, and especially *Maud*, 1855). Tennyson's pessimistic outlook softened however in that mild twilight of the gods, *The Idylls of the King* (1859-85), where the Arthurian legend becomes almost a parable of the manners, ideals and disappointments of the Victorian age. *In Memoriam* can be considered the most typical poem of the Victorian era, being the expression of the struggle between despair and confidence in man's destiny, and *Ulysses* (in the 1842 volume of *Poems*) is the embodiment of a peculiarly English attitude based on man's dignity and self-control ('to strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield'). The chief note of Tennyson's inspiration is however an elegiac, almost Virgilian, grace, expressed in melodious, polished verse.

Social, and chiefly political interests inspired Elizabeth Barrett Browning (1806-61); her ambitious poem *Aurora Leigh* (1857) is a document of the

social background of the period; *Casa Guidi Windows* (1851) breathes enthusiasm for the Italian Risorgimento; but her title to fame is the collection of *Sonnets from the Portuguese* (1847), where she tells the inner story of her love for Robert Browning. The bourgeois spirit of Victorian home life is nowhere better expressed than in *The Angel in the House* (1854–63) by Coventry Patmore (1823–96), who later became converted to Roman Catholicism and wrote mystical verse under the influence of the English seventeenth-century poets (*The Unknown Eros*, 1877). He and the Protestant Christina Rossetti (1830–94) are the outstanding religious poets of the age. Christina Rossetti, who also wrote delightful verse for children (*Goblin Market*) had a limited range of inspiration, but her dreamy, sad strains possess some of the magic of the Elizabethan songs.

Victorian poets, on the whole, continued to write in the wake of their great romantic predecessors. This is evident in the Pre-Raphaelite movement, founded in 1848 by a handful of artists who preached a 'return to Nature' tinged with evangelic mysticism. (Similar movements had taken place in the first part of the nineteenth century in Germany, with Overbeck and the Nazarenes; in France, with the Lyons group partly inspired by Ingres—chiefly Hippolyte Flandrin; and in Belgium, with François Navez.) The movement, meant to be a reaction against the materialism of the age represented by the elegant and superficial academic painters then in vogue, at first concerned painting rather than literature. Its chief exponent, Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828–82), the son of Gabriele Rossetti, an Italian exile, joined both capacities in his unique personality, and drew a parallel between pictorial and musical composition which was ultimately to lead to the 'art for art's sake' theory in England by stressing the technical and sensuous elements of a work of art as primary, and even sufficient ones. Thus Pre-Raphaelitism, having set out from a conception akin to Ruskin's (who became its eloquent supporter), reached a point diametrically opposed, and paved the way to Pater, Wilde, and the decadents.

Rossetti struck a new note in English poetry with the translations collected in his *Early Italian Poets*, 1861 (reprinted later as *Dante and his Circle*), and his original verse, partly modelled on the Italian poets (*The Blessed Damozel*, the sonnets of *The House of Life*), partly on the Border Ballads and the German romantics (*Sister Helen*). His verse (*Poems*, 1870, *Ballads and Sonnets*, 1881) invests archaic forms with a modern mixture of spirit and sense, and exerts a rich, though somewhat funereal, appeal.

Rossetti's influence on his contemporaries was not so strong as that of his disciple William Morris (1834–96), who began as a medieval exoticist with *The Defence of Guenevere and Other Poems* (1858), his most remarkable volume of verse, and wrote imitations of Chaucer and Spencer (*The Earthly Paradise*) and of Germanic and Scandinavian sagas: his poems are universal and dull like Leconte de Lisle's. He tried to revive the medieval spirit in handicrafts, and for a time was a militant socialist;[9] in a Utopian story, *News from Nowhere*

(1891), he imagined a future England under a communist régime. The books published by the Kelmscott Press he founded are among the most beautiful of the century. The Pre-Raphaelites were responsible for the popularity of Edward FitzGerald's translation of Omar Khayyam's *Rubáiyát*: the polished quatrains of the eleventh–twelfth-century Persian poet contributed, with their bland pessimism, to bring about a decadent atmosphere.

Robert Browning's (1812–89) reaction to the poetry of his time is not unlike that of John Donne's to the late sixteenth-century Petrarchists. Browning's counterpoint is in sharp contrast to Tennyson's melody. From his first works (*Pauline*, 1833, *Paracelsus*, 1835, *Sordello*, 1840) he revealed peculiar characteristics, such as a predilection for problems of conscience treated in a dramatic way, and a habit of referring to objects through involved comparisons and quaint rhymes. All these features, and a more elusive one contributed by the pauses and gestures implied in this type of composition, made of Browning's poetry a byword for grotesqueness. His curious medley of philosophical contents (his idealistic outlook owed much to Goethe and Carlyle) and impressionist technique is occasionally quite disconcerting. *The Ring and the Book* (1886–89), the great dramatic poem inspired by an Italian trial of the seventeenth century, has been defined 'the apothesis of the insignificant': Browning transforms the insignificant by investing it with a violent play of lights and shades which reminds one of Victor Hugo. The problem of a single soul engrossed the poet so much that he was unable to write dramas as good as his soliloquies contained in *Dramatic Lyrics* (1842), *Dramatic Romances and Lyrics* (1845), *Men and Women* (1855), *Dramatis Personae* (1864), *Dramatic Idylls* (1879–80). Browning found out a method of bringing verse closer to life, by writing an extremely supple kind of verse, capable of changing its tone from the high to the flat in the twinkling of an eye, of expressing a flight of imagination as well as common speech and even a silent significant gesture: Browning's influence on Ezra Pound and, indirectly on most poetry written after the First World War, is unmistakable, and poems like *The Englishman in Italy* and *Waring*, written in the mid-nineteenth century, mark a new start, though they remained without a following for a time.

A contemporary of Rossetti and Swinburne, at one time associated with them and the Pre-Raphaelite group, George Meredith (1828–1909) cuts an eccentric figure in the Victorian period, in which he was almost as much of an isolated phenomenon as Browning. Both a poet and a novelist, his production is characterized by a strong intellectual bias, and betrays a constant effort to achieve vividness, pith, and pungency at all costs (probably an effort of over-compensation for his sense of inferiority at being known as the son of a tailor); he tries to express the psychological rhythm of his characters with an impressionist technique, and falls into the error of using a disproportionately complex method to signify simple things. In this he is not unlike Browning, with whom he shares also an optimistic outlook on life: he believes that men

are not slaves of a cruel chance or mechanical destiny, but 'children of Bene-
ficence and in its being sharers', as he says in one of his poems (*The Question Whither*). His outlook is, in fact, that of a poet: he loved epical subjects, des-
pised the pedestrian methods of the Victorian novelists, and let the changing
light of the comic spirit (an idea derived from his father-in-law Thomas Love
Peacock) play on his plots and his dialogues. Though fantasy and an epigram-
matic wit play too large a part in his novels, his feminine characters reveal a
great insight, and at least once, in studying the soul of an egoist, he achieved a
masterpiece. (*The Egoist*, 1879; other well-known novels are: *Beauchamp's
Career*, *Diana of the Crossways*, *One of our Conquerors*; *Sandra Belloni*, 1864,
and especially *Vittoria*, 1866, were inspired by the Italian Risorgimento.)
Meredith's chief title to fame as a poet are the fifty sonnets of *Modern Love*
(1862); his other poems embody an interpretation of the riddle of the world,
and abound in symbols and abstractions which make one think of the alle-
gorical paintings of Frederick Watts.

Humour was a distinctive trait of the bourgeois period which goes under
the name of Queen Victoria; we find abundance of it in the novelists (Dickens,
Thackeray, Trollope, even George Eliot), in a poet like Thomas Hood (1799–
1845), who besides serious poems (like the too famous *Song of the Shirt*) wrote
others which are strings of puns, in the children's classic, *Alice's Adventures
in Wonderland* (1865) by Lewis Carroll (pseudonym of Charles L. Dodgson,
1832–98), in Edward Lear's (1812–88) *nonsense verse*.

The Italian Risorgimento, which inspired at least two major writers in
England—Meredith and, as we shall see, Swinburne—found in Italy itself
hardly an adequate response in art, with the exception of Verdi, whose music,
well in keeping with the Risorgimento spirit of adventure and daring, had all
the fire of the Elizabethans and gave a voice to the *spirito garibaldino*. Giovanni
Berchet's (1783–1851) patriotic poetry at the beginning of the century was
hardly better than the work of an *improvvisatore*. Even if one takes Silvio
Pellico's (1789–1854) *Le mie prigioni* (1832), the most popular of all books
written by Italian patriots, its spirit is pure Biedermeier, its leading themes
being religious faith, humility, resignation to the will of Providence and
forgiveness for all men, the oppressors and tyrants not excluded. Another
patriot, Giovanni Ruffini (1807–81), a favourite disciple of Mazzini, took the
intense religious fervour of the struggle for freedom as the background of his
novels (*Lorenzo Benoni*, 1853, *Dottor Antonio*, 1855, both written in English),
but their tame, idyllic character was not only due to the fact that they were
designed to enlist the sympathies of Victorian England for the Risorgimento:
for all his patriotic enthusiasm Ruffini had a Biedermeier soul. Another patriot
who fought in the war of liberation and was controller of Garibaldi's Thousand,
Ippolito Nievo (1831–61), in his *Confessioni di un italiano* (posthumously
published 1867) tried to envisage past events with the nostalgic, ironic detach-
ment of an old man. Even in G. C. Abba's celebrated epic chronicle of
Garibaldi's expedition, with the modest title *Noterelle di uno dei Mille* (1880),

we find an educational intention, an insistence on the virtues of silent struggle and endurance, and much that is idealized literary portraiture, rather than accents equal to the simple enthusiasm and the juvenile fervour of action which animated Garibaldi's soldiers. Only the belated Giosuè Carducci (1835–1907) had accents which could vie with Victor Hugo's exuberant hymns and invectives (*Giambi ed Epodi*, 1867–79, *Rime nuove*, 1861–87, *Odi barbare*, 1877–89, *La Canzone di Legnano*, composed in 1879, etc.). The Risorgimento had its solid thinkers like the economist and historian Carlo Cattaneo and the great literary critic Francesco De Sanctis (1817–83), the first modern, Italian critic of international importance; but no impassioned tribune (or only a caricature in G. D. Guerrazzi) and no voice of an indignant satirist, for no one could give this name to Giuseppe Giusti's (1809–50) light, parochial raillery.

French literature after the mid-century presents similar features to English literature of the same period so far as the romantic heritage is concerned. In France too one notices a reaction against the excesses and oddities which go under the name of 'low romanticism', and the new movements which appeal to the best talents have anti-romantic traits; nevertheless the very writers who claim to oppose romantic conventions are full of romantic spirit and benefit by the experiences of romanticism. Even the group which hoisted the banner of 'art for art's sake' (Gautier, Flaubert, Leconte de Lisle, Baudelaire, Banville, the Goncourts) shared in the general reaction, of a rationalist and bourgeois character, against the romantic 'delirium', although they fought the supporters of conventional ethics and the worshippers of the new powers, science and industry. Baudelaire's masterpiece, *Les Fleurs du mal*, has a strong romantic flavour, as it sanctions the most idealistic of all romantic tenets: that beauty and poetry are everywhere, even in decay and death. He asserts, in theory, that pleasure and pain are inseparable and, in practice, he cherishes themes of defiled and tormented beauty. Flaubert saw *la grande synthèse*, complete poetry, precisely in this kind of ambiguous beauty.

Charles Baudelaire (1821–67) began by publishing a volume of art criticism, *Salon de 1845*, in which he professed his admiration for the great romantic painter Delacroix who had been inspired by Byron. The discovery of a twin soul in Edgar Allan Poe and his own translation of his tales was a decisive experience for him; the novels of the Marquis de Sade and Choderlos de Laclos' *Liaisons dangereuses* (1782), the novel which in a sense may be called the *Clarissa* of France with more right than Rousseau's *Nouvelle Héloïse*, greatly contributed to the education of his sensibility. Another decisive experience, of another kind, was his liaison with the half-caste Jeanne Duval. The author and the publisher of *Les Fleurs du mal* (1857) were prosecuted and fined for outrage on decency, and six poems had to be suppressed. Through his not very extensive work (besides his book of poems, prose works such as *Les Paradis artificiels*, 1861, a literary and psychological essay on the effects of hashish and opium, *Mon Cœur mis à nu*, *Petits Poèmes en prose*, articles on Constantin Guys, the painter of Parisian life, an apology of Richard Wagner

and *Tannhäuser*), Baudelaire succeeded in giving to his contemporaries what Hugo called a *frisson nouveau*. His search after the strange and the macabre is not devoid of affectation, although the poet had a genuine feeling for that kind of appeal, and it was this satanic aspect of him, a sort of quintessence of the most sinister and perverse romanticism (in which he had been anticipated by that bizarre talent, Pétrus Borel, 'le lycanthrope', 1809–59), that first found followers and imitators. A later age became aware of how much that was sane and universal was contained in his melancholy poetry, which often achieves perfection of form while musically transubstantiating, through the medium of a voluptuous sensibility, the petty adventures of the poet's miserable life, and imparting a disconsolate sweetness to the realization of the indissoluble links of the ephemeral with the eternal. An idea is never stated by Baudelaire in the abstract, but is communicated through sensation, to which it clings in an inseparable way: in this union of spirit and sense lies what is really vital and authentic in that *frisson nouveau*. The new note he struck widened the horizons of poetry, and started a new metaphysical wave in European lyrics (the previous waves being the Italian *stil nuovo* in the thirteenth century, and the school of John Donne in seventeenth-century England).

What Baudelaire was for poetry, Gustave Flaubert (1821–80) was for prose. The two writers are like the two faces of a Herm planted firmly in the middle of the century, marking the division between Romanticism and Decadence, between the period of the fatal man and that of the fatal woman, between the period of Delacroix and that of Moreau. A great worker, very middle class in his habits, Flaubert had all the relentless hatred of a romantic against whatever was middle class. In his early production in which he served his apprenticeship, one notices a thoroughly romantic fondness for the strange, the exotic, the enormous. With the romantics he had in common the taste for the Orient, the lecherous, bloodstained Orient, and for the ancient world, full of immense vices and magnificent crimes. In this he is very close to Gautier and Baudelaire. This romantic predilection, or rather obsession, found expression in the mature artist in *Salammbô* (1862), a novel whose background is ancient Carthage, in *La Tentation de Saint-Antoine* (1874), in which primitive Christianity and the sects, superstitions and cruelties of those distant centuries are seen as in a nightmare; in the story of *Hérodias*. In these works and in the *Légende de Saint-Julien l'Hospitalier* Flaubert applied to the study of the ancient world that very method of minute and exact observation of reality, of faithful and 'objective' reconstruction of states of mind which he had triumphantly inaugurated in the novels and stories of contemporary society, *Madame Bovary* (1857), *L'Education sentimentale* (1870), *Un Cœur simple* (in *Trois Contes*, 1877). *Madame Bovary*, published in the same year as *Les Fleurs du mal*, prosecuted like Baudelaire's work for outrage on religion and morality, marks an important date in the history of modern literatures. That sad story of a middle-class woman with a romantic and hungering soul who through adultery brings her family to ruin and herself to commit suicide,

surpasses all other similar works of fiction thanks to Flaubert's unique gift of communicating sympathy and compassion through such a bare and factual narrative that the reader is never aware of the author's intervention. The very selection and bringing together of facts, observed with stubborn fidelity, works the miracle: there had never been an author who had so deliberately avoided soliciting emotion and tears, and still no one had ever written such moving stories. A comparison with another kind of 'realist', Thackeray, brings out Flaubert's virtues, showing why the French novelist succeeds where the English one is tame and ineffective. *Vanity Fair* seemed at one time a no less brutal work than *Madame Bovary*, but how timid, gawky and verbose does Thackeray appear if we think of the concealed boldness, the tense 'impassibility', and compendious spareness of Flaubert! Flaubert too, like Thackeray, chose his characters out of mediocre people, weak-minded and mean-spirited; he too vented his merciless irony on some of them (as on Homais the chemist, or on the protagonists of his unfinished novel *Bouvard et Pécuchet*, 1881), but of others he makes us aware, much better than Thackeray, not only of what is reprehensibly feeble, or mean, or selfish in them, but also of what is pathetically human. The story of *L'Education sentimentale* is even more grey and painful than that of *Madame Bovary*: there is nothing in it of that boundless aspiration, that convulsive struggle which makes the previous novel so dramatic; in the *Education* we watch the slow progressive foundering of a soul: Frederic Moreau is a weakling, a mediocrity, who misses the type of life he had dreamed of in the spiritual heat of his youth; a series of commonplace experiences, described in their dull actuality, in the long run bring him down to the level of the anonymous provincial middle class. The story of *Un Cœur simple* is even more trivial: its protagonist is a simple-minded servant-maid with primitive, naïve reactions. In these works Flaubert opened new paths to fiction: hitherto a dramatic, sensational plot had been considered (by Dickens, for instance) a necessary requisite in order to attract readers; Flaubert was the first to show how much even a life 'where nothing happens' may interest and move us. Literary taste in Europe was ripe for this discovery; about this time George Eliot in England and Goncharov in Russia fixed their attention on ordinary people, on grey lives (Goncharov went so far as to accuse Flaubert of having plagiarized him, which was manifestly impossible).

A legion of realist writers rose in France in the tracks of the author of *Madame Bovary*; they felt also the influence of Hippolyte Taine (1828–93), a positivist philosopher of the school of Auguste Comte and Herbert Spencer, who made a stir as a critic and historian. He meant to make of criticism a positive science: a critic was expected to apply the strict analysis of a naturalist to the finding out of causes, and the systematic deduction of a geometrician to the enforcing of the laws; writers were to him the mechanical product of three general factors: climate, race, and the historical moment; and this physiological and social background interested him much more than the work of art. He explained psychology through physiology, and in order to prove his

assumption better he fixed his attention on abnormal, singular, and extreme cases. Novelists, following his lead, concentrated on such cases. Although Taine's theory has been discredited since, his work has real merits in the picture of social and cultural conditions of periods of history, and in the choice of curious and picturesque details (*Essai sur La Fontaine et ses fables*, 1853, *Historie de la littérature anglaise*, 1863, *Philosophie de l'art*, 1865–69, *Origines de la France contemporaine*, 1875, and following years).

The naturalist novel flourished in France under the double influence of Flaubert and Taine. The author who gave the more widespread formulae, at home as well as abroad, was Emile Zola (1840–1903), who invented the definition of 'experimental novel' (as if the novelist was like a chemist in his laboratory), and presumed to illustrate the laws of heredity in his cycle of *Les Rougon-Macquart*, 'the natural history of a family under the Second Empire', where he wanted to give a picture as imposing as Balzac's *Comédie humaine* to which he referred. But, though deceptive from a scientific point of view, and thin and rudimentary from a psychological one, Zola's novels have romantic qualities of picturesqueness in the descriptions, in which he displays technical information and constructive skill. This would-be scientist has an unbridled fantasy which transforms reality into hallucinatory visions, and individuals into symbols and allegories, so that he has been justly credited with having written 'sociological epos', and some likeness has been seen between his work and Hugo's *Légende des siècles*. His most famous novels are *L'Assommoir*, 1877, an epos of the Parisian working man, *Germinal*, 1885, an epos of the northern miner, *La Terre, Son Excellence Eugène Rougon*.

Interest for what is bizarre and exceptional is dominant in the Goncourt brothers (Edmond, 1822–96, Jules, 1830–70), who through their studies of misfits, or odd and refined people (*Renée Mauperin*, 1864, *Germinie Lacerteux*, 1865, etc.), their collecting mania for eighteenth-century and Japanese objects of art, and their impressionist style both sophisticated and every now and then cruelly precise, started the Decadence. With another disciple of Zola, Joris-Karl Huysmans (1848–1907), the Decadence is in full swing. Before becoming a fervent Catholic, and applying the technique of the naturalist school to the description of religious life (*La Cathédrale*, 1896), he gave in *A vau-l'eau* an unforgettable picture of the petty troubles of everyday life, and in *A rebours*, 1884, the pivot upon which the whole psychology of the Decadent movement turns: in it all the phenomena of this state of mind are illustrated down to the minutest details, in the instance of its chief character des Esseintes. All the prose works of the Decadence (Wilde, D'Annunzio, etc.) are contained in embryo in *A rebours*, on which the influence of Baudelaire and Flaubert is evident.

Also the Provençal Alphonse Daudet (1840–97) was Zola's disciple: a sentimental writer in the manner of Dickens, picturesque and anecdotical, a painter of the manners of the Second Empire (*Le Nabab*), of the little courts of de-throned sovereigns (*Les Rois en exil*), of the life of the low middle class and the

working class, of the daily struggle for life (*Le Petit Chose*, in which he narrates his childhood and unhappy youth), he had also, like Dickens, a healthy comical strain which enabled him to create the figure of a Provençal Don Quixote, Tartarin de Tarascon.

Guy de Maupassant (1850–93) professed himself a follower of Flaubert rather than of Zola; he had an innate gift of keen observation and of vigorous and detached story-telling: his unequalled spareness occasionally verges on a kind of dry irony; he does not go in for subtle psychological analysis, but powerfully conveys the human touch in the gestures, acts, and natural speech of his characters chosen from among Norman peasants, low middle-class people, loafers and social climbers (*Bel Ami*), and from among the pathetic and sometimes involuntarily heroic figures of the defeated France of 1870 (*Boule de suif*); he needs no more than a few brushstrokes to create a situation, a drama; like Flaubert he is capable of conjuring up a painfully true picture of human life out of mediocre sorrows and humdrum events (as in the novel, *Une Vie*). Under the influence of the mental illness which brought him to an early death, he turned to morbid themes and the study of obsessions (*Le Horla*, *Sur l'Eau*) which he recorded with an equally spontaneous touch of a born artist.

Paul Bourget (1852–1935) was in a way a realist too: he brought a precise and detailed documentation to bear on psychological and ethical theses, which appeared profound and exciting at the time: the novel became in his hands, as Taine had recommended, a document of moral history. Like Balzac he inserts reflections and theories into his stories, and is fond of explaining and dissecting his characters. (*Le Disciple*, 1889, is the most successful of his attempts in this direction.)

Another subtle psychologist, though rather connected with the French eighteenth-century writers before Rousseau than with the naturalist school, was Anatole France (pseudonym of Jacques-Anatole Thibaut, 1844–1924), novelist, essayist, critic, philosopher and poet; a hater, like Voltaire, of all forms of fanaticism and, again like Voltaire, blandly ironical, but good-natured and compassionate as Voltaire never was; he also passionately loved reason and justice. Love for old books and out-of-the-way erudition was instilled into him by his father, a bookseller: hence the peculiar flavour of his tales which reflect the most various historical climates (Thebais of the hermits in *Thaïs*, 1890, France of the Terror in *Les Dieux ont soif*, 1912, cosmopolitan Florence at the end of the century in *Le Lys rouge*, 1894, etc.). Other works of his which were greatly admired at the time are: *Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard*, 1881, *La Rôtisserie de la reine Pédauque* and the memorable *Les Opinions de M. Jérôme Coignard*, 1893, the clever picture of the political manners of contemporary France contained in the volumes of *Histoire contemporaine*, 1897–1900, chiefly *L'Orme du Mail*, and *Monsieur Bergeret à Paris*, and the subtle reconstruction of the psychological climate of the fifteenth century in *Jeanne d'Arc* (1908). His style, though achieved at the expense of

much labour, gives the impression of fluency and a native elegance. It has been-said that France transfused into fiction the influence of Ernest Renan (1823-92), a philologist and philosopher, who having abandoned the Church in consequence of his studies of the Scriptures, produced a famous *Histoire des origines du Christianisme*, 1863-83, whose first volume, *Vie de Jésus*, 1863, was put on the Index. He has been defined as a Christian positivist; a positivist because, having set religious faith aside, he admitted only what was proved true by experience; but Christian, too, because of his love for Jesus, his moral character and teaching, and because of his own wish to see Jesus' influence on mankind perpetually secured. He accomplished his task of irreligious science so religiously, that he made it impossible for many either to stick to faith or to fight it. He destroyed the edifice Voltaire had shaken, but he destroyed the Voltairean spirit too. A writer full of grace, serene irony and fascinating ductility, an exquisite landscape painter and a penetrating student of souls, Renan exerted an indisputable, though imponderable, influence on the *fin de siècle*, by stirring interest and sympathy for religious things, for the states of mind of saints and mystics. Without Renan such work as Walter Pater's *Marius the Epicurean* and George Moore's *The Brook Kerith* would have been inconceivable.

Realism became a widespread tendency throughout Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century, and no country was better prepared for it than Italy, which had broken away from the 'aureate' academic tradition and was trying to find its way in a kind of art closer to everyday life. Edmondo De Amicis (1846-1908), that late follower of Manzoni, and the first popular writer of united Italy, a moralist of the schoolteaching kind, and in the end a moderate socialist, had too much in him of the Biedermeier spirit to be able to follow in the path of realism; human sympathy is the keynote of *Cuore* (1866), a popular book of short stories which vies in lachrymosity with Dickens' most mawkish passages, a classic for Italian boys no less than Carlo Collodi's (1826-90) *Pinocchio* (1883), which, though steeped also in Biedermeier feeling, has a subtler quality of fantasy and psychological observation. And though Antonio Fogazzaro (1842-1911) adopted realist methods in his descriptions of milieux and of minor characters, he harked back to vague romantic ideals, and was swayed by an inner conflict between sensuality and religious faith which only in one case allowed him to produce a successful work of art, indeed a little masterpiece, *Piccolo mondo antico* (1895). There is a *verismo* which fascinates us by its photographic accuracy, through which objects, by becoming unfamiliar, in the course of time acquire a hallucinatory power: such is the *verismo* of Federico De Roberto (1861-1927), the author of *I Viceré* (1894); but when *verismo* coincides with great art it has the power of resisting the years; it is always contemporary: such is the *verismo* of Giovanni Verga (1840-1922). Verga had imbibed the lesson of the French realists; the objectivity of the artist, the scrupulous reproduction of human data, the so-called *tranche de vie*, etc., were canons in which he believed, and those canons formed the

programme of Flaubert, the Goncourts and Zola. Verga was a long time in finding himself; he had a passionate Sicilian nature to express, and the canon of objectivity acted as a convenient check to what might have been too exuberant. When, about forty, he came back to his native place, he found his inspiration in the passionate primitive race round him (*I Malavoglia*, 1881, *Mastro Don Gesualdo*, 1889). There was no burning desire for reform and redemption of the masses in Verga, who was in this respect very much unlike the European, particularly English and Russian, novelists of the nineteenth century. There was however in him a sense of wonder, which was developed by his long sojourn on the Continent, at the discovery of the virgin, almost mythical, world of Sicilian peasants. Striking away from the aureate tradition of Italian prose, Verga made the Sicilian shepherds talk their own language: it was, at the end of the nineteenth century, in Italy, a repetition of Words-worth's discovery of the virgin world of peasants and humble people, unadulterated by the sophistications and conventions of society. Thus he suc-ceeded in becoming the founder of the modern tradition of Italian fiction.

In Spain Benito Pérez Galdós (1843–1920), who created in the forty-six volumes of his *Episodios nacionales* (1873 and following years) a narrative work which can vie with Balzac's for its rich invention and vast gallery of portraits, found in the French Naturalist movement not only a new technique, but a new aim for the novel, and was thus enabled to reach his full expression in *Fortunata y Jacinta* (1887–8), in which the characters of the two heroines, one swayed by the passion of love to the point of self-sacrifice, the other obsessed by a tragic yearning after maternity, are powerfully studied against a background teeming with minor figures and situations caught with deep psychological insight. In Portugal José Maria de Eça de Queiroz (1845–1900) oscillated, like Flaubert, between romantic themes and close rendering of reality, decidedly adopting the methods of realism in *Singolaridades duma rapariga loira* (*Eccentricities of a Blonde Girl*, 1873; the case of a kleptomaniac) and in *O crime do padre Amaro* (*The Crime of Father Amaro*, written in 1871, published in 1875), which inaugurated the Portuguese realist school: curiously enough Eça de Queiroz anticipated Zola in the treatment of the problem of the celibacy of the clergy (*La Faute de l'abbé Mouret*, also published in 1875).

German fiction in the mid-century cannot compete with that of France and England; there was, though, an anticipation of realism in a little novel describing peasant life in Westphalia, *Oberhof* (1838–9) by Karl Lebrecht Immermann (1796–1840), which the writer, following a romantic recipe of contrasts which was as old as Cervantes, inserted into his *Münchhausen, eine Geschichte in Arabesken* (a sequel to the famous *Adventures of Baron Münch-hausen* which had formed the subject of two eighteenth-century works, one by Rudolf Erich Respe, the other by Gottfried Bürger). Outstanding narrative works came during this period from writers belonging to the outskirts of Germany: the Schleswig-born Theodor Woldsen Storm (1817–88), author of

delicately sentimental stories; the Bohemian Adalbert Stifter (1805–68), whose short stories (*Studien* and *Bunte Steine*), and novels (*Nachsommer* and *Witiko*) abound in descriptions of his native land (Stifter was also a painter and a botanist); the Swiss Gottfried Keller (1819–90), who told his own hard life and laborious spiritual growth in *Der grüne Heinrich* (two versions, 1845 and 1880), and gave a neat and serene picture, touched with irony and sentimentality, of Swiss provincial society. Keller cultivated also a literary genre, the 'Dorfgeschichte' (village story), that had been inaugurated by the Black Forest Jew Berthold Auerbach (1812–82) with his *Schwarzwälder Dorfgeschichten* (1843–60): this latter enjoyed a widespread reputation in Europe and, together with the rural tales of George Sand, influenced Turgenev.

Another Swiss largely contributed about the same to the formation of a new German literature, Conrad Ferdinand Meyer (1825–98), who sought inspiration from history, first for a poem on the forerunner of the Reformation, Hutten (*Huttens letzte Tage*, 1872), then for the novels *Jürg Jenatsch* (on a Grisons Protestant clergyman who defends his native land against the Spaniards and the French during the Thirty Years' War), and *Der Heilige* (on the life of Thomas à Becket), and later on, stimulated by Jakob Burckhardt, the historian of the Renaissance, for his novels with an Italian background (*Die Versuchung des Pescara, Angela Borgia, Die Hochzeit des Mönchs*); Meyer was chiefly interested in the liveliness and colour of the narration, much less in historical reconstruction or psychological analysis. A closer attention to reality is common to Spielhagen, Fontane, and Heyse. Friedrich Spielhagen's (1829–1911) tales and novels (*Problematische Naturen, Hammer und Amboss, In Reih und Glied*) show the development of German society in the second half of the century, with a mixture of romantic and realistic elements, while the middle class was specially studied by Gustav Freytag (1816–95), whose *Soll und Haben*, on the contrast between the mercantile bourgeoisie, which is praised for its virtue, and the landed aristocracy, which is blamed for its carelessness, that makes it a prey for the Jewish usurers, caused a considerable stir at the time. Freytag complicated a simple story (like the one which forms the subject of *Die verlorene Handschrift*) with innumerable digressions and conversations of minor characters, and when he wanted to write ambitious fiction of an epic amplitude, as in *Die Ahnen* or in the *Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit*, he succeeded only in writing long-winded chronicles. Theodor Fontane (1819–98) owes his reputation not to his historical novels but to those with a modern social background, written in a caustic, self-possessed style which does not exclude sympathy and warmth of feeling. He has been called a forerunner of impressionism and naturalism for *L'Adultera* (title in Italian, after a painting by Tintoretto), *Cecilia, Stine, Jenny Treibel*, and especially *Effi Briest* (1894), his masterpiece, on which the influence of *Madame Bovary* is obvious. Fontane was a master in the art of dialogue. Paul Heyse (1830–1914), like Freytag, had a sociological thesis to advance, though of a different kind: he opposed the artist's conception of life to the philistinism of the

bourgeoisie; he had more feeling for form and language than most of his fellow novelists, but was not a story-teller by instinct (*Die Kinder der Welt*, 1873, *Im Paradiese*, 1874, a picture of the Munich artistic milieu). He wrote also stories with an Italian subject, but of a conventional character. On the whole, German fiction of this period is still largely based on romantic themes which are near their exhaustion; the realistic outlook asserts itself particularly in the stories that have country life for background, like those of the peasant-born Peter Rosegger (1843–1918), or in stories which give a minute description of a particular society, like the Austrian Ferdinand von Saar's (1833–1906) *Novellen aus Oesterreich.*

The transition from romanticism to Biedermeier and realism which is represented in England by the 'eccentrics' (Lamb, De Quincey), and in Germany by Heine, and was characterized by humour, running up and down the gamut from tears to laughter, found in Russia a supreme expression in Nikolai Vasilyevich Gogol (1809–52), who was born in the Ukraine and spent a great part of his life abroad, mostly in Rome, which he found the most congenial place to live in. He exploited Ukrainian folklore, both the romantically fantastic legends and the realistic description of customs, in the stories of the *Večera na chutore bliz' Dikan'ki* (*Evenings on a Farm near Dikanka*, 1831–2) and of *Mirgorod* (1835). Gogol was a great creator of characters: his masterpiece, *Mërtvyia du̇i* (*Dead Souls*, first part 1842, the second, unfinished, appeared later, the third was destroyed by the author), is full of them: the intention of the author was to give a complete picture of the virtues and defects of the Russian people, which surpassed those of all the other nations: the first part, meant to illustrate the defects, deals with the trick used by a country squire, Čičikov in order to secure a concession of land on the strength of the number of serfs owned: he buys for a trifling sum a quantity of such peasants who, having died after the last census, had not yet been struck off the list of the living: his wanderings for that purpose through the Russian countryside offer the opportunity to draw a picture of Russian life, both realistic and grotesque, interspersed with frequent either lyrical or ethical digressions: the work is implicitly a condemnation of serfdom. In the tales which are known under the general title of *Stories of St Petersburg* (1835) (*Nevskij Prospekt* [*Nevsky Prospect*] where the influence of De Quincey can be easily detected, *Nos* [*The Nose*], *Portret* [*The Portrait*], *Sinel* [*The Greatcoat*]), the mixture of romantic and realistic elements produces grotesque and pathetic effects which amount to a surrealism *ante litteram*. The same ambiguity between reality and fantasy predominates in the play *Revizor* (*The Inspector-General*, 1836), where the overtones create the picture of a world sinking in absurdity and decay. When Dostoevsky said later that the whole of Russian literature had come out of Gogol's *Overcoat*, he did not refer to the surrealistic element, but to the profound human insight which Gogol had shown in the portrait of the wretched clerk Akakij Akakievič, and to his denunciation of social conditions as responsible for human unhappiness. Of the purely

realistic tendency, which was going to be the mainroad of the Russian novel, Gogol-gave no more than a hint in *Starosvetskie Pomieščiki* (*Landowners of Old*, in the collection of tales *Mirgorod*), and in *Proviest' o tom, kak possorilsia Ivan Ivanovič s Ivanom Nikiforovicĕm* (*How Ivan Ivanovich Quarrelled with Ivan Nikiforovich*, in the same collection).

Broadly speaking, one may distinguish two currents in Russian prose: one closer to Western literatures along the lines of the country story, the German *Dorfgeschichte* and George Sand's *contes du terroir*; the other of the social story, that, though it also had its precedents in the West (Dickens, Hugo, etc.), took little by little a more specifically Russian character as it dealt with Russian problems. Country stories were written by Dmitry Vasilyevich Grigorovich, with particular emphasis on the problem of serfdom, but his work is outshone by that of Aksakov and Turgenev. Sergei Timofeyevich Aksakov (1791–1859) did not however seem to be alive to that problem in the two novels which have made his reputatioᴜ, *Semejanaja chronika* (*Family Chronicle*, 1856) and *Detskie gody Bagrova vnuka* (*The years of Childhood of Bagrov the Grandson*, 1858): he idealized in them the positive sides of the traditional patriarchial country life; his prose continues the tradition of simplicity inaugurated by Pushkin, and links it, through some of Turgenev's and Goncharov's works, to Tolstoy's style. Ivan Sergeyevich Turgenev (1818–83) began with a collection of stories of the *Dorfgeschichte* kind, *Zapiski ochotnika* (*Sketches of a Sportsman*, 1847–51), vignettes of Russian country life which had no little influence in creating an atmosphere favourable to the liberation of the serfs. Though he lived mostly abroad, in Germany and France, where he made friends with many outstanding writers, Turgenev watched social and political developments at home, during a period characterized by the growth of liberal ideas, and in a sense was their historian in his novels, *Rudin*, *Dvorjanskoe gnezdo* (*A Nest of Gentlefolk*, 1855), *Ottsy i deti* (*Fathers and Sons*, 1862), *Dym* (*Smoke*, 1867), and *Nov'* (*Virgin Soil*, 1876), which aroused great interest and provoked some reactions, since the author put his finger on some sore points of Russian life, such as the 'superfluous man' (the man who, owing to his hereditary characteristics, cannot make himself useful to society), the nihilist who revolted against all social conventions, the 'penitent nobleman', who tries to dedicate himself to the welfare of the people as if in atonement of the privileges he had once enjoyed, and so on. He was, however, the most Westernized among great Russian writers, and artistic expression rather than ideologies was his chief aim: it predominated in his short stories, some of which are little masterpieces (*Stepnoj korol' Lir* [*A King Lear of the Steppe*], 1870—*Pervaja ljubov'* [*First Love*], 1860); their realism has the straightforwardness and balance that Pushkin had taught.[10]

An even more typical Russian figure than those found in Turgenev was created by Ivan Alexandrovich Goncharov (1812–92) in the protagonist of the novel *Oblomov* (published in book form in 1858, but already partially known ten years before), whose apathy, common to much Russian landed gentry

whose laziness was favoured by serfdom, was so effectively portrayed by the novelist that the word 'oblomovism' became current (the critic Dobrolyubov wrote a memorable essay: *Čto takoe oblomovščina ?—What is Oblomovism ?*); the phenomenon had been already recorded by Turgenev in *Rudin* and by the social agitator Aleksandr Herzen (1812–70) in *Kto vinovat ?* (*Whose Fault ?* 1847); (Herzen's chief title to literary fame is the book of memoirs *Byloe i dumy—The Past and Thoughts*, the first part of which was published in London in 1861). Goncharov was fascinated by the theme of humdrum lives, of the slow crumbling of man's will and intentions through the insidious daily action of disappointment and failure, a theme which gives to his other novel, *Obyknovennaja istorija* (*A Common Story*, 1847), a family air with Flaubert's *Education sentimentale.*[11]

Russian literary criticism, starting from Vissarion Grigoryevich Belinsky's (1810–48) considerations about the 'natural school' as a reaction to romantic vagaries, advocated realism ('utilitarianism') in fiction and in art in general, reaching categorical positions with Nikolai Gavrilovich Chernyshevsky (1828–89), Nikolai Alekandrovich Dobrolyubov (1836–67), and Dmitry Ivanovich Pisarev (1840–68): an artificial division was formulated between a Pushkinian and a Gogolian tendency, in analogy with the two categories of Westernized and Slavophil Russians which covered the whole field of Russian spiritual life. Turgenev was looked upon as Westernized, while Fëdor Mikhailovich Dostoevsky (1821–81) became the exponent of the Slavophil tendency, though he, at least in intention, tried to conciliate both tendencies. A comparison between Dostoevsky's and Tolstoy's conception of life and art is a commonplace of criticism. For Tolstoy love of God, i.e. of the moral law inside oneself, is the primary and only virtue, and charity, love for one's fellow creatures, is only a consequence. For Dostoevsky, charity, love of men, pity, is the one supreme virtue, and God is revealed only through pity and charity. Tolstoy was outwardly a rationalist, and his rationalism found satisfaction in the admirably constructed system of his religion; but beneath this crust of crystallized dogma, there was an irrational side, which broke through in his diaries. Dostoevsky's irrationality, on the other hand, comes to the surface in every page: his psychic state (he suffered from epilepsy, and his life-experiences, particularly the episode of his commuted death-sentence for political reasons, were of the most shattering kind) has been discussed in one of Freud's essays (*Dostoevsky and Parricide*): Freud's description of him as a sado-masochist is fitting enough. In Sade and in the sadists of the *frénétique* type of romanticism it is the integrity of the body which is assaulted and destroyed whereas in Dostoevsky one has the feeling—to use a phrase from *Letters from the Underworld*—of the 'intimacy of the soul brutally and insolently violated'. Actually Dostoevsky did nothing more than make use, but with profounder understanding, of certain themes used by the *frénétique* French romantics, and of the method of the passionate monologue one finds in Musset's *Confession d'un enfant du siècle*; and the fact that he was such a belated manifestation

of the romanticism of 1830 made him, by a curious combination of circum-
stances, particularly vital to the Decadents of the end of the century, who
renewed the taste for the *frénétique*. The relations of the sexes, in the novels
of Dostoevsky, are often the same as in the Decadents: the man is reduced
to playing the woman's part; the woman, on the other hand, is wilful and
domineering—the fatal woman. It is from Dostoevsky's type of woman
(Nastasia Filippovna being the chief example) that Western Decadents derived
their myth of the Russian woman as a fatal woman. A morbid genius, but
an 'inexorable genius', as it has been said: his insight into the depths of the
human soul, only to be compared with Baudelaire's (*Le mauvais vitrier*) and
Poe's (*The Black Cat*), was prodigious for the period in which he wrote
(*Dvojnik—The Double*, 1846; *Zapiski iz podpol'ja—Letters from the Under-
world*, 1864; *Prestuplenie i nakazanie—Crime and Punishment*, 1866; *Idiot—
The Idiot*, 1868–9; *Besy—The Possessed*, 1871–2; *Brat'ja Karamazovy—
The Brothers Karamazov*, 1879–80).

While for Dostoevsky reality, both of the outward life and the soul, became
identified with art, and the author had only to record its chaotic impact in his
pages, there was in Leo Tolstoy (1828–1910) a detachment due to his native
balance: when he became fully conscious of his position of artist-observer,
he abandoned art in order to devote himself completely to the preaching of his
moral, social, and religious ideas. His life was a ceaseless struggle between the
artist and the thinker in him (his inward agitation reached critical moments,
one in 1880—recorded in the self-examination known as *A Confession*—and
another in 1910 shortly before his death, with his flight from home); and all
his work bears witness to it, from his early stories, among which *Detstvo,
Otročestvo i Junost'—Childhood, Boyhood and Youth*, 1852–57 already reveals
the power of self-analysis in the person of the protagonist of the three stories,
a thin disguise of the author himself (thus anticipating his better-known
impersonations as Olenin in *The Cossacks*, Levin in *Anna Karenina*, etc.), to his
three great novels, *Vojna i mir* (*War and Peace*, 1865–69), *Anna Karenina*
(1873–77), and *Voskresenie* (*Resurrection*, 1899), through the brief novels (such
as *Smert' Ivana Il'iča—The Death of Ivan Ilyich*, 1886; *Krejtzerova Sonata—
The Kreutzer Sonata*, 1889) and a quantity of short stories such as *Kazaky—
The Cossacks*, 1863, and *Savastopolskie razskazy—The Sevastopol Tales*, 1868.
Perfect balance was reached between Tolstoy's exuberant vitality and his
tendency to retire into himself and meditate on moral and religious problems,
in his two masterpieces, *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenina*, though even
there the need to inculcate a moral lesson is every now and then apparent, in
the former in the bias given to the story by the theory that history is not made
by man's will but by imponderable circumstances and the anonymous crowd, in
the latter in the emphasis on punishment for those who violate the divine law.
From this point of view Tolstoy's novels have a certain affinity with those of
George Eliot. But the consummate art and pure style of the author succeed in
making his bias only faintly felt by the reader of his great novels: it obtrudes,

though, in *Resurrection* and in the powerful drama *Vlast tmy* (*The Power of Darkness*, 1886). In Tolstoy's final conception the moral law, which acts through the medium of conscience, is a law in the strict scientific sense, in the same sense as gravitation, or any other natural law: a conception similar to the Buddhist idea of *karma* and profoundly different from the teaching of Christ, as *karma* operates mechanically as a necessary consequence of sin; there is no intervention of divine grace. George Eliot too affirmed the sovereignty of impersonal and unrecompensing law, and recognized duty as peremptory and absolute. Both creeds are typical of the age of positivism. However, even in his writings in which he was frankly a preacher, Tolstoy never ceased to be a consummate craftsman of style; according to some critics, *A Confession*, which is decidedly not a disinterested, self-contained representation of life like *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenina*, is his greatest achievement:

'it is more synthetic and universal, and does not rely for its action on little homely and familiar effects of realism, so abundant in the novels' (D. S. Mirsky).

His sympathies in art were for the classical, the rational, the primitive; he was unfriendly to romanticism in any form; he liked the classic theatre of Racine, the analytical novel of Stendhal (to whom he confessed himself indebted); he had many points of contact with J. De Maistre; he liked the stories of Genesis, and the songs of the Russian people; he disliked the Elizabethan exuberance of Shakespeare whom he accused of being not only an immoral writer, but a bad poet. He stated his views of art in a famous pamphlet, *Čto takoe iskusstvo ?* (*What is Art ?*, 1897). The complete man Tolstoy in his old age stands before us in full relief in Gorky's *Recollections of Tolstoy*.

Russian fiction continued to describe peasant life also after the abolition of serfdom, but abandoned the idealized representation of it altogether, and became more and more crudely realistic. As a realistic tragedy Alexei Feofilaktovich Pisemsky's (1820–81) *The Hard Lot* is even superior to Tolstoy's later *Power of Darkness*; Pisemsky's novels *Tysiaca dus* (*A Thousand Souls*, 1858), *Vsbalmucenoe more* (*A Troubled Sea*, 1863), etc. give arresting pictures of Russian society in the mid-century. This is also the chief characteristic of Mikhail Evgrafovich Saltykov-Shchedrin's (1826–89) satirical novels, one of which, *Gospoda Golovlëvy* (*The Golovlev Family*, 1875–80), is a masterpiece of caustic observation and pathos; one of its characters, Juduška, a nauseous hypocrite who turns very pathetic in the end, has become proverbial; Saltykov belonged to the Populist group, most of whose members were 'conscience-stricken noblemen' who had a cult for the people, and identified with the working classes, especially the peasants.

The last of the series of great Russian novelists, before new currents (the so-called neo-romanticism) brought Russia completely within the sphere of European movements, was Nikolay Semënovich Leskov (1831–95) who, living in a period of intense party strife, when no writer could hope for

recognition unless he identified himself with a definite party, was neglected by the critics because he did not commit himself; he nevertheless conquered the reading public through his superb stories, rich in anecdotes and written in a picturesque style which avails itself of every variety of slang: another unique trait of his was the humorous strain in his hero-worship. His early stories, unlike his later work, are pictures of wickedness and passion; the best-known of them is *Ledi Makbet Mtzenshogo uezda* (*A Lady Macbeth of the Mtzensk District*, 1866). These early stories were followed by a series of 'chronicles' of the imaginary town of Stargorod, with fine portraits of ecclesiastics, but written in a leisurely, uneventful manner which is unlike the maturer Leskov (*Soborjane—Cathedral Folk*, 1872, a masterpiece of realistic and humorous observation). Leskov gave free play to all his power of verbal invention and his fondness of breathless adventure in *Očarovannyj strannik* (*The Enchanted Pilgrim*, 1873) and in *Zapečatlennyj angel* (*The Sealed Angel*, 1874), and in the eighties wrote some of his most exuberant stories. Having fallen under the influence of Tolstoy, he turned to stories of early Christian life, taking inspiration from the lives of the saints and Flaubert rather than from a close study of historical sources, and spicing them with erotic episodes which seemed strange and shocking in a follower of Tolstoy. A work of his last years, *Zayačij Remiz* (*The Hare Park*, posthumously published in 1917) is a masterpiece of concentrated satire, having for central figure a hoodwinked police inspector who grows into a symbol of vast historical and. moral import.

Next to Russian fiction, which soon conquered the international public, Russian poetry and drama of the mid-century have little significance: Nikolai Alekseyevich Nekrasov (1821–77) tried to introduce realism into poetry and chose the sufferings of the people for his subject-matter; he was despised by the aesthetes who, on the other hand, found a poet to their liking in Afanasy Fet (1820–92), who cultivated the ideal of pure poetry (*Večernie ogni—Evening Lights*, 1883–91) and was later recognized by the Symbolists as one of their great masters. The plays of Alexander Ostrovsky (1823–86), the creator of the Russian comedy of manners, and especially of Turgenev, contain the germs of much that reached its full development in Chekhov.

Literary currents in Poland followed the Western European and Russian trends; after the failure of the 1863 revolution some poets and novelists tried to relieve the spiritual depression which had spread all over the country: a renovation of culture was advocated on positivist foundations. Henryk Sienkiewicz (1846–1916) followed another course: he tried to help in the spiritual recovery of Poland through historical novels, one of which, *Quo Vadis?* (1894–96), was soon translated into many languages and was perhaps the most widespread book all over the world at the end of the century. In Bohemia there was no clear-cut division between romanticism and realism (as there had not been between romanticism and the culture of the era of enlightenment, both being put to the service of a national revival through the study of past history). Romanticism and realism coexisted: the latter was represented chiefly by

Jan Neruda (1834–91: *Povidky malostranské—Tales of Malá Strana*, 1878) and Karolina Světlá (who felt the influence of George Sand); the former developed along two main lines, slavophilism (Svatopluk Cech) and cosmopolitism (Jaroslav Vrchlicky, poet and playwright, and the novelist Julius Zeyer). Two writers represent an intermediate position between romanticism and realism: Božena Němcova (1820–62: author of the world-famous novel *Babicka—The Grandmother*, 1855) and Alois Jirásek (1851–1930: nicknamed the Bohemian Walter Scott).

During the second half of the nineteenth century another part of Europe besides Russia came to the limelight in the world of letters, whereas it had remained so far on the margin: Scandinavian countries. During the period of the enlightenment only the name of the Danish playwright Ludvig Holberg (1684–1754) had crossed the frontier, thanks to his cosmopolitan experience and his rich comic strain, whereas the lyric poetry of the Swede Carl Bellman (1740–95), with its background of merrymaking and frank hedonism which reminds us of Burns' *Jolly Beggars*, was ignored abroad. German pre-romanticism and romanticism stimulated Scandinavian literary production. The Dane Adam G. Oehlenschläger (1779–1850), following the example of Tieck, revived Northern sagas and exploited Oriental themes with lyrical zest but conventional psychological treatment. The Swedish professor and bishop Esaias Tegnér (1782–1846) conciliated romantic and classical ideals by lifting a 'Gothic' subject-matter to a sphere of serene humanity (*Frithjofs Saga*, 1825). Tegnér contrasted paganism, which he evoked with sympathy and epic fantasy, to the morally and religiously superior Christianity.

The problem of the 'true' Christian spirit haunted the deep and brilliant Danish prose writer Søren Kierkegaard (1813–55), and stimulated him to such profound searching of the recesses of the soul that his reputation has been steadily growing in modern times. But the first Scandinavian author who won international fame was the Dane Hans Christian Andersen (1805–75), not so much through his novel *Improvisatoren* (*The Improvisator*, 1835) as through his *Eventyr* (*Fables*, 1835 and following years) which, thanks to the deft interweaving of traditional folk elements and new inventions and realistic touches, has become a classic all over the world.

In Norway, which appeared a little later on the literary scene (after having conquered political independence in 1814), the first signs of a new national conscience manifested themselves about 1830 in the politico-literary controversy between Johan Sebastian Welhaven (1807–73) and Henrik Wergeland (1808–45), whose abundant dramatic production had obvious flaws of rhetorical emphasis and narrow nationalist spirit. Welhaven upheld historical continuity as indispensable for a genuine national renascence, and thus made common cause with the hated Danish tradition. Under the influence of Rousseau, Herder and Montesquieu, a group of artists and poets (among whom was Andreas Munch, 1811–84) created the image of a healthy aboriginal heroic North; scholarly research contributed to it by collecting ancient

manuscripts of the *Eddas* and sagas. Norwegian legends soon after formed the subject-matter of some of Ibsen's and Björnson's dramas.

Henrik Ibsen (1828–1906) offered a synthesis of the various tendencies which fermented in his country in that period of vigorous aspirations and spiritual conflicts. Europe saw in him the most outstanding poet of Norway, presenting in dramatic form both the ancient legends and the most-discussed questions of the day. The northern background of his plays lent an additional attraction to the debate of contemporary problems. He began by imitating Munch's sentimental manner, Welhaven's dry elegance, and Wergeland's impetuous rhetorics. The refusal, both from the part of the Christiania Theatre and the publishers, of an early drama, *Catilina*, written in 1848, in which the germs of his originality are visible, caused him to conform to current taste and to seek inspiration in popular poetry and the *Eddas* (*Haermaendene po Helgeland—The Helgeland Warriors*, 1857), thus retarding his natural development. Even in his first play with a contemporary middle-class subject, *Kaerlinghedens komedie* (*The Comedy of Love*, 1862), technically indebted to Holberg and Molière, the time-hallowed theatrical conventions are not discarded. Only during his first long sojourn in Italy (1864–8) did he acquire a new outlook on reality, and a new sense of artistic form. The contrast between North and South, the daily vision of ancient ruins and the 'marmoreal splendour of Italy', the still-burning indignation for the Norwegian desertion of the Scandinavian cause at the time of the Dano-Prussian war (1864), combined in inspiring him with the 'drama of the heroic will', *Brand* (1866): a powerful, though formless play, still haunted by the epic models; *Peer Gynt* (1867), also written in Italy, is, rather than the masterpiece some claim it to be, a bizarre medley of popular saga and satire, with a perceptible influence of Goethe's *Faust*: it stresses, however, the main characteristic of Ibsen's characters, their tense expectation of something extraordinary, their devouring thirst for the unattainable, their contempt for idyllic happiness in any form, for modest virtue and resignation to one's lot. This common theme of the great plays of Ibsen's maturity (*Et dukkehjem—A Doll's House*, 1879; *Gengangere—Ghosts*, 1881; *Fruen fra havet—The Lady from the Sea*, 1888; *Hedda Gabler*, 1890; *Rosmersholm*, 1886) was a challenge to the Biedermeier conception of the world which had overrun Europe for more than half a century: it reasserted the romantic creed of individual freedom, to be conquered even at the cost of one's life, against the positivist idea of determinism and inevitable influence of the milieu. And although Ibsen's last plays show a pessimistic turn and spell ruin to man's heroic efforts (*Bygmester Solness—The Master Builder*, 1892; *Når vi dode vågner—When we Dead Awake*, 1899), it was his romantic message of rebellion against a narrow, conventional world, which took by storm a Europe which was stifling with bourgeois respectability and hypocrisy.

Ibsen had carefully studied the technique of Scribe, Augier and Dumas, and succeeded in taking European drama out of their hands and lifting it to

the sphere of great art. Björnstjerne Björnson (1832–1910) on the contrary was a diligent disciple of the French. He had adopted the optimistic point of view of evolutionism, and did not shrink from openly writing in support of this or that thesis, and of his idea of a future mankind free from religious prejudices, serene, honest, etc. For him, as for Wergeland, art was only a means of moral and civic education, and there is no doubt that he contributed in a decisive way to the formation of a Norwegian democracy based on the rural classes. He learned much from Oehlenschläger (*Halte-Hulda—Limping Hulds*, 1857; *Kong Sverre—King Sverre*, 1861); but what partly saves his programme plays (among which *Over Aevne*, First Part—*Beyond Human Power*, 1883 is the best from an artistic point of view) is the songs inserted into them, while his comedies have qualities of lightness and humour which give them a more permanent value (*Geografi og Kaerlighed—Geography and Love*, 1885; *Nar den ny vin blomstrer—When New Life is Blossoming*, 1909).

Literary movements in the nineteenth century seem to run parallel to philosophical thought. Naturalism and Parnassian poetry (that form of Second Empire classicism) seem to correspond to the positivist phase in philosophy. Symbolism, on the other hand, taking the word in its broadest sense, so as to embrace the whole idealistic renascence of which symbolist poetry is one of the most typical aspects, found its counterpart in the philosophical reaction against rationalist dogmatism, represented chiefly by Henri Bergson (1859–1941) who discredited the logical and mathematical mental processes as incapable of leading to the knowledge of the real world, and exalted intuition which perceives in an immediate way the change and movement which are the very essence of reality (*Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience*, 1889, *Matière et mémoire*, 1896, *L'Evolution créatrice*, 1907). While this reaction announced itself clearly about 1885, a number of foreign influences came to play in France; 1880 marked the apotheosis of the German pessimist philosopher Schopenhauer; in 1886 the Russian novel was making its triumphal entry into the French intellectual *salons* thanks to the book by E. M. de Voguë (*Le Roman russe*) which to some seemed to announce the beginning of a neo-mystical era (the Vicomte de Voguë was saluted as 'the Chateaubriand of a new religious Renaissance'); in 1885 the *Revue Wagnérienne* was founded, which consecrated the growing cult for Wagner's music; at the same time English pre-Raphaelitism and Ruskin are welcomed; soon after it is the turn of Ibsen's theatre, which the critic Edmund Gosse shortly after 1890 made known to England, where it influenced Shaw. Also impressionist painting played its role: almost foreshadowing Bergson's philosophy, it saw the mobile aspect of things, the state of flux and transition, and in every living being a succession of phenomena, a play of shifting appearances. From their journey to London in 1870 the painters Claude Monet and Camille Pisarro had come back full of admiration for the paintings of Turner and Constable, that were already conceived in that free and easy manner, faithful to the immediate intuition of the landscape and the figure, which became typical of the

impressionists. Another influence came from Japanese prints, the taste for which was introduced by Edmond de Goncourt; as *chinoiserie* had become a close ally of Rococo, so the Japanese vogue foreshadowed *art nouveau*.

All these currents contributed to the making of the *fin-de-siècle* atmosphere; they suggested themes and modes of expression to symbolist and decadent literature, which in a sense was a romantic revival. The hard, fixed, metallic or marble-like forms of Parnassian poetry (which continued the neoclassical tradition) were opposed by the symbolist method of suggestion, suited to the expression of wavering, ephemeral states of mind, full of delicate shades, aspiring to the condition of music, for music with its indefiniteness adumbrated a universal symbolism. Particularly so Wagner's music, whose influence was therefore little short of immense. Verse had to model itself on the fleeting state of thoughts and feelings, continually creating its rhythm anew, rather than fitting itself to conventional metrical patterns: it had, in a word, to be free verse. The young poets saluted Verlaine and Mallarmé as their masters. Paul Verlaine's (1844–96) *Poèmes saturniens* (1866) went unnoticed; it was the poetry he wrote after his quarrel with Rimbaud and his imprisonment, *Romances sans paroles* (1874), and especially *Sagesse* (1881), which made him famous. That very childlike temper which caused Verlaine to be helpless in practical life, helped the poet to be naïve and subtle at the same time, to transfer into verse, with delightful immediacy, the most delicate vibrations of the nerves, the most fleeting throbs of his heart: a natural, at times even almost popular, sort of poetry, in which words lose weight and become pure music. This inimitable poetry was the medium employed by Verlaine to lay bare his soul which was at different times that of a child and of a shameless faun.

Arthur Rimbaud (1854–91) began writing verse about 1870, and in 1871 created a masterpiece, *Le Bateau ivre;* Hugo saluted him as 'Shakespeare in his childhood'; but he was a soaring genius for only a short while; after his expulsion from Belgium in consequence of his quarrel with Verlaine, he published and immediately destroyed an edition of *Une Saison en enfer* (1873); then, all hope abandoned of conquering through the handling of words, he set out to make money through the handling of merchandise, and led for a time a restless and dangerous life which took him to Africa and an early death. Rimbaud has been described as 'a mystic in the rough'. At one time in his adolescence he felt he was 'called', burned with the exaltation of the prophets and the martyrs, wanted to become a brute in order to be more than a man, and wrote a group of compositions in verse and in prose, *Les Illuminations* and *Une Saison en enfer*, in a visionary, hallucinated and often very involved style which seemed to combine the magic of the impressionists with the rapture of the mystics. He made but a brief apparition in the literary world in 1871; but only in 1885 did Verlaine in *Les Poètes maudits* reveal his name and work to the young generation which immediately saw in him a master. Rimbaud's few compositions (*Le Bateau ivre*, the famous sonnet on the vowels which seems inspired by the phenomena of coloured audition: *A noir, E blanc,*

I rouge, U vert, O bleu, voyelles . . .) have opened new horizons to poetry and caused a revolution in poetical language. Many of the literary tendencies of the twentieth century (e.g. Surrealism) find their origin in Rimbaud. Another *poète maudit* who made no stir at the time, but was later extolled by the surrealists as the first to practise *écriture automatique*, a method of composition in which the control of reason is suppressed (in fact a *reductio ad absurdum* of the romantic idea of inspiration) was Isidore Ducasse (1846–70) who under the pseudonym of Comte de Lautréamont wrote in 1868 the *Chants de Maldoror*, whose prevailing note is a macabre humour not unlike Pétrus Borel's.

Stéphane Mallarmé (1842–98), a teacher of English by profession, wrote in 1875 *L'Après-Midi d'un faune* and won the esteem of a small coterie by his version of Poe's *Raven*, his edition of Beckford's *Vathek*, and the poems he published in some reviews, but his fame began when Huysmans quoted his poem, *Hérodiade* in *A rebours*. From his early poems, on which Baudelaire's influence is noticeable, Mallarmé showed a tendency to interpret all images as symbols, and to conceal, through ellipses and foreshortenings, the path followed by his associations. Later, in order to give *un sens plus pur aux mots de la tribu*, he displaced words from their usual place in the sentence, deprived them of the support of the particles needed in order to specify the sense (such as conjunctions), eliminated punctuation marks and brackets, separated noun from adjective, until he rendered a poetic composition 'a mystery whose key the reader must find out'. But although the details remain often cryptic, the poem as a whole gives an exceptionally musical image of a rich hieroglyph. The poet disclosed in part his intentions in *Divagations*, 1897, and in *La Musique et les lettres*, 1895. Through his magic juggling with words Mallarmé aimed at destroying all distinction between poetry and prose, between word and music; he came in the end to dispose words like musical signs on a score, with a peculiar use of blanks and capitals (*Un Coup de dés jamais n'abolira le hasard*, 1897). It was an extreme case of Wagnerian influence in France. Joyce was going to pursue similar aims in the field of the novel.

Another innovator of prosody and language was Jules Laforgue (1860–87), whose sensibility took a decisive turn in the direction of decadent states of mind after reading the German philosophers Hartmann (*Philosophie des Unbewussten*, translated into French in 1877) and Schopenhauer. Having become a 'mystical pessimist', he tried to look at the passing show of life with a smile on his lips, convinced as he was of the vanity of everything, like Leopardi (whom he read and imitated). In *Moralités légendaires* (1887) he gave quaint modernizations of ancient legends, emptying them of tragical meaning through irony. His cosmic visions, and sarcastic considerations, his complaints and anxieties tinged with humour in the manner of Heine, were couched by him in a free kind of verse which sounded like ordinary speech. In his *Complaintes* (1885) he adopted an original prosody modelled on popular metres. His technical innovations and new subject-matter influenced the decadents throughout Europe: in Italy Guido Gozzano (1883–1916), Sergio

Corazzini (1887–1907), and the early Aldo Palazzeschi (born 1885) derived from him. In England T. S. Eliot started writing in his manner.

Symbolist theatre had only two important playwrights, Maeterlinck and Claudel. Maurice Maeterlinck (1862–1949), the greatest of modern Belgian writers (other important Belgian writers of the period are Emile Verhaeren, 1855–1916, one of the first poets to draw inspiration from the mighty gloom of a modern metropolis—*Les Villes tentaculaires*, 1895; Georges Rodenbach 1855–98, whose novel, *Bruges la morte*, 1892, was typical of the morbid strain of the *fin-de-siècle*, and the delicate poet Charles van Lerberghe, 1861–1907) began with a volume of decadent verse, *Serres chaudes* (1889), where certain themes of anguish and fear in face of the mystery and the unknown in the world announced already what was going to be the central inspiration of his theatre. What is original in his first play, *La Princesse Maleine* (1889), is not the plot, inspired by the Elizabethan theatre, but the atmosphere of foreboding and fear in which the characters are steeped: words and outword appearances become symbolic, and the characters move like sleepwalkers in a world full of sinister allusions. In the plays that followed Maeterlinck refined his technique, applying it to themes from ordinary life. Positivism had tried to dispel mystery; Maeterlinck, availing himself of the penumbral states stressed by the spiritualist philosophers (the unconscious, the subconscious, the unknowable), saw man surrounded by invisible and awful powers, and gave emphasis to the fears and apprehensions which form the deeper life of the human soul. Death is the chief theme of *L'Intruse* and *Les Aveugles* (both 1891), of *Intérieur* and *La Mort de Tintagiles* (1894). In other plays the subject is the mystery of an invincible love (*Pelléas et Mélisande*, 1892), or the hopeful expectation of an unknown future (*L'Oiseau bleu*, 1909). A greater sense of reality, and an attenuation of the naïve, though theatrically effective, philosophy of mystery, is found in *Monna Vanna* (1902), a historical drama whose main interest is not the plot, but what takes place in the minds of the characters. Maeterlinck wrote also many volumes of meditations imbued with poetical fantasy, which enjoyed great popularity (*Le Trésor des humbles*, 1896, *La Vie des abeilles*, 1901).

Paul Claudel (1868–1955), who as a consul and later as ambassador travelled all over the world and knew the literatures of Europe and Asia (he translated Coventry Patmore's odes, and through Patmore became acquainted with the English metaphysical poets) expressed his Catholic conception of the world in solemn rhythmic prose (*Odes*) and in plays in which something of the religious spirit of the Greek theatre and something of the symbolism of the medieval stage seem to revive, so that his characters are not portraits from life but abstract colossi, not devoid of a certain mannered grandeur (*L'Arbre*, 1900–1, *L'Annonce faite à Marie*, 1912, etc.).

Claudel gives the impression of an abstract intellectual game, of attempting deliberate experiments and serving definite ends. Such is also the impression left by two of the most significant writers whose formation dated from the

end of the century and was at first influenced by the interests and tastes of that period: Maurice Barrès (1862–1923) and André Gide (1869–1951). Closer to Chateaubriand than to any other writer, Barrès was an egotist with a partiality for exotic and morbid themes (*Le Jardin de Bérénice*, 1891, *L'Ennemi des lois*, 1893, *Du Sang, de la Volupté, de la Mort*, 1894, *Les Déracinés*, 1897, etc.). Later he sought either to smother or to sublimate his spontaneous impulses; a romantic by instinct, he tried to be classical out of love of order, and from sensual egotism turned to the cult of sublimated energy placed at the service of his country, and wrote nationalist fiction. He excelled in the analysis of tormented souls and in the evocation of desolate landscapes. André Gide was saved by his native restlessness and the Protestant habit of self-examination from adopting a rigid doctrine like Barrès, and from crystallizing into an attitude which was unnatural to him. The influence of Nietzsche, Dostoyevsky, and Wilde makes some of his novels (*L'Immoraliste*, 1902, *Les Faux-Monnayeurs*, 1925) redolent of the *fin-de-siècle* atmosphere, although decadent motifs are treated by him with that nervous subtlety which imparts a permanent value to his writings. The keen curiosity of an analyst of states of mind is the keynote of his fiction (*Les Nourritures terrestres*, 1897, *La Porte étroite*, 1909, etc.), as well as of his plays, his essays and his memoirs.

In England, while symptoms of revolt are noticeable even during the calmest phase of the Victorian era, restlessness becomes widespread only about 1875, together with the first signs of economic crisis. If we consider only the field of poetry, the new period begins in 1866 with Algernon Charles Swinburne's (1837–1909) *Poems and Ballads*, where the poet's peculiar sensibility declared itself, challenging the prudery of his contemporaries. He had won universal praise from the critics in 1865 with a drama on Greek models, *Atalanta in Calydon*, but the new volume of verse combined classical with modern influence, the Bible with Gautier and Baudelaire and, worse still, with the destructive hedonism of Sade which was the extreme development of eighteenth-century French materialism. The poet sought a diversion from the morbid themes that haunted him, in cultivating his early interest in the cause of revolution and in republican ideals (in 1856–7 he had composed an *Ode to Mazzini*); he had a memorable interview with the Italian republican leader, and wrote *Songs before Sunrise*, 1871, breathing hatred of tyrants and enthusiasm for the positivist creed (*A Hymn of Man*, and *Hertha*, betray the influence of Auguste Comte). His later volumes of verse are less remarkable, but his dramas, now inspired by the Elizabethans (a trilogy on Mary Stuart, whose first and best part, *Chastelard*, appeared in 1865), now by the Greeks (*Erechtheus*, 1876) show here and there a consummate skill.

Through the *Poems and Ballads* the new English generation was introduced to the work of the masters of French decadence, Gautier and Baudelaire, while certain pages of Swinburne containing appreciations of works of art provided Walter Pater (1839–94) with a starting-point. Another strong influence on Pater was that of the great neo-classical art-critic of the eighteenth

century, Winckelmann, on whom he wrote one of his first essays. Pater became famous with the volume of *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* (1873), whose memorable conclusion initiated young men into the cult of beauty, inviting them to let their souls burn with a 'hard, gem-like flame'. In the novel *Marius the Epicurean* (1882) Pater circumscribed his aesthetic creed: his aim was not an easy-going epicureanism, but a cult of deep and noble emotions in a life which was meant to be itself a work of art. Besides that philosophical novel, which gives an enchanting picture of primitive Christianity, Pater wrote imaginative work of a mixed kind, partaking of both fiction and criticism, *Imaginary Portraits* (1887) thus anticipating *biographie romancée*, and an autobiographical sketch, *The Child in the House*, which foreshadows the subtle analyses of Henry James and Proust.

Novels with an ancient background and an aesthetic or decadent subject-matter, recalling Pater (and Flaubert) for their elaborate style, were written in Holland by the most outstanding of Dutch nineteenth-century prose writers, Louis-Marie-Anne Couperus (1863–1923; *De berg van licht—The Mountain of Light*, 1905–6, on the Emperor Elagabalus); Couperus had come to the limelight with a realistic novel in the manner of Flaubert, *Eline Vere*; he followed with the story of the decay of a family, *De Boeken der kleine zielen* (*Small Souls*, 1901–3), belonging to the same type of inspiration which at the same time was producing in Germany Thomas Mann's *Buddenbrooks* (1901), and which finally can be traced back to Zola: a decided influence of Zola is evident in the other naturalist novel of Couperus, *Van Oude Menschen, de Dingen die voorbijgeen* (*Old People, Things That Go By*, 1906).

The conclusion of Pater's *Renaissance* started the aesthetic movement in England, by recommending man not to sacrifice any portion of experience, not to let himself be enclosed within any system which might prevent a passionate search after sensations. Other influences on the movement were exerted by John Addington Symond's (1840–93) *History of the Renaissance in Italy* (1875–86: it exalted the heroes of the Renaissance as unbound by convention, free to become whatever they willed, indifferent to the herd), and by the French decadents. The aesthetic movement counted several minor poets (Lionel Johnson, Ernest Dowson, etc.), the novelist George Moore (1852–1933), whose masterpiece, *Esther Waters* (1894), was written under the influence of the French naturalist school, the critic Arthur Symons, and culminated in the publication of the review *The Yellow Book* (1894–97), the drawings of Aubrey Beardsley and his novel *Under the Hill*, are chiefly in the figure and work of Oscar Wilde (1856–1900) (*The Picture of Dorian Gray*, 1890, *Salomé*, the aesthetic essays of *Intentions*); but the most vital part of Wilde's work is his comedies, which hail from the tradition of the Restoration theatre). Wilde's scandal and trial (1895) put an end to the popularity of the movement.

Decadence and symbolism (chiefly Maeterlinck's theatre) played a considerable part in the Celtic renaissance which flourished in Ireland at the

close of the century; its central figure was the poet and dramatist William Butler Yeats (1865-1939), who from the symbolism of his early verse (*Poems*, 1895, *The Wind Among the Reeds*, 1899, etc.) evolved towards a more intellectual and virile inspiration late in life, and became one of the chief literary figures of the first part of the twentieth century.

But the most monumental figure of the decadent movement in Europe, the figure in which the various European currents of the second half of the nineteenth century converged, was given to the world not by France or England but by Italy with Gabriele D'Annunzio (1863-1938). D'Annunzio, the child of a semi-barbarous race (the Abruzzan), coming into contact with a more than mature civilization, assimilated it rapidly and summarily. The raw nucleus of semi-barbaric sensuality which was D'Annunzio's natural inheritance, at the contact with the French decadence found a propitious soil in which to develop. The meeting of extremes—semi-barbarism and over-ripe civilization—in the same person, while it explains the double aspect of D'Annunzio's life (a voluptuary as well as a warrior), accounts also for the lack in him of that temperate zone which, in the present stage of culture, is called 'humanity'. The nearest he came to it was in the first three books of the *Laudi del cielo del mare della terra e degli eroi* (1903-4), whereas his novels (the best-known abroad being *Il fuoco*, 1900) and plays, on which Nietzsche, Wagner, Swinburne are pervasive influences, are typical documents of the prevailing ideas and tastes of the *fin de siècle*. Notwithstanding this monumental figure, the Italian temper did not take wholeheartedly to the decadent movement; as it had adopted romanticism only in its superficial aspects, so it responded with provincial, peripheral echoes to the new foreign wave which in a sense was the last wave of romanticism. There was however a form of decadence peculiar to Italy, very different from the decadent movement of French origin which spread all over Europe. While the romantic conception of life had never been congenial to the Italians, the Biedermeier one struck firm roots, and Italian decadence could only mean a manneristic exasperation of those aspects of everyday life and of humble, homely things which formed the very essence of Biedermeier culture: in this sense the poetry of Giovanni Pascoli (1855-1912; *Myricae*, 1891, *Canti di Castelvecchio*, 1903, etc.) struck the genuine note of Italian decadence, which was nothing else but the deliquescence of the Biedermeier world.

Of the Spanish authors who treated decadent themes, mixed the sacred with the profane, and combined motifs of lust and death, Ramón del Valle-Inclan (1869-1936) is first and foremost: in what is perhaps his masterpiece, the *Sonata de primavera* (in *Sonatas—Memorias del Marqués de Bradomín*, 1902-7) he creates a magical atmosphere which reminds us at the same time of Hoffmann's whims and of the decadent languor of D'Annunzio's *Vergini delle rocce* (1896).

In England the aesthetic movement was only an aspect of a vast reaction against Victorian standards: even in Oscar Wilde the creed of beauty went

hand in hand with satirical wit which poked fun at the traditional tenets of English life in a manner which Shaw was shortly to make his own. George Eliot, Dickens, and Thackeray had all criticized Victorian society and denounced its evils, but none of them had called into question the fundamental bases of human society and ethics as Shaw, Wells, and Galsworthy in his earlier phase, did at the turn of the century. The chief characteristic of the early twentieth century is to put everything, in every sphere of life, to the question, but with a note of hope for regeneration, of trust in the fabulous new horizons unveiled by science. Shaw and Wells are both prophets concerned with the problems of contemporary society; their works vibrate with life, even if their style lacks real distinction.

The widening of the horizon of English literature in the latter part of the nineteenth century is indicated by the increased importance of foreign influences. The wave of pessimism which overran Europe during that period, with Schopenhauer's philosophy, Wagner's music, the plays of Ibsen and Strindberg, found a counterpart in England in the poems of James Thomson (1834–82), a disciple of Vigny and Leopardi, author of *The City of Dreadful Night* (1874), in the social novels of George Gissing (1857–1903), and chiefly in the work of Thomas Hardy (1840–1928), who adopted from Schopenhauer the idea of a blind and destructive will at work in the world, a sinister kind of anti-Providence as grim as the *Ate* of the Greeks. This fatalism, grafted on a delicate sensibility, led Hardy to a feeling of fraternity for all things condemned to the pain of living, a feeling not unlike that of Leopardi. Symbolism (particularly in the form of recurring themes, the *Leitmotif* of Wagner's operas) and tragic irony are the means by which Hardy converts his philosophy into art in the novels *Tess of the d'Urbervilles*, 1891, *Jude the Obscure*, 1896, etc., and in the lyric drama on the Napoleonic period, *The Dynasts*, 1903–8.

Maeterlinck and the Russian drama found a disciple in Sir James Barrie (1860–1937), whose *Peter Pan* (1904) has become a children's classic; French influence is evident on the dramatist and novelist William Somerset Maugham (1874–1965), on Arnold Bennett (1867–1931), a follower of the realist school of the novel, and on John Galsworthy (1867–1933), who became the historian of the psychological development of the English upper middle class in the novels of *The Forsyte Saga* (1906 and following years). The cosmopolitan character of English literature in this period reaches its climax in the novels of Joseph Conrad (Theodor Josef Konrad Korzeniowski, 1857–1924: *Almayer's Folly*, 1895, *The Nigger of the Narcissus*, 1898, *Lord Jim*, 1900, *Youth*, 1902, etc.) which combine exotic backgrounds (darkest Africa, and the South Seas) with studies of inward conflicts and a complicated technique which make one think of Dostoyevsky and the introspective novelists (Henry James, Marcel Proust). Conrad added a new note to the English tradition of exotic literature which had just at the time found an exponent in Robert Louis Stevenson (1850–94), the Scottish author who became famous with *Treasure Island* (1883). Stevenson not only excelled in the adventure story in

strange lands, but continued Scott's tradition in his novels of Scottish life (chiefly *The Master of Ballantrae*, 1889), and emulated Poe in *The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde*, 1886, a haunting story of a double personality. He spent his last years in Samoa, which inspired him with *The Island Nights' Entertainments* (1893) and a memorable book of impressions, *In the South Seas* (1895). Stevenson invests not only picturesque things, but also everyday occurrences, with glamour, thanks to his finished style, which possesses a classical purity.

The horizon of English literature suddenly stretched to the vision of a vast empire at the time of the Boer War, thanks to the vigorous message of William Ernest Henley (1849–1903), who exalted a life of risks and the battles of the Anglo-Saxon race; and thanks to the robust and catching songs of Rudyard Kipling (1865–1936), who conjured up figures of soldiers posted in the remotest parts of the Empire, and formulated a theory of mystical imperialism according to which colonization was interpreted as 'the white man's burden'. His *Barrack-Room Ballads* (1892) were hailed in Europe as the most vigorous expression of the imperialist tendencies that were making their appearance at the same time in the principal European literatures. Kipling's reputation as a poet was confirmed by the poems of *The Seven Seas* (1896), while *The Jungle Book* (1894) and *The Second Jungle Book* (1895) secured for him a wider public. He reached the apex of his art with the novel *Kim* (1901) and a number of stories for children (but also for adult readers, such is their subtlety): *Stalky & Co.*, 1899, *Just So Stories*, 1902, etc., and with the poems of *The Five Nations*, 1903, among which is his famous ode for the Jubilee of Queen Victoria, *Recessional*. The poetical work of Kipling was celebrated in Europe for a time because of the virility of his verse and the treatment of modern themes: he sang of the Empire, of the army and navy, of powerful machines: he emphasized the ideas of hierarchy and service: he continued Carlyle's work as a prophet-poet of a chosen race, the Anglo-Saxon. However, his work as a story-teller has stood the test of time better: the type of story Kipling took for his model is the oral story: he conveys local colour powerfully by resorting to the use of slang and dialect; in the *Jungle Books* he invented a new type of apologue in order to stress the contrast between man in his state of innocence, and man spoilt by civilization; in *Kim* he created a picture of Indian life which is a classic of its kind.

While Kipling with his energetic conception of life pointed a new way out of the Victorian atmosphere, Gilbert Keith Chesterton (1874–1936) opposed the rustic simplicity of the forefathers and the perennial light of the Roman Catholic faith to the ugliness of materialism and of industrial civilization; he clothed his thought in amusing paradoxes; community of purpose has linked his name with that of Hilaire Belloc (1870–1953), who reincarnated the spirit of the wandering scholars of the Middle Ages in his *Path to Rome* (1902) and in the drinking-songs of *The Four Men*. A far more formidable campaign against the idols of Victorian society was conducted by George Bernard Shaw

(1856–1950), who was influenced by Ibsen's theatre, and by Samuel Butler (1835–1902), who had attacked the ethics, religion, traditions, and pride in science of the Victorians in *Erewhon* (1872), a Utopian novel, and in a caustic autobiographical book, *The Way of All Flesh* (1903). Born in Dublin into a Protestant family of English origin, Shaw came to London in 1876 and took part in the socialist agitation as a member of the Fabian Society. He was a journalist, a musical and dramatic critic, and a novelist, before he began his career as a playwright with *Widowers' Houses* in 1892, which was later included in the series *Plays Pleasant and Unpleasant* (1898); he followed with *Three Plays for Puritans* (1901; one of them being *Caesar and Cleopatra*), *Man and Superman* (1903), where he introduced the idea of a 'life force': an energy which directs man and chiefly woman towards procreation, the supreme end of the species; Shaw combined ideas of Schopenhauer and Nietzsche with up-to-date research in selective breeding, so that ultimately 'life force' is conceived as tending to elevate men, with their co-operation, to a deeper and more enlightened state of conscience. It is not however the constructive side of Shaw's theatre which conquered the British and the European public; but rather his exposure of the fallacies of family, property, religion, science, through the apparently frivolous laughter of the plays. His dramas, the work of a typical anti-bourgeois intellectual, are battlefields of ideas rather than actual pieces for the stage.

Another critic of English society, Herbert George Wells (1866–1946) was also a member of the Fabian Society; after painful beginnings, he found his way in life under the guidance of T. H. Huxley, and learned how to look at historical problems from the angle of a biologist. A prolific author of novels where a kind of scientific hallucination plays a large part (*The Time Machine*, 1895, *The Invisible Man*, etc.), he was one of the founders of science fiction.

The aesthetic movement of the end of the century, as we have said, appealed to a limited circle and counted only minor poets in England; two of the most remarkable poets who acquired fame at the time, Alfred Edward Housman (1859–1936) and Robert Bridges (1844–1930) remained outside it; the former is distinguished by his classical finish and his pessimistic epigrammatic vein (*The Shropshire Lad*, 1896). A return to metaphysical imagery was the characteristic of Francis Thompson (1859–1907), the author of *The Hound of Heaven* (1889), and a bold and abstruse technique has caused the work of the Jesuit poet Gerard Manley Hopkins (1844–89) to appeal to later generations. Hopkins' few poems, characterized by a horror of commonplaces, strange grammatical licences, and a quality which has been described as terribly pathetic and crystalline, stand out against the Victorian background with an even sharper relief than did Rimbaud's against the French poetry of his time. Hopkins' poems were posthumously published in 1918, and so did not exert any influence during the nineteenth century. Another priest poet, the Flemish Guido Gezelle (1830–99), established his fame as the foremost lyric poet of his country (western Flanders) during his lifetime, particularly through the

fresh religious songs of his early period (*Vlaamsche Dichtoefeningen—Flemish Poetical Exercises*, and *Kerkhofblommen—Churchyard Flowers*, 1858), whereas the poetry of his maturity (*Tijdkrans—The Garland of Time*, 1893, *Rijmsnoer —A Collection* [literally: a necklace] *of Rhymes*, 1897, and the posthumous *Laatste Versen—Last Poems*, 1901) show less spontaneity and a greater verbal craftsmanship.

Also for Germany and the Slavic countries the eighties and nineties of the nineteenth century meant what for all Europe was called by some a 'revaluation' in all fields of activity (witness the frequency with which the adjective 'new' was applied in England to manifestations of every kind: New Drama, New Unionism, New Woman, etc.), by others, as we have seen, *fin-de-siècle* temper, in Russia and Germany also 'neo-romanticism', an expression which included all decadent and symbolist currents.

German contribution to this period was large and important: Schopenhauer and Nietzsche in philosophy, Wagner and Wedekind for music and drama. The German stage after Kleist had had some remarkable authors, such as Georg Büchner (1813–37) who from his first play, *Dantons Tod*, and the imaginative comedy *Leonce und Lena*, to the fragmentary *Woyzeck* (written in 1836, published posthumously in 1879), showed an astonishing progress towards a very original technique characterized by powerful foreshortening, which had to wait until the twentieth century to be fully appreciated; and the four Viennese playwrights Franz Grillparzer (1791–1872), Ferdinand Raimund (1790–1836), Johann Nepomuk Nestroy (1802–62), and Eduard Bauernfeld (1802–90). Grillparzer was the poet of sorrow and a subtle analyst of women's souls (*Sappho*, the trilogy *Medea*, *Die Jüdin von Toledo*, *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen—The Waves of the Sea and of Love*, on the legend of Hero and Leander), and also a subtle and sympathetic interpreter of historical characters (*Königs Ottokars Glück und Ende*, *Libussa*, etc.). Raimund started as a comic actor and wrote plays in the popular Austrian baroque tradition of *Zauberposse*, then developed a kind of drama akin to the pantomime, where the fairy elements formed only the framework (*Der Alpenkönig und der Menschenfeind*, 1838): his ethics of contentment and resignation is typically Biedermeier. Nestroy wrote comedies of a gay character (though with an undercurrent of deep melancholy) in which he was the interpreter of the spirit of the Austrian folk; Bauernfeld specialized in social satire.

While the Biedermeier conception of life prevails in most of these Austrian playwrights, the outlook of the Holstein-born dramatist Christian Friedrich Hebbel (1813–63) was essentially romantic, implying a universal conflict in which everybody, even the superior man, the 'hero', is involved. His juvenile *Judith* (1841) anticipated some traits of Nietzsche's 'superman', and the struggle between man and woman to which Strindberg was going to give accents of unparalleled fury at the end of the century; on the other hand his late trilogy, *Die Nibelungen* (published 1862), dealt with the subject Wagner was at the same time putting on the stage of the opera. There was therefore

enough to justify the rediscovery of Hebbel at the beginning of the twentieth century, when Germany was clothing with heroic rhetoric the expansion of her mercantile power, and exalting Teutonic virtues. Hebbel invested also the humble story of his drama *Maria Magdalene* (1844) with a metaphysical significance, giving in it almost a prose version of several situations of the early *Faust*. To early twentieth-century Germany Hebbel could appear as an up-to-date Schiller, whom he resembled also in his dialectics of specious oppositions and his rhetorical figures: he offered a cheap reincarnation of that 'Shakespearian spirit' which Goethe's *Goetz von Berlichingen* had inaugurated.

German expression after the First World War extolled as a forerunner the Swedish dramatist August Strindberg (1840–1912), who passed at one time as one of the greatest tragic poets of mankind and one of the master minds who next to Nietzsche would have foreseen and dissected the crisis of modern conscience and civilization. His plays were a mirror of his turbid soul of exasperated individualist and visionary rebel, with a much deeper insight into the lurid penumbra of the subconscious than had been shown by the early romantic rebels whose tradition he continued. His occasionally sadistic accents (for instance in *Fröken Julie—Miss Julia*, 1888), in accordance with certain aspects of sensibility and taste at the end of the century, are not the main feature of the complex picture of exasperated and very personal revolt, both sexual and social, which is presented by the author who described himself in his bitter autobiography *Tjensteqvinnans son* (*The Son of a Servant-Maid*, 1886–7). The hyperbolical horrors one finds in his plays and novels such as *The Spook Sonata* and *Black Flags* remind us of Pétrus Borel's *Contes immoraux* (1833); the figure of the woman in *Fadren* (*The Father*, 1887) and in *Le Plaidoyer d'un fou* (1887–8) is closely related to the fatal woman of the decadents; and Strindberg's qualms and dabbling in magic (he believed in the prophetic mission of the French decadent novelist and occultist Joséphin Péladan) may seem to possess a family likeness with Huysmans; but the atmosphere, the *tempo* of Strindberg are different from those of the decadents. Suffering from a schizophrenic disorder of a paranoiac type, Strindberg offers in any case a fit study for a psychoanalyst; his strident mixture of realism and symbolism, the depressing atmosphere of his works (from his early novel *Röda Rummet—The Red Room*, 1879, to the *Intimate Dramas* of 1907) combined with the influence of the Russian novelists to form the peculiar character of the German *fin de siècle*. Other powerful influences, which extended to the rest of Europe, were those of Wagner and Nietzsche.

Wagner not only gave universal resonance to German mythology and legends, but with his grandiose pessimistic vision culminating in the *Götterdämmerung*, and particularly with the voluptuousness of perdition exhaled by the Night motif in *Tristan und Isolde* (which took up a theme dear to the early romantics, witness Novalis' hymns on the Night) found a deep response in the decadent temper of the eighties and the nineties. His influence extended also

to painting: following the example of his music, Gustave Moreau composed his pictures in the style of symphonic poems.

A magnificent prose writer, the creator of an impassioned dithyrambic style which, together with its democratic American counterpart, Walt Whitman's, influenced the development of modern poetry, Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900) was able to instil an infectious power into his aphorisms (*Also sprach Zarathustra*, 1883-85), and to give the appearance of profound philosophical truths to his central ideas of the 'everlasting recurrence' and the 'superman'. Wagner with his music, swelling with a romantic thirst of infinity, and appealing to the subconscious, and with his political theories, which took a definite racial bias in 1881, after reading Joseph-Arthur de Gobineau's *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines*, and Nietzsche with his extolling of the energetic, even brutal, claims of life against the tame pleas of reason and conformity, had a decisive influence not only on the literature but first of all on the political thought of twentieth-century Germany. The holy insurrection preached by that early romantic, Blake, came then to its *reductio ad absurdum* in the practical field, and the romantic concept of *Volk*, which had inspired Herder, Arndt, etc., degenerated into a monstrous travesty.

At the close of the nineteenth century Berlin became one of the chief theatrical centres of Europe, though 'die Freie Bühne', founded in 1889, was an imitation of Antoine's 'Théâtre libre' in Paris, and though the successes of the Moscow 'Chudožestevennij Teatr' (Art Theatre) of Stanislavsky were already well known abroad. (The Moscow Theatre, on the other hand, in its early naturalist phase, had found a model of stage-production in the prose theatre created by the Duke of Meiningen, whose company toured Europe from 1874 to 1890 and in England had a great influence on Henry Irving.) After 1880 German theatre saw the naturalist production of Hermann Sudermann (1857-1928) and Gerhart Hauptmann (1862-1946): *Die Weber* (*The Weavers*, 1892) of the latter clearly derives in part from *Germinal* by Zola, whose precepts, stated in his *Naturalisme au théâtre*, the German author adopted also for his other plays. He wrote also plays in the vein of Ibsen. In opposition to this naturalist current, there arose a number of authors who wrote poetic or imaginative drama: this neo-romantic reaction, which in Belgium was represented by Maeterlinck's *Pelléas et Mélisande*, in France by Edmond Rostand's (1868-1918) *Les Romanesques* (1894), found a gifted supporter in the Viennese Hugo von Hofmannsthal (1874-1929), whose early work was conceived under the twin influence of aestheticism and symbolism; he was, as an artist, the German counterpart of a Wilde or a D'Annunzio; he adapted the medieval mystery-play *Jedermann*, Otway's *Venice Preserved*, dramas of Calderón, and rendered the magic of the comedy of love, tinged with a shade of sadness, in *Der Rosenkavalier*, which Richard Strauss set to music: Hofmannsthal wrote libretti for five more of Strauss' operas, including *Elektra*, *Ariadne auf Naxos* and *Die Frau ohne Schatten* (a dramatic version of his own novel with that title).

In Frank Wedekind (1864–1918) realism and fantasy coalesced creating paradoxical situations, so that the Expressionists saw later in him a forerunner. He was as obsessed as Strindberg with the sexual tragedy, and felt also Dostoyevsky's influence (*Die junge Welt*, 1890, *Frühlings Erwachen*, 1891, *Die Buchse der Pandora*, 1902, in which Lulu, ruthlessly preying on men, is another incarnation of the fatal woman of the decadents). The lighter side of the *fin de siècle* was mirrored in the gay one-act plays of the Viennese Arthur Schnitzler (1862–1931), *Der grüne Kakadu*, 1899, being one of the best.

Problems and tastes of the *fin de siècle* are present in the early work of the novelists Heinrich Mann (1871–1950; *Professor Unrat*, 1905, on which was based the film *The Blue Angel*), and his greater brother Thomas Mann (1875–1955), whose *Buddenbrooks* (1901) follows the pattern of the Goncourts and Zola in narrating the history of a family and its decay.

While Nietzsche, in a sense, was the most intense poetical nature of the last part of the nineteenth century, the period counted many distinguished lyric poets in Germany: Detlev von Liliencron (1844–1909), remarkable for the impressionist rendering of his reactions to sounds, colours and forms and for a realism full of *Stimmung* in the manner of Theodor Storm and Annette von Droste-Hülshoff, his models, frequently surpassed by him; the Swiss Karl Spitteler (1845–1924), who in his poem *Prometheus der Dulder* (an early production, which appeared only in 1924, profoundly altered) showed many affinities with Nietzsche's *Also sprach Zarathustra*; the socialist poets Heinrich and Julius Hart; the poet and theorist of German naturalism, Arno Holz (1863–1929), who tried, not always successfully, to introduce the common speech into the language of poetry (he felt the influence of Whitman); the social poet and symbolist Richard Dehmel (1863–1920), the most conspicuous figure among the Berlin poets; Stefan George (1868–1934), the chief exponent of the review *Blätter für die Kunst*, which upheld a severe conception of art along the lines of Baudelaire, Verlaine, Mallarmé, and in the name of an aristocratic idea of life and of a renewed sanctity of language, fought against the positivist and democratic bias of the nineteenth century, thus adopting Nietzsche's point of view: his lyric power shows a steady refinement from the decadent aestheticism of *Hymnen, Pilgerfahrten, Algabal* (1890–2), through *Das Jahr der Seele* (1897), *Der Teppisch des Lebens* (1900), *Der siebente Ring* (1907), *Der Stern des Bundes* (1914), to the invocation of a kingdom of the spirit in *Das neue Reicht* (1914–18); he combined Nietzsche's prophetic message with Mallarmé's belief in the redeeming power of the Word. Rainer Maria Rilke's (1875–1926) poetry blossomed in the same atmosphere which was common to George and Hofmannsthal, but, being born in Prague, he felt attracted by the Russia of Tolstoy and the France of Baudelaire and the Symbolists, of Rodin (of whom he was secretary) and Gide. His work falls into two periods. The first one, starting from slender beginnings, culminates in the *Stundenbach* (1905) (which records the religious experience of his Russian journey in 1899, and embodies the poet's eager aspiration to mystical

life), in the *Neue Gedichte* (1907-8), in which a metaphysical anguish vibrates within a perfect framework of verse, and in *Die Aufzeichnungen des Malte Laurids Brigge* (1910, in prose), which betray the influence of Jacobsen and of naturalism, and convey the need of solitude and the sense of anxiety which occupy the soul on the verge of a higher spiritual experience. The second period, consisting of the *Duineser Elegien* and the *Sonette an Orpheus* (1922), illustrates an aspect of the religious crisis of the twentieth century, and employs a different language from that of the works which were the fruit of the impressionist and symbolist experience of the poet.

It was especially the ripest novel of the Dane Jens Peter Jacobsen (1847-85), *Niels Lyhne* (1882), concentrated as it is on the inner life of the protagonist and on the people who passed through his life, that influenced Rilke. With Jacobsen, as with the Norwegian novelists Arne Garborg (1851-1924) and Jonas Lie (1833-1908), and the Swedish ones Victoria Benedictsson (1850-88) and Axel Lundergård (1861-1930), naturalism supplied only a starting-point: realism became permeated with a lyric spirit and was greatly softened by impressionism. Thus, though the followers of the once famous critic Georg Brandes (1842-1927), whose typological and sociological method had at any rate the advantage of widening the outlook of his countrymen (*Hovedstrom-ninger i det nittende Aarhundredes Literatur—Main Currents in Nineteenth-century Literature*, 1872-90), saw in Jacobsen the disciple of Darwin and the pursuer of the scientific method of the *tranche de vie*, actually his prose, which transfigures the data of observation into impressions and sensations, belies the naturalist premises. Jacobsen's fiction, which includes another major novel, *Marie Grubbe* (1876), and many short stories, has a few recurring features: a romantic desire of intense happiness, awareness of the impossibility of fulfilling one's dreams, a painful resignation leading to comprehension and goodness, and the sense of death inherent in all human things. This mood was so widespread in *fin-de-siècle* literature, that it can be traced in various forms in most European countries, from Russia (Chekhov) to Italy (the so-called *crepuscolari*). Certain titles are tell-tale enough, e.g. the Dane Herman Bang's (1857-1912) novel *Haablose Slaegter* (*Generations Without Hope*, 1880). Bang chose his characters among the defeated; another Danish poet and novelist, Holger Drachmann (1846-1908), mixing realistic with romantic elements, cultivated a type of fantastic, lyrical drama which meant a recrudescence of early romantic attitudes (this being another characteristic of late nineteenth-century literature that can be found even in Spain, in the plays of José de Echegaray [1832-1916], who felt the influence of Ibsen and Maeterlinck). On the other hand, some of the energetic creeds whose cropping up was another *fin-de-siècle* late romantic feature (Nietzsche, Kipling, D'Annunzio, etc.), found also representatives in the Scandinavian countries, in the Norwegian novelists Hans Ernst Kinck (1865-1926), fascinated by the racial theories of De Gobineau, and Knut Hamsun (1859-1952), whom a pantheistic cult of Nature (this, also, an early romantic myth) and a sharp division of men into

sons of the spirit and sons of matter eventually led to adopt Nazi ideals, thus tarnishing the reputation of an artist who has left pages of dithyrambic ecstacy inspired by Nature which will survive, as will survive his epic celebration of hard work crowned by victory (*Markens Grode—Fruits of Earth*, 1917). The conflict between loyalty and disloyalty to Nature, and the exaltation of instinct against reason, are also present, though in a less harsh way, in the Swedish novelist Selma Lagerlöf (1858–1940): her *Gösta Berlings Saga* (*The Saga of Gösta Berling*, 1891) illustrates her romantic mysticism and the lyric qualities of her plain and yet forceful style at their best. Heroic myths and a nostalgic cult of the past inspired the poetry of Carl Gustaf Verner von Heidenstam (1855–1940); *Karolinerna—The Swedes of Charles XII*, 1897–8), while Oscar Levertin (1867–1906) had for the past the sophisticated cult of a disciple of the Pre-Raphaelites, and Gustav Fröding (1860–1911), continuing Bellman's tradition of popular poetry, gave in his fresh poems—almost as many genre pictures—a quintessence of half a century of Biedermeier culture, alternating the sublime with the grotesque, the pathetic with the realistic mood, like his master Heine.

In Russia the most representative novelist of the eighties was Vsevolod Michaylovich Garshin (1855–88), whose work is permeated with a spirit of compassion not unlike Dostoevsky's, though without his somewhat sinister profundities: being himself not a little unbalanced, he could conjure up that harrowing description of madness, *Krasnyj tzvetok* (*The Red Flower*, 1883), with a symbolic import (the madman is convinced that all evil is contained in three poppies growing in the middle of the hospital garden, he succeeds in picking them, but dies of exhaustion after his ambitious and futile undertaking: a realistic and pessimistic version of the symbolic theme of the 'blue flower' of that early romantic, Novalis, in *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*). Vladimir Galaktionovich Korolenko (1853–1921), a radical and prominent leader in the Populist camp, blended poetry (his descriptions of Nature are in the manner of Turgenev) with a delicate, almost Dickensian, humour and an undying faith in the positive values of the human soul (*Son Makara—Makar's Dream*, 1885; *Istorija moego sovremennika—The History of a Contemporary of Mine, An Autobiography*, 1909). It was not however through fiction that Russia attracted European attention at the beginning of the new century, but through four plays of Anton Pavlovich Chekhov (1860–1904), although Chekhov was first of all a story-teller, beginning with indifferent stuff written for comic papers, starting his reputation in the literary world, with the *Pёstrye razskazy* (*Motley Stories*, 1886). and only by 1887 striking the note which was going to be his characteristic one, in *The Party*, and in *Skučnaja istorija* (*A Tedious Story*, 1889) creating his first masterpiece in that mood which was going to be called after him the *Chekhovian* state of mind (*Cechovskoe nastroenie*). It is a mood of disillusionment and failure in life, of realization of the utter triviality of the surrounding world, and of the impossibility for human beings of understanding each other. There are no outstanding characters in his stories: they all speak

the same language, the attention is fixed on the infinitesimals, which prove to be the stealthy disintegrative forces of human life. Thus Chekhov was giving the ripe, ultimate formula of that eclipse of the hero and technique of the anticlimax (all Chekhov's stories end on a minor note) towards which Biedermeier fiction had been tending throughout the nineteenth century (Thackeray, Flaubert's *Education sentimentale*, Trollope, George Eliot, etc.). Hence the enormous success in the West of his plays, *Čajka* (*The Seagull*, 1896), *Djadja Vanja* (*Uncle Vanya*, 1899), *Tri sestry* (*The Three Sisters*, 1901), and *Višnëvyi sad* (*The Cherry Orchard*, 1904). (For similar reasons Luigi Pirandello's plays were to enjoy almost as great a success a little later in the twentieth century.) After the novel without a hero, here was drama without plot, action, and dramatic characters: the drama which conveyed only an atmosphere and a vague emotional symbolism, both depressing.

This was Russia's last contribution to European literature before World War I, for although Maxim Gorky's (1869–1936) world-wide reputation for his play *Na dne* (*The Lower Depths*, 1902) which took Germany by storm in 1903–4, for his short stories written from 1892 to 1899, and for his social novels, reached also the lower strata of the reading public, it had on literary subject-matter and technique no effect comparable to that of Chekhov's work: Gorky's was after all only a cruder, more ruthless form of realism, no such novelty, after Zola and his school, as the turning upside down of the traditional principles of fiction and drama which Chekhov had brought about, with a far-reaching influence extending at least until the middle of the twentieth century. Neither was the poetry of the philosopher and mystic (and humorist, too) Vladimir Sergeyevich Solovyëv (1853–1900), or of the Russian symbolists (Konstantin Dmitrievich Balmont, Valery Yakolevich Bryusov, Andrey Bely, Vyacheslav Ivanovich Ivanov, and the greatest of them, Alexander Alexandrovich Blok, 1880–1921, whose genius reached its maturity about 1908 and manifested itself in the lyrics written between that year and 1916), one of the vanguard forces which moulded European literature in the new century.

It is after all fitting that this rapid survey of more than a century of European literature, which saw an incomparable blossoming of genius and talent in all countries (not always easy to classify, so that names of leading poets in some of them, such as the Rumanian Mihail Eminescu, 1850–89, and the Greek Kostis Palamàs, 1859–1943, have to be consigned here), and was dominated by Romanticism, its attenuation in Biedermeier, and its partial revival in the Decadence, should conclude with the name of Chekhov: Romanticism had started with an exaltation of the individual and a rediscovery of the wonder and mystery of the world; it concluded with an anticipation, in Chekhov, of the 'poor muddled maddened mundane animal', a victim to 'wilful authority and blind accident', of W. H. Auden's *Age of Anxiety*, and with the discovery of that triteness and desolation of everyday life which eventually found a typical expression in T. S. Eliot's *Waste Land*.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XIV

1. Professor Asa Briggs feels that Jane Austen would have written very differently under Queen Victoria.
2. Professor Briggs regrets that the author did not expand further the reference to Winckelmann and the 'Neo-classical' school.
3. Professor Briggs points out that, in addition to German idealism, Coleridge drew heavily on English Neoplatonism.
4. To Professor Briggs Cobbett was *not* a liberal; he was a Tory-radical.
5. Doctor Philol. R. M. Samarin, Doctor of Historical Sciences, thinks that among the writers, Laurence Sterne exercised a strong influence on Karamzin.
6. Doctor Samarin suggests that there were some exceptions to the failure of Western writers to appreciate the simplicity of Pushkin's style in translation. Notable among these was Prosper Mérimée.
7. Professor Briggs feels that the reference to the coming into power of, and apotheosis of, the Victorian middle class is exaggerated in the light of recent research. Moreover, the *scientist* was not the hero of the period of Queen Victoria− -the term was not used before 1840, and it remained imprecise.
8. Professor Briggs feels that most people would now consider *The Way We Live Now* as the best of Trollope's novels. This whole section on the Victorian compromise seems to me a bit old-fashioned in mood and taste. George Eliot, for example, seems to be seriously underrated.
9. Professor Briggs believes that 'for a time' is misleading. Once a socialist, Morris was always a socialist: he was always a militant socialist. The link with Ruskin and Carlyle is not brought out.
10. Doctor Samarin thinks it is worth while mentioning in connection with Turgenev his wide international literary relations and the prestige which he enjoyed in the circle of Flaubert, Daudet and the Goncourts. Henry James called him a 'novelist's novelist'.
11. Doctor Samarin believes that it is inaccurate to place *Oblomov* as the author does, alongside *Rudin* and *Beltov* as a type. Oblomov dislodges the romantic image of the 'superfluous man', the Byronic 'wanderer' from its pedestal. There is a well-known expression: 'They imagined themselves to be Onegins but proved to be Oblomovs.'

CHAPTER XV

THE ARTISTIC REVOLUTION[1]

BY PIERRE FRANCASTEL

WHILE it would be arbitrary to attempt to consider the nineteenth century as a self-contained period of time, covering an independent sequence of events, it seems perfectly legitimate to seek to define the artistic developments which occurred between 1780 and 1905 and were indicative of change and discontinuity. To understand those developments we shall be obliged at times to travel much further back in history, and at other times to advance into more recent years. It is a recognized fact that during the nineteenth century a succession of occurrences took place which shook the established order to its foundations in every department of life. But what we have to discover is whether the result of those occurrences was actually to call in question the principles on which the social order had been based for generations past, in figurative as well as in economic and social matters. Change is the prevailing law of existence, but events are not by any means of uniform importance. Some of them lead only to superficial changes in society, while others inculcate new principles of action, abolishing modes of behaviour which may have been established for centuries and introducing methods of thought or action by which future generations are to be guided throughout a long period. In the following pages we shall consider these factors of discontinuity and the sequence of development of new methods of representation, seeking to determine to what extent the artistic experience of earlier generations was rendered obsolete by certain events which occurred during the nineteenth century, and in what degree those events were the forerunners of our present-day experience.

It is unquestionably more reasonable to open an inquiry of this kind in or about the year 1780, than at the turn of the century. The French Revolution was not caused by the episodes that constituted it; neither did nineteenth-century art take its physiognomy from the new cultural developments that marked its first decades. We cannot, however, trace our subject so far back as to demonstrate that the Revolution and the art of the following period were the products of the eighteenth century in its entirety. We will approach the subject from a different angle. About the year 1780, certain artists were pursuing certain lines of experiment; and it is possible to make a subtle but specific distinction between the artists just coming to maturity at that time, and those who represented the previous generation.

For three generations left their mark on the eighteenth century. The first, that of the men who were active between 1720 and 1750, set itself to wipe out

the traces of the earlier strife between social classes and between different nations in Europe (the continental wars, the English revolution). It sought for new principles of conduct and in art it established the 'Pompadour' or rococo style, in strong contrast to that of the previous century. About 1750, there came a new development. The century's second generation did not make a clean break with the first, but there was a settling down, a transition from the search for principles to their application, involving compromise. In the arts, this was the period of neo-classicism, of return to the sources of modern culture. The academies emerged victoriously from a short-lived attempt to establish a closer relationship between art and fashionable society. The Enlightenment created a paradoxical situation for, of its twin aspects, rational and empirical, the former gained the upper hand. Finally, between about 1750 and 1780, when a third generation was beginning to appear, Rome unquestionably replaced Paris as the artistic centre of Europe—just as Paris had ousted Rome towards 1660, though the issue between the two cities remained in question to some extent, since the sources of knowledge were the same. Throughout the eighteenth century, culture was still based on the premisses of the quattrocento. Though driven out from most of their establishments, the Jesuits remained the dominant force in European education. No substantial change in the language of art could take place so long as polite society continued to refer to classical antiquity as its touchstone in imaginative and ethical questions. Thus, however great the progress made by science during the eighteenth century, it could provide no adequate substitute for the humanities. At the back of their minds, thoughtful people still had a vision of man, not of scientific phenomena. A century was to go by before faith in the established order of the creation was counterbalanced in everyday behaviour by the consequences of dialectical empiricism.

But Rome about the year 1780 was particularly characterized by its international atmosphere. Artists and art-lovers were flocking there, to confront the works of Rome with ideas as widely varied as the nations in which they had originated. Never had Rome been so genuinely the capital city of a truly European culture. Everyone who could think and everyone who could draw came there during the second half of the eighteenth century. Rome was not only the city of Piranesi and Pompeo Battoni, it was also the city of Mengs and Fragonard, of Hubert-Robert and the Adam brothers. The first travellers, such as the Marquis de Marigny, who arrived towards 1750, were soon followed by English artists—Reynolds and the early landscape painters, Wilson, Dance, and those, among whom Wedgwood is outstanding, who helped to create the style named after the brothers Adam. Between 1780 and 1794 (when the advance of Napoleon's armies drove them out of Italy) they were followed by Cozens and Copley, Wright and Flaxman, zealous recorders of the trivial and the picturesque. The Germans, following in Winckelmann's footsteps, were not less numerous, and while on the spot they played a more prominent part. Raphael Mengs personifies the tardy German conversion to

Latin cultural standards, which that nation still failed to distinguish from Mediterranean culture in general. He died in 1779, the centre of a colony, comprising Tischbein, Koch, Carstens, Overbeck and others, which was at least as large as that formed by the English. Northern Italians, too, played their part in this circle—Canaletto and Bernardo Bellotto, who arrived halfway through the century, being followed by Canova. Then there were Scandinavians—Sergell, from Sweden, forerunner of Thorwaldsen from Denmark. Isolated figures, such as William Blake and Fuseli, made a brief appearance before settling down in England to act as a romantic echo to poets no less Italianate than the artists of Shelley's day. Amid this concert of nations, all come to compare their own knowledge with this combination between nature and the monuments of history, the French played no small part. In the long run it was they—architects such as Bélanger and Ledoux, sculptors such as Houdon and Chinard, painters such as David and Proud'hon—who created the most accomplished works. True, they spent little time in Rome, and if that city is regarded, as too often happens, as the focus of creative activity, it will appear to have played only a trifling part in their lives, with the exception of David. However, if we note that in the 1780s the European nations were turning to Rome not as a teacher, but as the guardian of objects they could take as the basis of a culture seeking to adapt itself to the forms and requirements of modern society, we are led to give new prominence to other cities, such as Paris, London or Weimar, where the ideas and the taste which predominated in the early years of the nineteenth century were actually developed.

In point of fact, the international influence of Rome around the 1780s was the last expression of the Renaissance. Italy ceased to be the master of Europe precisely when it was perceived by everyone to have been not so much the founder of a specific civilization, as the permanent scene of events which shaped the human condition into the form that was to determine the intellectual and social status of every Western community. People went to Rome as though on pilgrimage to the sources of a culture which had become the common property of all Europeans. Each nation now set itself to re-interpret this universal teaching of history in a manner consonant with its other national traditions and with its present ambitions. But as frequently happens, the great lesson, having triumphed, was forgotten. It was not by glorying in their common cultural heritage that the European people succeeded, during the nineteenth century, in bringing to light new values in art and civilization. On the contrary, it was by deriving from another category of experience certain new forms and values which we shall now try to describe, explaining how they take their place in the great course of history.

It should first be pointed out, however, that the artistic movement in Europe about the year 1780 was characterized not only by the unity resulting from the Roman influence in its different aspects, but also by a pronounced social spirit, the transformation of which was to constitute one of the major problems

of the following century. Art, like thought, developed in a small circle of artists and patrons. The notion of culture was still inseparable from a strictly limited concept of moral and intellectual training. Education was a privilege reserved for the few. Its class aspect should not be exaggerated, however, for many of the participants in cultural life came from the lower classes of society.[2] Nearly all the proponents of classical culture were of humble, even lowly origin. The governing classes were never the principal executants of the works, whether of craftsmanship or of the intellect, in which their values found expression. Indeed, that situation has remained practically unchanged until the present day. The privileged class of pre-revolutionary days was never a closed shop. Its cultural development took place in collaboration with thinkers and craftsmen from all classes of the community. In 1780, at all events, culture was a sort of password. It was directed towards consolidating or challenging the conservative principles that upheld a certain traditional state of society. Even the demands of the revolution were common to different circles. Revolution demanded for the majority the possibilities and the style of life hitherto reserved for the few. The sole effect of the nineteenth-century revolution was to extend to the masses the methods of thought and action of the privileged minority.[3] The aim has always been to make the benefits of knowledge accessible to the whole community, rather than to discover entirely novel principles. It is only in our own day that the modern world has really been confronted by the problem of how to organize communities which are both more open and more uniform, in the light of potentialities entirely different from those of earlier times. So the generation of 1780 was the successful product of an educational movement, not of an artistic centre in which new values were created. Neo-classicism paved the way to the styles and ideas of the future. Like the French Revolution, and like Napoleon who wound it up, neo-classicism gave expression to the ideology of Enlightenment, rather than discovering new ways of helping man to influence Nature—that was to be the specific role of the nineteenth century. Thus it is that David's art, and the art of the Napoleonic period in general, is marked by the fundamental, universal ambiguity of its day.

Art is not necessarily *avant-garde*. In any case it was not so between 1780 and the middle of the nineteenth century. This may seem a rash statement, and it does not, I would point out, imply failure to recognize a certain quality of contemporary output. But one cannot fail to be struck by the immobility of art from 1780 to 1830. In France, during this period, the transition from the style of Louis XVI to that of the Directoire and the Empire was so gradual that it is sometimes difficult to place an individual work in its correct period at first glance. In England, the Adam tradition was being carried on by architects such as Nash and Sir John Soane. In Germany, architects and sculptors, men like Langhans and Schinkel, were faithful to the strictest neo-classicism. Art has no frontiers, and the situation was the same in Paris as in Rome with Valadier; Canova, at Milan, was sculptor to Napoleon, and

Thorwaldsen was establishing the Roman style at Copenhagen. In Russia, where the tide was sweeping all before it, there was no break between the enterprises of Catherine the Great and those of her successors. America under Jefferson was working in exactly the same style as Europe. The Capitol at Washington and the Saint-Isaac Cathedral at St Petersburg embody the same architectural principles. Seldom has style been so international. It is interesting to stress this point, to realize that the same theories gave rise to the public festivities of the revolutionary period, to the pomp of Napoleon's court and to the restrained luxury of the Restoration. The sovereigns who met on the battlefields of these years spent their lives in identical surroundings. It has perhaps not been sufficiently emphasized that this was already the period when taste was first seen as something international, at the scale of an entire continent, the expression of a culture shared by all nations which had reached a certain level of material civilization. Regarded from this angle, even the most violent political and social conflicts take on a superficial aspect; the groups of nations or royal houses on either side are fighting for supremacy, but they have no intention of making fundamental changes in society, or in ways of thought. From the earliest years of the nineteenth century, art, like science, tends to be universal, and this helped to create an international cultivated class, based on the tradition of the great European communities of classical times.

We now witness the emergence of two factors which left their mark on the whole of the nineteenth century. The admission of individuals, like that of nations, to the human community was made conditional upon the acquisition of a certain degree of culture and the observance of certain clearly defined rules of thought and action. At the same time, the classification of systems of thought, of styles of representation and of technical methods became increasingly strict; academic precepts were taking control in every part of the world. For a period of more than a century, all countries were to model their academies of art on the studios of Paris and Rome. It was inevitable that during this period of aesthetic conservatism, of increasing passivity, for which there had been no parallel since the end of the Roman Empire, art must depend entirely on individuals and isolated groups for any original developments. The independent artistic ventures which developed in Paris in the latter half of the nineteenth century may be regarded as a reaction called forth by the intellectual and social situation which arose during the Revolution and the Empire, when social stagnation resulted in a flagrant disharmony between the intellectual and mechanical resources of the period and its whole body of representative institutions, which was particularly evidenced by the arts. Regarding the matter from this standpoint, one is even tempted to conclude that the nineteenth century was a period of greater unity than has been supposed. But it would not be worth an extensive study if all its undertakings had been prompted by a negative reaction.

The nineteenth century was convinced throughout that its undertakings were

of a revolutionary character. But figurative terminology changes less readily than technical or moral terminology, because development is less progressive and adaptation calls for greater imagination on the part of the spectators. There was, however, from the very first, a feeling that each of the great formulae that were discovered must inevitably succeed. The nineteenth century believed in progress,[4] and the perils it entailed, and in the last resort it always supported the innovators. Men like Chateaubriand and Delacroix, though their views on social questions were by no means advanced, regarded themselves as revolutionary artists. Few distinguished minds, especially in the world of art, were firmly attached to the strictly conservative order of things— at least from the intellectual standpoint. Throughout Europe, the nineteenth century was the century of revolution. Revolution was always the accepted creed in certain fields, particularly in those of the intellect and of the techniques that set up new orders of things, before which the established barriers gave way, one after another. Moreover, the results of the discoveries made in all fields during the nineteenth century were never long in escaping from the control of their authors. So that in a way that century was revolutionary in spite of itself—in the intellectual even more than in the social sense. Yet the spirit of the Holy Alliance produced no enduring work, either in the political sphere or in that of culture. The few countries, including Russia and Austria, which remained under the control of autocrats, took no part in the general movement of ideas and arts except where even they felt the backwash of the great international current of innovation ... which resulted in the literary, and philosophical upsurge that marked Russia's struggle against autocracy in the 1860s and the emergence of an architectural and decorative style in Vienna during the last years of the century, those years of scientific and intellectual development which culminated in the downfall of the Habsburg monarchy.

Thus it is that the real problem confronting anyone who tries to discover and assess the events which led to the disruption of the figurative system which was so universally and triumphantly established at the beginning of the nineteenth century is not that of describing exhaustively the resistance put up by academic theories but that of distinguishing between genuine and spurious novelties, between what appear to be daring experiments and those which really called in question the traditional principles of figuration and concepts of beauty, as expressed in objects so widely varied as architectural monuments and the trivial accessories of daily life. It is only by comparing several movements—which proclaimed themselves, each in turn, to be revolutionary, but only the most recent of which, impressionism and the architecture of iron and concrete, really paved the way for an artistic revival—that we shall be able to discover the positive aspects of the figurative work produced during the century and the underlying connections between those aspects and the technical innovations—however remote the work of a pure artist, such as Monet, may at first seem to be from that of a bridge-builder like Eiffel.

This idea of currents, of successive movements, though extremely con-

venient to anyone trying to present a brief outline of the history of civilization, should be employed with the greatest caution. Romanticism, realism, Impressionism, are terms which may be applied to widely differing facts. The objects they describe, the judgements they express, will vary from country to country, and from critic to critic. Above all, it must not be assumed that the phenomena to which they relate are all of equal significance. Conventional works are infinitely more numerous than those which reveal a new imaginative trend. They cannot be regarded as of the same importance. The majority of the works of art created in Europe immediately before the introduction of the great industrial communities were prompted by neo-classicism. while romanticism, realism and, subsequently, impressionism are seen as an elaboration of prototypes, slowly beginning to influence the masses. Yet it is they which help us to perceive on what intellectual foundations the present-day work has been erected.

It is not easy to say at what precise moment romanticism made its appearance in art. Indeed, it has recently been pointed out that literary romanticism is equally difficult to pin down. Mr Gaëtan Picon has explained with admirable lucidity, not only that there were pre-romantics in England, Germany and France during the eighteenth century, but that the great romantic movements followed one another in rapid succession over a period of more than fifty years, from 1780 to 1830, and that each of them expressed one of the fundamental aspects of a structure which could not be seen as a whole until this cycle of creative initiative had been completed. There were no established modes of romantic thought before the romantics began to write. Tardy as they were, the second romantic movement in Germany and the French romanticism of 1830 contributed certain factors which had previously been lacking in the movement. This, of course, narrowed down the range of possibilities which had existed for a century past; but it is equally evident that not until then did a romantic form of civilization emerge, with musical and social forms of expression which, in point of fact, were more brilliant than its achievements in the plastic arts.

Not, indeed, that the arts lacked the equivalent of what in literature was pre-romanticism. As early as the middle of the eighteenth century we note the appearance of works to which that term applies, and which reflect a form of sensibility closely related to that of the *avant-garde* writers. The feeling for Nature evidenced in several paintings by Fragonard or Reynolds, the idyllic, Anacreontic aspect of Proud'hon's work, and the pictures of William Blake and Fuseli, are no less worthy representatives of pre-romanticism than Obermann or Werther. At the very time when Ossian was appearing, Girodet's compositions were giving visual form to the tremendous imaginative speculations of a culture which was trying to find models and traditions outside the circle of its classical forebears. The painting of Gros and Girodet, or of Géricault, who died the same year as Byron (1824), is no less romantic than the writings of the 'Lakists' and the German poets. But like these, they made

their appearance in a world of art which was still dominated by the neo-classical values. The tragedy of Gros, a pupil of David, who in his prime was possessed by romantic ardour and by a longing to render the living emotions of his day rather than the filtered essence of centuries of classical culture—and later, when his master was dead, tried stubbornly to wear his mantle—provides a typical example of the attitude of a generation in whose eyes romantic values, the picturesque, the modern, the understated, the direct rendering of form, did not yet possess the requisite dignity. Romantic Europe did not come into being until around 1830, because not until then did a sufficient number of artists—prose writers, poets, painters and musicians—begin to see themselves as true masters instead of as mere *avant-garde* skirmishers.

This assertion of the rights of romanticism did not, it must be pointed out, result in any abrupt substitution of new styles for old. The two schools coexisted, but with a greater general appreciation of the novel, non-classical works. This situation is perfectly illustrated by the long and celebrated dispute between Ingres and Delacroix. Delacroix was furious at any suggestion that he was no more than a topical painter, and declared himself to be 'a pure classic' (Pl. 49b), while Ingres was continually displaying an attraction towards certain aspects of romanticism, both in subject and treatment. Both were, in fact, typical representatives of the hesitancies that characterized social life in their period of greatest activity, 1830–60.

It is hard to define the predominant features of the romantic movement in art. Romanticism, in the arts as in literature, was characterized by the determination to shake off the fetters that shackled inspiration, to reject strict rules and assert the right of genius to be free; so that by its very nature it evades definition. In some cases it even makes do with themes and forms derived from the lexicon of classical art. In short, it is a state of mind, of individual sensibility rather than the mouthpiece of truths that can be codified. At the furthest point, one could say that there are romantic works and romantic types, rather than such a thing as romanticism. In any event it is impossible to lay down a definition of a romantic *system* contrasting point by point with the classical *doctrine*, because this would be an attempt to contrast the efflux of lyrical feeling with a universal method which can be applied to the government of the mind.

It is, however, possible to define, if not artistic romanticism itself, at least its most successful forms of expression, those which had most influence on the future. These forms appear at very varied levels and in their outward appearance they may seem almost contradictory. In painting, for instance, the most influential works of the romantic school have a marked literary character. They still retain their ties with the international classical culture which at that time had not ceased to engender neo-classical works. During the Empire, in the time of Gros and Géricault, romantic painting had tried to express modern feelings and modern scenes, to become the art of its own day and of

contemporary society. But it had very soon veered in the opposite direction, and taken up historical subjects; it was more readily concerned with cultural themes than with current matters—and here it was following the main trend of ideas. The gods of this period were Shakespeare and Milton, and Dante was another of its discoveries. Shakespeare and Dante, as anti-classicists, were brought into contrast with the classical culture of France, which then embodied the values of the Greco-Latin tradition, and the latter was soon abandoned by cultivated circles throughout the Continent—despite the Roman phase traversed by internationalism. Admiration for Milton was practically confined to the far side of the Channel, where it served as fuel for the imagination of the only creative artist to whom England gave birth during this period —William Blake, whose pre-expressionist style was slow to win appreciation, and never widely admired on the Continent. Whereas the man who personified the discovery of Dante and Shakespeare, who expressed the general character of their humanity, of their poetic experience, was Delacroix. It is unquestionably to him, and to him alone, that the great Shakespearean figures, in particular, owe their place in the imaginative heritage of cultivated Europe. It was he who gave recognizable features to Ophelia and Hamlet, Desdemona and Othello. And he did this, not by producing illustrations to the works of the English poet, but on the contrary, by devising an unprecedented artistic form which brought to life the intellectual images engendered by reading those works. The French may have been slow to discover Shakespeare, but it was ultimately from two Frenchmen, two 'artists', Delacroix and Berlioz, that he received his European patent of nobility.

This fact reveals both the extent of Delacroix's genius and its limitations, which were those of the whole romantic movement in art. Everything that Delacroix created was the product of a culture based on literature; he brought a new race of heroes, representing new human values, to fill the place of the old ones. Nowadays when we look at works inspired by classical antiquity, we find it very difficult to interpret them. Whether we like it or not, our present-day culture is based on the figures created by the European civilizations; at least this was the case until the last few years. Delacroix and the romantic movement refreshed our continent's stock of imagery and symbolic themes for the new century and a half, subsequently adding a few heroes of modern civilisation, such as Faust.

It is noteworthy that the attempts to visualize the figures of Europe's new imaginative culture were not always successful. There were certain failures— Byron caught on, but not Milton; Goethe, but not Tasso. It is also noteworthy that in any event it was the arts which determined the relative success or failure of a particular type. The forms created in the writers' imagination owe their survival not to their purely poetic value, not to their value as examples for mankind, but to their presentation in the visual arts, which lent them, as it were, a new life.

Apart from this, there is no cleavage between Delacroix's actual form and

the great Renaissance style, although we find a marked decline in stylistic influences derived from direct copying of the antique. Delacroix never presents us with a Borghese *Gladiator* or a Monte Cavallo *Castor and Pollux*; his travels took him to London, not to Rome. Except in the case of tigers, flaying is alien to him. By a curious paradox, Ingres went much further in combining reverence for the formal, academic tradition with the direct interpretation of Nature, based on close observation. Delacroix describes how, when he visited Morocco, he was amazed to find ancient times still *living* in the customs and people that constantly presented themselves to his eyes. But his work did not turn in that direction. During the nineteenth century the role of statuary, and of sculpture in general, declined while the influence of painting and graphic art expanded. It was a period which preferred to create a secondary universe of poetic forms, chosen from the literature of the preceding four centuries. In this respect we must not underestimate the part played by the English artists and theorists of the eighteenth century, and by Reynolds in particular. On his return from London in 1823, Delacroix acknowledged that the English school—portrait painters and landscape painters alike—possessed the 'naturalness' that he felt to be lacking in the art of France. By this he meant chiefly that the English were not interested in studio studies from the antique. But naturalism, in his view, was not a prelude to the elaboration of a style based on the direct observation of nature; in his case it resulted in a fresh approach to legend, it revealed to his mind's eye a poetic world engendered not by the visual but by the literary traditions of earlier generations.

Delacroix, in his great romanticism, thus remained true to the idea of a common cultural background which had earlier given rise to the Roman, neo-classical movement of the years between 1750 and 1780. Regarded in its widest aspect, romantic painting is seen to be concerned with emotions; it appeals to the cultivated imagination; it is faithful to tradition, not only in its sources of inspiration but in its manner of posing the problem of art and artists in relation to the community. A veil of intellectualism is still interposed between the painter and the world of nature. The artist is addressing himself to an initiated public.

Delacroix is the only first-rank painter belonging to a group inspired by romanticism in the first half of the nineteenth century. The reasons just adduced explain why no sculptor rose to the highest level. Rude was the most successful among them, and some of his works were of fine quality; but with the possible exception of *La Marseillaise*, none was creative in the truest sense; in none of them were form and thought inextricably mingled. He shares with the first generation of Romantic painters the desire to give visual expression to topical issues. But in the last resort this makes him at least as closely akin to the emergent school of realism as to romanticism. As I have already pointed out, it is impossible to make a hard-and-fast differentiation among the various movements between which the majority of artists show a tendency to oscillate—from Ingres, caught between realism and romanticism. Carpeaux,

the only other great nineteenth-century sculptor before Rodin, hovered between realism and academicism.

Apart from Delacroix, the landscape painters were the great artistic success of the early years of the century. Even so, it must be remembered that their work was not confined to a brief period, the parallel of the period of comparative stability which was that of the romantic age in literature, manners and social behaviour. Landscape painting began to gather impetus in the middle of the eighteenth century, when artists discovered nature. At that time they were not prompted by the romantic impulse, which is individualistic, imaginative, and comes from within, but by the desire to observe the world around them, and even by the natural development of artistic techniques. Moreover, their sources of inspiration were somewhat complex. Piranesi, defending Rome against the archaeologists and against the expansion and differentiation of the classical universe, was not actuated by the same considerations as, for example, Hubert-Robert, with his eye for the picturesque features of local contemporary life. Whereas the English draughtsmen who recorded the Italian ruins were not, like Hubert-Robert and Fragonard, striving to extract their living poetic essence, their purpose was to compile accurate information on which to found an archaeological reconstruction of classical antiquity.

From the very first there were at least two conflicting tendencies—that of the group whose aim was to seek on the traditional or historical spot for evidence in support of a subtle but generally accepted cultural tradition, and that of the group which sought, through the imitation of unfamiliar elements with a direct appeal to the eye, to bring out values of meaning and style which had been neglected by earlier artists and by the community in general. Incidentally, this duality in the contemporary investigation of nature reflects the two basic tendencies which ran through the eighteenth century, divided as it was between the desire to penetrate more deeply into the culture of the Renaissance and the wish to give practical expression in every field of intellectual activity to the new theory of critical empiricism.

Moreover, there is undeniably a marked difference between the English artists who went out in the late eighteenth century to draw the ruins of ancient Rome, and men such as Constable, Bonington and Turner, the real founders of the school of English landscape painting which came into existence in the earliest years of the nineteenth century. It is the difference between cultural purpose and art. Constable and Bonington derived in reality, not from Dance, Copley and their fellows, but from the eighteenth-century portrait and genre painters. Constable's landscapes originate not so much from the recorders of ruins and classical sites, as from a living tradition of painting inherited from the Flemish studios which were the source of the whole English school. Reynolds and Gainsborough, for instance, were painters to the core. Their feeling for colour, their use of a full brush without linear definition, make them akin to Largillière, another follower of the Flemish tradition who, when giving lessons to Oudry in the early eighteenth century, built up a theory of the

representation of forms by means of colour which lies at the root of early nineteenth-century English landscape painting and, indeed, of Impressionism as well. To put it more precisely, the English landscape painters at the beginning of the nineteenth century form the essential link in a great tradition which sets the 'technical' artists in contrast to the 'inspired' artists chiefly on the score of their choice of theme and the nature of their sensibility. From this standpoint, the work of the English landscape painters—which came as a revelation to French visitors to the Salons of the 1800s and confirmed Delacroix in his opposition to the linear methods of David's followers— played an extremely important part in the development of the arts during the nineteenth century, though it would be incorrect to say that they were the exact embodiment of the romantic attitude.

On the other hand the term 'romantic' is strictly applicable to a vast number of works which, though not of the highest artistic quality, built up the atmosphere of the romantic period and gave it its distinctive aspect. These were the countless host of minor products—illustrations, and particularly genre pictures —thanks to which, even today, we can still reconstitute the visual setting of the period and its emotional complexion. The romantic atmosphere varies considerably from one country to another. Looking at the albums of illustrations which have come down to us from Viennese artists like Neiwrich or Olivier and Germans such as Ritter or Spitzweg, and then at the lithographs in which Déyéria and Gavarni captured the life of Paris, we realize that in romantic just as in classical times, there were wide gaps between the different countries that shared the same culture. For this is not to be regarded as a new type of culture engendered by the genius of each individual people in defiance of the lofty principles of romanticism itself. The peoples of the German countries were reintroduced to their ancient legends by their poets and artists, in modernized versions in which there was as much humour and scholarship as spontaneous verve. Although the romantic movement came into existence as a reaction against academic art, and claimed to be national and popular, it originated as a culture of the élite. The folklore of the various nations won its place in the cultural tradition of the modern world by means of adaptation, by a scholarly development of its themes—not at all through desertion of the principles of restricted culture. The 'romantic sickness' did not originate among the sons of the soil, but in the most refined circles of the day. Romanticism unquestionably gave a broader international basis to culture; but it began among small groups of initiates. Nevertheless, romanticism in its various forms expresses more definitely than the different forms of classicism a rejection of the existing environment. Romanticism is an opposition movement in art. It is not the art of an untrammelled society, in which everyone can look forward to shaping his own future in conformity with his tastes and abilities. In its twofold aspect, refined and individualistic, it is the art of the liberal communities of the early nineteenth century. Like them, it aspires to freedom, but in the last resort it accepts the ancient cultural framework.

A distinction has sometimes been drawn between the component elements of romanticism in the form in which it made its appearance towards the middle of the eighteenth century, and the 'romantic period', when certain of those elements determined the general complexion of a society more concerned with the freedom of the individual than with social reform[5] or with a reconsideration of the role of art in intellectual life and daily practice. Regarded closely, in any case, the bounds of romanticism in art are seen to have been established, not because the individual acquisition of culture was an impulse stronger than the desire for social reform, but because of the dearth of great painters: with the exception of Delacroix, the age ran more to writers and composers. This does not mean that the first half of the nineteenth century was a second-rate period in art, for many great painters were actively at work— Corot, Goya, Turner and Delacroix, not to mention those who, like Ingres, remained more attached to the neo-classical concepts. But neither as individuals nor as artists can they be fitted into the romantic scheme of things. Is it possible to call them realists ?

As we have already seen, it is very hard to say exactly when the romantic movement originated. Realism is equally impossible to confine within a short period. It did not begin, come to birth, immediately after romanticism petered out; the realists did not simply step into the shoes of the romantics. Yet the study of realism has usually been approached with this assumption. It is represented as a reaction against the excesses of romanticism and its birth certificate, so to speak, is dated somewhere in the 1850s, when there was also a break in political history. The tendency is to consider realism as the expression of theories connected with the social upheaval and the subsequent development of an ideology in which society takes over the leading role hitherto devolving upon the individual.

It is ridiculous to suppose that changes took place in art during the nineteenth century because certain theorists began to take a more equitable view of the relationship between objective and idea, or between the individual and his fellows. Moreover, neither have economic developments wholly produced national needs. They satisfy them. People want only such things as are within their imagination, but out of their reach. They set about obtaining means of satisfying their wants, transforming them into objects and institutions. Art is one of the means by which man can forge new thought-structures for himself. The artist does not give shape to a hard-and-fast mental image; he does not proceed by assembling elements drawn from specific data; he explores the visible and gives form to matter. All the great realistic movements in nineteenth-century art were inspired by the determination to establish a new relationship between the sharpened vision and its representation. Those movements are an interesting subject for study, more especially as they reveal a more penetrating view of the way in which civilized man came to be governed by new principles in his attitude towards the infinitely changeable universe perceived by his various senses. Added to this, inasmuch as the romantic

attitude had subordinated the figurative arts, limiting them to some association of the literary hero or some pictorial transposition of the setting of daily life, they in turn played a considerable part though not evidenced at the time, from the angle.

Like the romantic current, the stream of realistic ideas had its source well within the eighteenth century. Romanticism developed out of the sentimental sensitive, individualistic strain which was initiated by Rousseau, and an anti-intellectualism which even in our own day continues to feed a strong current of thought. Similarly, realism marked a phase in the line of thought that developed from that dialectical empiricism which seeks to unite the determination to study phenomena at the stage of perception, with the will to establish a coherent, logical, lucid and universal method of reconnoitring phenomena and interpreting them.

There can thus be no doubt that the origins of the realism of 1850 should be sought in the aesthetic doctrines of Diderot and the Encyclopaedia. Those doctrines put forward a double problem for the consideration of artists. On the one hand they rejected the notion of innateness, thus paving the way for the 'problematic' sensibility. On the other hand, the doctrines expounded in the Encyclopaedia confronted artists with a practical problem. In view of the fact that art—the power of giving an artificial representation of appearances—implies the power, and the need, to construct sets of symbols which are not the direct and complete equivalent of reality, but represent systematic, combinative points of view by which symbolical connections and priorities are established among the elements selected, it is not enough to take up one's stand before a scene and project it on to a two-dimensional visual screen. Art was no longer aiming at crude, direct transference in terms of a mere reduction of reality; it ceased to be taken for granted that there must be concordance between the thing perceived and its figurative representation. Implicit in the latter was the existence of certain ascriptions of values, affecting both the artist and his circle. Thus, while romanticism developed the all-powerful law of sensibility, the successive theories deriving from the Enlightenment could spare attention for two other lines of research—one defining the nature of the visual phenomen of perception, the other determining the potentialities of the figurative symbol once it had been arrived at. Diderot was thus, at one and the same time, the theoretical propagandist of the return to Nature—the easel set up in the open country, and of the morally edifying topic—the *Prodigal Son*.

So it is that romanticism and realism in art are found to be complementary trends. This makes it easier to realize that they advanced along parallel lines—it being understood that at different and successive moments each of them gave its full measure. Even so, it should be noted that not all the most important of the realistic works were done after 1840. Hence the fact, so disturbing to those historians who do not look beyond those events which fall into clear-cut periods, that certain artists—and some of the greatest—defy classification,

either chronologically or because their work was 'hybrid' in character. The tiresome thing about Goya and Corot, for instance, is that no one can say precisely whether they were romantics or realists!

In my attempt to define the position and role of the figurative arts in the nineteenth century, I shall confine myself to describing the attitudes adopted, in respect of visual theories and in relation to the social function of their work, by the great painters who were working before 1860.

It may, however, be useful to list the principal stages in the development of realism—under its various aspects—during the period before 1850. We are confronted by a majority of routine products without real artistic value, together with the work of a few very great artists which is in almost complete contrast, though there is considerable affinity between the two groups so far as principles are concerned. In the 1780s and thereabouts, most countries display a taste for art as a record of events. However different in inspiration and quality, the picture-sheets of the French Revolution and the work of Goya's first period have this in common. Indeed, the attempt to give aesthetic treatment to scenes of contemporary life first appeared in European art long before the generation of 1780. Without going back as far as genre painting we may note that Watteau's day had witnessed the eagerness of a particular society to infuse new life into itself by a transposition of its manners and customs. Did not the first great poet of the eighteenth century describe it as the age of elegant assemblies and of dance? Chardin, too, showed that commonplace themes could be made poetic by the quality of the treatment and by a penetrating vision. The discovery of poetry in everyday life was therefore less novel, perhaps, than the recognition of poetic value in social behaviour. Here we come first of all to Goya, the illustrator of the popular, national amusements of his own people, one of the earliest European students of folk art, a precursor of the first romantics, with their poetic streak. Goya interests us here, however, not from this angle but because of the work he was doing about 1810–20, and which raises the question of whether he is to be regarded as a romantic or realist.

Meanwhile we may note the rapid development of genre painting, best represented in France by Boilly who, again, stands halfway between a certain romanticism in his pictorial elements and a striving for descriptive precision which, as I have already remarked, are also found—with the emphasis slightly on the romantic side—in the work of the host of provincial painters who flourished in Germany, Russia and Italy at various periods between 1800 and 1860. A third group of standardized works strongly influenced by realism was produced by the landscape painters, including such English artists as Constable and Bonington. Here, however, as with Goya—due allowance being made for individual quality—we again find the compromise between romanticism and realism, sentimentality and exactitude—the pre-eminence of the true artists, such as Constable and Goya, being due not so much to the choice they made between the two trends as to the purely aesthetic quality of their

works. The history of art must not be confused with that of its themes and subjects, nor with the varying degree of exact depiction of reality which necessarily exists in every picture, but is irrelevant to its value as a work of art. There were countless pictorial records of episodes of the French Revolution, countless illustrations of romantic poems, but the only ones that have *existence* are the few which, though superficially they fall into the same categories, possess, in addition, another kind of reality—because they are works of art. Among the innumerable productions of the hand of man there are some which crystallize certain values characteristic of a particular period, because they stand at the point of juncture of two series of actions which are fundamental to all human activity. Artists do not merely clothe ideas in visible form, they help to draw up the original modes of thought that distinguish a particular period and enable it, furthermore, to become aware of itself. A figurative work is not only a witness to the environment in which it was created; it is cause as well as result, it serves as a landmark for members of different social classes, calling their attention to things they have in common with other men of their day and of times past. The famous quarrel about the artist's motives, which took place between Diderot and Falconet about 1765, shows that writers and artists in the earliest years of the period we are considering were already aware of the problem. It was of course a vision of the world, but it was not ready-made, jointly shaped by the artists and by those around them.

Let us take the case of Goya again. In his maturity, when he was in possession of all the honours and advantages attaching to the position of first painter at what was still an autocratic court, he abruptly turned away from this style of life and from his previous manner in art. He wanted to give expression to the upsurge of patriotism in his country—we know that. But that does not determine the form of the work he was to do in his new creative period. In 1810 and thereabouts he could be romantic, and was; but he could also be realistic, and he painted his bull-fighting pictures. Then he transferred this technique of dramatic visual reporting to his records of the national tragedy. In doing so, was he to become a romantic or a realist? Both, and something more as well. He did not confine himself to combining the interpretations gleaned from his past environment, he created new ones; in his attitude he was both for and against his age; he became its painter, its apologist, and the most searching and disillusioned of its critics; he wrote a page which was no longer historical gossip, but ranks with the great works of humanism. He became one of those who, looking beyond the fate of a generation, assess man's position in the universe. Was he then a realist? No, for the view of the universe that he constructed was metaphysical and critical. Had he become a romantic? Again, no. For he refused to admit that spiritual salvation and peace of mind were to be reached by the mere rejection of daily compromise. So his work was both romantic and realistic. Above all, it did not spring from attachment either to a doctrine or to a style. Form and substance were so completely at one that it cannot be described as clothing an idea. With Goya, the idea emerges from

the pursuit of technique, and it is an idea which leaves his contemporaries as far behind in the field of theory as on the level of art. (Pl. 50a).

Goya constitutes an extreme case. Needless to say, men like Constable, Delacroix or Turner have not the same creative force, the same power to mould the future, they remain more attached to the established forms of earlier techniques. Yet each of them plucked, with varying success, the golden bough of Virgil's Sybil, of which Delacroix speaks in his *Journal*. Found on the tree of reality, it sheds its material nature when employed in a poetic system, and becomes a symbol, a generator of causalities, not the reflection of the ready-made structures on conceptual thought. We thus observe that Constable and Turner, like Goya and Delacroix, are always and simultaneously inventive both in the technical and in the imaginative sphere.

When the problems confronting the figurative arts are regarded from this angle, it becomes easier to understand why the realistic trend evinced by the nineteenth century was necessarily something more than a mere stage in the development of styles, prompted by a kind of sentimental reaction to romanticism. It also becomes easier to understand why the development of realism constituted an indispensable intermediate stage between the aesthetic forecasts of Diderot and the Encyclopaedists and the great revival of the figurative arts after the middle of the nineteenth century. It would be unjust, however, to describe realism as no more than a link in the chain leading from Diderot to the Impressionists. Goya, Constable, Corot and Courbet were not merely the forerunners of Manet. Their work had a value of its own.

Irrespective of the part they played in the development of realism in Europe, Corot's works, with those of Goya, represent the highest peak of figurative art in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Corot's work (Pl. 50b), has generally been regarded from an over-romantic angle. Yet in spite of his deliberate effort to express emotion, it hardly seems that the series of compositions with figures which culminates in the famous *Souvenir de Morte-fontaine* expresses his last word on art. Corot put figures into his compositions, like Poussin and Claude Lorrain, because he did not want to be regarded as a landscape painter—that branch of art being still considered as a minor one in his day. On the other hand, until about 1880 (Castagnary), he was accused of giving fictitious renderings of Nature. So his attitude foreshadowed that of Cézanne, who also had difficulty in emerging from purely optical observation and who also aspired to create Gallery art—in his case by introducing into his compositions certain traditional elements of form. The substitution of a poetry based on feeling for poetry based on culture was not made without a struggle. But it was the great creative achievement of the nineteenth century. Corot's 'realism' deserves a great deal of the credit for the manner in which the subject was eclipsed, and a new, purely visual object developed. Reviving the real tradition of Poussin, Corot's brushwork combined drawing with the creation on the canvas of a colour-system which guided all painting towards its present aims. In him, already, we see the

two-fold success thanks to which the work presents itself as an object endowed with admirable technical qualities, while expressing an exceptional delicacy of vision—a rare ability to isolate from the flow of optical perceptions those elements of quality which transform sensation into knowledge. This is not a mere transposition of Nature on to a two-dimensional surface, a transference the result of which is to present us with a duplicate of reality—which is what Diderot again wanted. On the contrary, it is a method that expresses reality in terms of an assemblage of qualities selected from various levels: sensual qualities that express the delight of the eye caressed by a particular light or struck by some combination of space and ground; mental qualities which reflect the choice made by the artist, who is particularly drawn to one spot or another because it reminds him of some happy moment in his life. Corot's interest in Rome and in certain corners of the Ile-de-France does not derive wholly from the literary associations they suggest; more often it comes from his recollections of a visit that charmed him, either by the serenity of the hour he spent there, or by his amused and kindly observation of a particular form of life. Poussin's Italian landscapes convey memories of his youth, a taste for exploration, the charm of the land and its people, rather than any resemblance to historical events or to the writings of classical authors, poetic though they may be.

Modern poetry, in fact, replaces the poetry of culture. In this respect there is a complete cleavage between Corot's style and that of the English draughtsmen of the eighteenth century, or of David (Pl. 49a). In this respect, Corot is a modern in the full meaning of the word; and a creator, too, for he himself invented the symbols that still bring us his message. Unquestionably close to the romantics, for he drew upon what was in fact a vein of 'folk' inspiration rather than upon the culture which was then still expressed in the neo-classic trend. But remote from them in one immense respect—his vision was benevolent, appeased. The world was his estate; reality, far from wounding him, fostered his contentment and his genius. Naturally, Corot was not entirely divorced from his period. As has already been mentioned, he tried in various ways to associate himself with other creative undertakings. He strove to people with phantoms the universe with which he had direct communication—going to the theatre to observe the movements of the dancers and to gather figures to be included as secondary features of his landscapes, figures approximately corresponding to the different states of his own mind, which he already expressed to the full by the harmony of the masses and the concordance of the colours. He was much more himself when he painted only figures treated with the same acute perception as his landscapes. The subject retreats before the object, and the interplay of perception and interpretation is restored. It is realistic through and through, this attitude which reveals the very core of the problem posed by the movement with which we are concerned. This is realism, because Corot's art springs from personal contact between the external world and the artist—devoid of all reminiscence of earlier styles, all traditional

culture. It is realism because the painter who is simply a painter does not seek to modernize his style by introducing into his painting representational elements borrowed from other forms of intellectual activity. It is realism because the subject is not an anecdote, a code of values and judgements, because it derives from the full activity of the senses, not from abstract thought making use of what memory presents to it, unrelated to any direct exercise of visual perception.

Corot thus personifies a phase in the great development of painting, in the direction imparted to it by a certain type of man and of Western rationalism. From this point of view, he stands out from the by no means contemptible phalanx of the French landscape painters who were working around him. The landscape painters of the Barbizon school were unable to achieve the power to analyse the surrounding reality and to create purely pictorial symbols, which makes Corot the equal of Goya as a representative of European realism in the years 1840–60. Some of them, such as Jules Dupré and Daubigny, set too much store upon reproducing the precise features of a scene more or less artificially cut out from the surrounding Nature; others, like Millet, were too bent on bringing into their works an emotion other than purely visual. They are therefore no more representative of the tendencies associated with realism, in the meaning attributed to the term in the present study, than the little masters of the romantic period in Germany, who drew their material from memories of the picturesque in everyday life.

In finally assigning its place to the realistic movement, we should ignore them and compare Corot's experiments with those of Turner and Courbet, at work towards the middle of the century—the moment, as I shall attempt to show, when a great transformation took place in the forms of art and the fundamental questions relating to it.

The general estimate of Turner is prompted by the desire to fit him into a particular stylistic movement, rather than by the attempt to judge his work as such. In fact, generally speaking, our views on the nineteenth century are coloured by the triumph of Impressionism, which the general public now tends to regard as art in its most distinctive form. A strange paradox, when one remembers the indignant opposition evoked less than eighty years ago by the exhibitions at which the masters of the latter half of the century first showed their works. The normative value attributed nowadays to that form of art is equivalent to that which was once associated with neo-classicism.

But whereas the aim of Impressionism was to investigate more thoroughly the varying aspects of the physical environment in which the spectator is placed, Turner was still involved in romanticism. His effort is directed towards conveying, in his presentation of the visible universe, a suggestion of the emotion it awakens in his mind. He brings Nature, his pretext, into confrontation with a lyricism inseparably associated with the literary movement of his day: art of juxtaposition and not, like Impressionism and the art of Corot, the creation of a form directly and completely adequate for sensation. Turner did

not, like Corot, create a form derived immediately from vision, though detached from its imaged surroundings. His pictures invariably express a personal emotion closely bound up with traditional culture; they do not establish any empirical method of exploring Nature, concentrated entirely upon recording purely sensorial data. The Impressionists and since then many artists owe him much of their soft-focus effect, but rather because Turner raises the problem of what is unfinished, than because he lays down any system for the indication of feeling. Even apart from its pictorial quality, its introduction of a scale of iridescent colours heralding a renovation of the palette at least as important as the art of Delacroix, Turner's *œuvre* is one of the cornerstones of art in the first half of the nineteenth century; but it still stands midway between cultural romanticism and visual realism.

Whatever the difference between the imagination of such men as Turner, who retain their attachment to the strictly idealistic poetic and sentimental culture of the romantic generations, and of men such as Corot, for whom the interest lies in a no less personal confrontation with concrete reality detached from the promptings of the intellectualized culture of their own day, their talent nevertheless displays certain common features—among which is their allegiance to a reality to be defined, in the last analysis, in terms of Alberti's open window—of the vision of the world that the Renaissance established. The principal reason which fixed immutably in the minds of the present-day public the conviction that there could be such a thing as realism in the positive and literal and qualitative, non-objective, meaning of sensory perception, furnished Flaubert, that master of the written word, with a personal system of aesthetics so completely revolutionary that even today there is no general recognition of the scope of his work; the nomenclature of subjects representing agreed qualities was to be replaced by a new repertory of perceptible qualities from which new subjects would be generated. Whether the new nineteenth-century subjects were figurative or mental, the procedure was the same. Flaubert, like the painters, proclaims the rights of art, that is of individual expression, and the supremacy of qualitative structures, over the sum total of the elements already familiar, listed but not freshly assessed in terms of the constellating power of the spirit. Like the painters, Flaubert raised the problem of the simultaneous renovation of technique and subject.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the first of the great innovating movements, romanticism, had renovated the repertory of figurative themes without questioning the artist's relationship to the universe or to the traditional forms of expression. Romanticism was thus the last of the great forms of art derived from the Renaissance. Intuitive as they were, neither Gros nor Géricault succeeded in laying the foundations of an aesthetic system based on incident and topicality. Goya and Daumier carried their research to the frontier between romanticism and realism, to the point of satire and caricature. It was the various trends known as 'realistic' which at last brought into full

evidence the indivisible unity of the object–subject relationship and the solidarity between all speculations bearing upon technique and significance. About 1850 the great realists—painters and writers alike—discovered the problem of the object. From the standpoint of a romantic system of aesthetics —that of Baudelaire as art-critic—the relations existing between the various modes of knowledge constitute correspondences; from the standpoint of the realistic system of aesthetics—which represented the nineteenth century's step forward—arts and languages do not merely give expression to existing values by transporting them; they discover them in the course of expressing them.

Before the middle of the nineteenth century, Corot was the only artist who came so close to this kind of realism: a pure, instinctive empiricism of figurative expression marked his research, which was confined to plastic problems and devoid of any social purpose. Whereas Courbet's realism, towards 1855, immediately revealed a dual aspect. He was an artist through and through, who could paint better than anyone else—a technician of the brush as Flaubert was a technician of words; and so he painted what he saw around him—his native landscape, the scenes that met his eyes, or still-lifes—with a realism aimed at creating a perfect illusion of the object represented. But at the same time it was his intention, as he clearly announced, to work on all occasions not as a mere imitator of reality, but as the creator of 'truthful allegories'. In this latter respect his attitude is ambiguous, for he sets out, on the one hand, to instil poetry into his work, and on the other hand to give it an aggressive social significance directly related to the political ideology of the day. Most historians and critics have concentrated solely on this aspect of Courbet's work, seeing in him a disciple of Proud'hon and a revolutionary in the political sense of the word. Both the strictly artistic value of his work and its real implications have been underestimated, even on the social and political level. It is not the fact of having painted Le Retour des Curés de la Conférence that makes Courbet a social painter. Topical interests are soon left behind. Social episodes are consigned to oblivion as inevitably as the mythological or biblical language of past centuries. If interest in the work of great artists continues from generation to generation, it is owing to their introduction of original values in art itself; not because of any opportunism or settled intention.

Realism could not become the true art of the modern world until the last bond of respect upholding the forces of a form or representation associated with the social and cultural values surviving from the classical period had been broken. In his Déjeuner sur l'herbe, Manet is not merely painting a genre scene, he is parodying Raphael. (Pl. 51a). The Renaissance artists, too, had undoubtedly transposed themes taken from their own environment into Christian or pagan legends, but at least they had kept up appearances, whereas now the public was deprived of the alibi offered by the subject. The public had been able to remain unaware of the technical daring of painters like Caravaggio and Giorgione, and had made a point of doing so; but now it was being

compelled to take only plastic values into account. At the same time a third great artist of this period, Daumier, was contributing to this devaluation of themes. He went much further than Courbet in mercilessly satirizing the morals of the period, and his satire was infinitely more lively and enduring. In his case, criticism was directed not against beliefs, but against morals. In this field, provocation, if not actually greater, is at any rate more evident to the public than it is on the aesthetic level. Daumier's work no doubt paved the way for the rejection of the Impressionists, who would probably have been better tolerated had they not appeared as the heirs to an iconoclastic tradition. For the very reason that their works were less widely read, they were more readily accused of being subversive.

From our standpoint, the problem takes a different form. We have to look on Manet and Courbet as the two leaders of a discussion that still continues among artists, and between the public and the artists. This is the discussion which has recently hardened into the controversy about what is called 'abstract art'. What means is the artist to adopt in order to express his vision—technical means, or ideological ones? In other words, is the artist's role merely to provide the spectator with an original view of things, leaving the spectator with the entire responsibility for reassessing that vision in his own language? Or, while seeking to develop a specifically original style, closely adapted to novel observation and original symbolism, should the artist try, nevertheless, to prompt the spectator to an interpretation of his work in non-figurative terms? As we have already seen, Courbet's wish was not only to transfer to canvas what might be called the raw material of his vision. Since he wished to elaborate truthful allegories, he was true to the logic of his aesthetic conception when he asked the ideologists in his circle for themes which he then expressed in visual form. But we may wonder whether, in so doing, Courbet was not abandoning the attempt to express himself solely in terms of painting. Manet represents the exactly opposite tendency. In his eyes, the power of the artist could be expressed only in the sphere of figurative form. It rested solely with the public to recognize in modern art a creative power equivalent to all those which in each of the different modes of effective thought—mechanical, physical, political, social and so forth—express the determination to re-organize the methods of explaining reality. For Courbet, in the final analysis, the language of visual art was not complete; he recognized the existence of values which could only find expression in ideological systems. Courbet, working in the middle of the nineteenth century, was thus a Utopian painter rather than a realistic one. He was at least as much involved in the mental life of his time as in its aesthetic life. Like Proud'hon, Cabet and Marx, he was a theorist of revolutionary socialism, and from this standpoint he unquestionably played an important role, and still does so. But Manet, the bourgeois in rebellion, undoubtedly did more to dissociate art from the traditional aesthetic idioms. For him, figurative form is the only subject of the artist's activity. It does not express all that is worth while in an epoch, but it says as much as art

can say about the contemporary world, and when it introduces genuine inno-
vations in the techniques peculiar to art, it says more than when it tries to
embody values which can be expressed in other social activities, either
individual or collective. It was Manet who launched the idea of a pure art—
the idea of art as a power of expression, as the visual language of civilization,
coupled with that of the development of the different forms of art, a necessarily
technical matter. The idea that art is one of the forms of knowledge originated
with Manet. Needless to say, Courbet and Daumier made no small contribu-
tion to the renovation of figurative form, but they were less pure than Manet
and his successors.

Next comes the question of which of them, apart from introducing the
greatest number of new features into visual art, discovered the greatest
number of possible ways of making art into one of the major autonomous
means of expression of a new society. The answer depends, of course, on the
point of view and the current form of culture of each individual. People less
directly sensitive to the visual awakening of the external world—those for
whom the world is first and foremost a matter of concepts and ideas—in-
variably feel that it was Courbet and Daumier who brought art closest to life;
whereas those who feel art to be a mode of direct approach to the universe all
consider that Manet and the Impressionists were the true creators of modern
art.

It was between 1860 and 1880 that Manet fought his great battle with the
public. He was not to win it until sixty years later, in 1932, when the people
of Paris came crowding in their tens of thousands to his retrospective exhibi-
tion at the Musée de l'Orangerie. That was the date when the sluggish interest
in aesthetic problems aroused about 1850 by the first struggles of Corot and
Courbet developed into the triumph of visual culture, the triumph of the
French Impressionists.

Towards the middle of the nineteenth century a new page was turned in
the history of the arts, a page which could no longer be interpreted—as could
the romantic, realistic and neo-classical movements—as a natural development
of the principles of the century of Enlightenment and of the illustration. True,
the aim as before was to pursue still further the problem of the sensory dia-
lectic of real and imaginary. But now, with a series of satisfactory experiments
to their credit, the arts were throwing off the formulae of traditional culture
which, as we saw, constituted the original spring-board of the modern move-
ment. Moreover, there was no cleavage between the movement which started
about 1750 and the art of this period; the men of 1850 had not discarded the
postulates of the eighteenth century, they were still in the same age of the
cultural history of mankind. But the 1850s mark the turning-point at which
artistic experiment began to be directed less towards amending and criticizing
the earlier systems than towards resuming immediate contact with Nature;
or, to be more precise, at which Nature ceased to be regarded as a well-
organized entertainment placed before mankind in order to be deciphered as

accurately as possible, and was recognized as an enormous field for experiment. This led to the development of a civilization—our own—which placed man's power over Nature in the forefront of its hypotheses, but gave no less prominence to the dominant role of humanist elaboration in relation to every form of perception. In fact, the dialogue between man and nature now ceases to be regarded as an encounter between the model and Pygmalion; it takes on the aspect of a scrutiny of the mechanisms of the mind—the latter being still at liberty to adapt the field of experiment in its own way, either by readjusting its material surroundings or by investigating the internal laws of thought.

The development of the arts after Manet can best be defined as the association of a new psychological outlook with new technical resources. But side by side with the considerable development of the pure arts, which forms the history of Impressionism's conquest of the universe, we have to consider the dialectical invasion of the arts by technology and of technology by the arts, which has resulted—though with a marked time-lag when compared with the strictly figurative arts—in the emergence of a new architecture. In fact, beginning in the 1860s, there has been a parallel development, in all fields, of a dual ideology which had produced new formulae—an ideology of happiness and an ideology of action. Our own epoch is at one and the same time operative and Utopian, it is Faustian in the fullest meaning of the word.

Though Impressionism does not, strictly speaking, constitute a self-contained system with a place for all the creative artists of modern times, it is none the less evident that the creators and adepts of that movement were the promoters of every bold step taken in the last century. Even those who, like Van Gogh, sometimes claimed to have opened a separate path, were imbued with the traditional style when they first came to Paris, and their connection with the general movement of *avant-garde* painting is obvious. Not until they had been startled by Impressionism did they begin to do creative work. In course of time, the term 'Impressionism' will probably be more and more strictly reserved for the small group of those who initiated it—Monet, Degas, Renoir, Sisley and Pissarro—and the term 'Paris School' will come to designate the general movement which developed at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth. That term has the advantage of emphasizing the continuity of the movement, which still continues, and of stressing its open, international character, due partly to the participation of many international characters, partly to the participation of many foreign artists, and partly to the universal validity of its formulae. Impressionism is universal in character because, unlike the early nineteenth-century styles, it was not based on the study or criticism of a strictly European culture. It conquered the whole world simply because it had a fundamentally human character from the start, not being bound up with a system of representation deduced from a system of restricted cultural values, but derived from the study of man's relationship with the universe. Impressionism has a world-wide basis because it devised a system of noting down immediate visual

perceptions, and thus became accessible to the majority of nations and to the majority of individuals in all nations. This was also why, at first, it offended the taste of the social hierarchy in a Europe bent upon singling out such realities of the sensible world as corresponded to social values. So that finally it was the road chosen by Manet, not that taken by Courbet, which led, quite logically, to the enfranchisement of the eyes and transformed the role of aesthetic vision in all present-day communities. The original aim of the Impressionists was, essentially, to record as faithfully as possible the sensations of the painter confronted by the external world. It began as an analytical process: the great change took place on the day when Monet painted his *Femmes au Jardin* in a garden at Ville d'Avray, recording distortions of colour as well as those of form. (Pl. 51b). At about the same time, Monet and Renoir, in their *Grenouillères*, were basing their composition on the relationship between touches of pure colour, effected by almost effacing the customary shapes of things. That was the beginning of the great experiments with the subject-matter of painting which are still going on before our eyes.

Although there is thus a close connection between all the artistic movements which have arisen in the course of the last century, it would be an error to assume that a satisfactory formula was discovered by a few artists as early as the 1860s, and that thereafter it was simply applied, with varying degrees of success and accuracy, by every artist on the face of the earth. As explained above, Impressionism was not, like romanticism and realism, the outcome of an extension or readjustment of the traditional formulae; it arose from a new way of posing the problem of plastic figuration. That is why it borrowed lavishly from all known figurative experiments—not only from those of the Mediterranean civilization—and why its roots went deeper and deeper as its original exponents gradually made way for new creative artists such as Cézanne, Van Gogh, Gauguin and Seurat.

As for the more distant origins of Impressionism, it may be noted that while the movement was essentially technical in character, its development was fostered, none the less, by a number of fortuitous circumstances and social factors that militated in its favour. For instance, Monet happened to come from Normandy. That was why the mouth of the Seine provided the scenes for the earliest Impressionist paintings. It also happened that Renoir was a Parisian and that Sisley, though an Englishman, concentrated on the Ile-de-France. So that, generally speaking, all the creators of the movement conducted their experiments in that part of the world. Impressionism undoubtedly owes some of its distinctive aspects to this circumstance. The fact that it blossomed beneath the shimmering, ethereal skies of the district round Paris cannot have failed to influence the solutions of its earliest problems. Similarly, the fact that the leaders of the second wave of the Paris school—Gauguin, Van Gogh, Cézanne—either came from the south of France or drew their inspiration there, was of the utmost importance in determining the form taken by the movement. (Pl. 52). Even so, one must differentiate between apparent

solutions and the main principle. In its essence, Impressionism represents the moment when Newton's experiment, the discovery of the spectrum and of the fact that white light was composed of colours, was grasped by laymen, as distinct from scientists. A century and a half elapsed before what every scientist knew became part of the common experience. This did not happen until about halfway through the nineteenth century, and it came about thanks to the Impressionists. Even if they resulted from the assimilation of an acquisition, it is none the less a fact that certain scientific ideas were perceived, or were to be perceived, among the sources of Impressionism, if not among its causes.

It must also be remembered that when Monet visited London in 1870, he discovered Turner and the English romantics, he discovered the pale blue skies above the Thames valley and, last but by no means least, he discovered the prints of Japan and its art. The contact established between Impressionism at its inception, and the art of the Far East, played a considerable part in sharpening the awareness of the young Western artists. Not so much by offering them a number of forms that differed from those of the West, as because it drew their attention to the possibility of working out a logical system of figuration, readily understandable by the public, without drawing upon the age-old criteria of Western art. The encounter between Impressionism and the art of the Far East marks a decisive turning-point in the international history of art. It gave birth to the idea that art established a link between all nations, irrespective of their own language and traditions. This discovery was part of the general movement of Western expansion over the face of the earth. But the contact between two worlds is never a one-way process. There is always an exchange of information and, in short, a pooling of knowledge. It was exactly halfway through the nineteenth century that this confrontation of Western culture with the cultures of the rest of the world became one of the essential factors in the development of world culture. A specific date is, indeed, set to it by the Universal Exhibition held in London in 1851, the first of a long succession of such events, which have played a decisive part in helping to build up an international culture. The report published by Laborde in 1856 provides valuable source material which has never been put to full profit. It presents a very clear-sighted general review, and discloses the fact that a free, modern mind, though deeply attached to all Western traditions, was already compelled to recognize, as though in a sudden dazzling vision, the possibility of a general confrontation of civilizations, beneficial to them all, including that of the West. Laborde's report is planned like a panorama in which all the different cultures are finally confronted. Reading it, one is impressed by the sagacity of the author, who was something of a Prévost-Paradol in his own field. He makes a comparison between the great European cultures, noting failures and successes which subsequent history has in most cases shown to be permanent; but he also calls repeated attention to the appearance on the scene of several new but full-fledged performers, particularly the United States of America and

Asia. Africa he mentions only in passing, for it was still hardly discovered, and had scarcely been drawn into the circuit.

An individual work cannot be explained in terms of the elements of which it is composed, nor can a cultural movement be justified by an enumeration of its sources. It is the principle of an overriding organization which determines the assembly of the component parts and gives the system its value. Nor can Impressionism be reduced to the application of a method. It was only for a few years that the mode which resulted from a certain recourse to *division-nisme* cemented the group formed by Monet, Renoir, Sisley, Pissarro and a few others. Similarly, Seurat's *néo-divisionnisme* was responsible for only a brief moment in the development of styles, about 1886. It was not by imposing a mechanical method that Monet and Seurat became the successive initiators and guides of the art of their day. The unity of Impressionism, made up of a great variety of individual experiments, comes from the fact that a group of artists became aware that sight is a self-contained means of taking stock of the world in its details and rebuilding it as an imagined whole. This alone could make it possible for an episodic, Parisian style to become the common language of all the nations of the earth. 'The world travels by rail and talks French', said Victor Hugo. It might be said that in 1950 the world travelled by air and had found its favourite mode of expression in the figurative arts (including the cinema).

It is not part of my programme to retrace the course of development of Impressionism—only to show what an outstanding place is taken by the arts in the cultural and scientific development of mankind.

To give a full idea of the scale of the figurative revolution that took place in the second half of the nineteenth century and forged an artistic language common to the whole world, it is also necessary to show that the aesthetic revolution that began in the 1860s made itself felt not only in the figurative arts, but in the other forms of art as well, and especially in architecture.

I have avoided any mention of this subject until now, for two reasons: because it was not until the latter half of the century that architecture joined the other arts in their effort of renovation, and because many people question whether architecture is an art. The query is one which would undoubtedly have dumbfounded a Greek, or a man of the Gothic or the Renaissance age, to say nothing of a Mexican or a Chinese, but which has determined some method of bringing architecture into the revolution in human modes of expression which distinguishes the second half of the nineteenth century, and which, perhaps for the first time since the dawn of history, was on a really world-wide scale.

The development of modern architecture is not spent within the century. Architecture, being less sensitive to the whims of fashion than are the figurative arts, since it is not exposed to very rapid alteration, represents the style of a period rather than what might be called its seasonal variations. Moreover, at

the beginning of the nineteenth century it was not so torn between various temptations as was painting. Being a craft, subject to very strict technical requirements, it long remained neo-classical in its aspect, and most general histories maintain that architecture 'changed very little' during the nineteenth century, and until the introduction of ferro-concrete. Yet a close observer would be bound to notice that as far back as the years of romanticism and realism, before 1850, architecture was displaying a remarkable tendency to strike out afresh, in two directions.

Architecture figured in the romantic movement inasmuch as it was influenced by the general enthusiasm for all that was medieval. But it cannot be denied that this propensity, too, goes back to the eighteenth century. The first medieval house, Strawberry Hill (1747–76), was built by Horace Walpole. Still, the taste did not go very deep. Neo-Gothic revival certainly produced a vast number of buildings, but they were either churches, religious foundations, or private houses—isolated efforts. There can be no doubt that the medieval trend in architecture prompted a great part of Ruskin's pleading for a re-organization of society on the bases of moral concepts and practical craftsman-ship of which the Middle Ages seemed to offer an almost perfect example. The Victorians, who were given to moralizing and devoted to tradition, were influenced in every way by their admiration for what they believed, rightly or wrongly, to be medieval values. Incidentally, their curiosity about the Middle Ages usually went hand in hand with their discovery of the history of modern nations, and thus frequently lent colour to works of sheer imagination. But at the same time it stimulated a form of sociological speculation that found expression in practical work and in theoregical elaborations. It was the taste for the medieval, rather than imitations of the Gothic, which left its mark on architecture, through the ideas of Ruskin and Viollet-le-Duc. It is worth noting, by the way, that their respective ideologies conflict in a certain manner—for the last word of Ruskin's doctrine is the identification of the 'genius' or architecture with religion, belief, inspiration, whereas the last word of the doctrine of Viollet-le-Duc is rationalism. This shows that neither was really harking back to the principles of medieval art; they were engaged in *modern* speculation, but invoked historical examples in support of their postulates. All the same, no Western architecture since the Renaissance had put forward any doctrine not based on that of antiquity, and in this respect the enthusiasm for Gothic which developed at the beginning of the nine-teenth century did amount to a kind of revolution.[6]

As already pointed out, however, this adventurous spirit really found no more than theoretical expression. The practical innovations came from an entirely different direction. The architecture of the nineteenth century was modern only in so far as it absorbed into the contemporary style certain principles engendered from the use of new materials and techniques. The discovery of iron, based on the use of coal, had come first. By the middle of the eighteenth century the production of iron had increased to such an extent

that it had resulted in a number of experiments which ultimately gave risc to some of the most widespread types of large-scale nineteenth-century works. First came bridges and structural work, followed by types of buildings adapted to modern requirements—big hotels, and very large public buildings, such as libraries and railway stations. The use of iron in religious architecture was more hesitant, because in that sector there were ancient buildings, regarded as masterpeices, which had solved the problems of distribution and of visible form in a manner which was inimitable. As early as 1816, Nash made the first use of iron for decorative purposes, in the interior of the Royal Pavilion at Brighton; in 1811, iron girders were used, by Bélanger, to support a dome in the Halle au blé in Paris; in 1843, Labrouste, though he had only just got back from Italy, was making a completely rational use of iron in the Biblio-thèque Ste. Geneviève in Paris; and later, in 1862, in order to create a type of building for which there was no precedent, he spanned the Reading Room in the Bibliothèque Nationale with a dome larger than that of St Peter's in Rome. There are other examples dating from about the same period. As well as the plans actually carried out, there were various projects deserving of mention, such as those drawn up by Horeau for the Central Markets in Paris in 1853 (Pl. 54), and for those at Madrid. The culmination of the whole movement was reached in 1851 with the celebrated Crystal Palace built for the Universal Exhibition in London, which was described and analysed by L. de Laborde in 1856. Laborde, once more, was the first to present a theory of modern architectural style—preceding Viollet-le-Duc, who was already occupied on his great restorations of Gothic buildings and did not himself lay down any modern architectural doctrine until he was teaching at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, between 1863 and 1872. In particular, Laborde set forth in brilliant terms the theory of what he regarded as the necessary co-ordination of technological progress and the respect for principles indispensable both to national progress and to the maintenance of a social order which could safeguard the unchanging values of the community; It was he and his contemporaries, especially H. Greenough in the United States, who posed the real problem of the integration of architecture in modern society.

Thus, the problem was in the first place a cultural one—was architecture, like the other arts, an instrument employed by the ruling classes to guide their communities in the right direction, or was it to play the dual role of stabilizing agent and ferment of new ideas ? This is, of course, a question inherent in the very nature of architecture. Is the factor which decides whether it shall be a developer or a stabilizer something that might be called external to it—either governed at will, or determined by the affinities between architecture and the other, figurative, arts ? Or is it, in the final resort, transformed simply by technical conditions—not so much in appearance as in the principles that have hitherto governed it—with the result that a twofold influence is exercised, on the taste of the community concerned and on its circumstances as well ? This is not the place for such a theoretical discussion. But it is a fact that in the

nineteenth century architecture found its vocation along the second of these paths, and gradually came to the fore as one of the most remarkable forms of activity of the period. We must remember that most of the large towns of today grew up in the nineteenth century, and particularly after 1860; that the nineteenth century positively built up the world we now live in, and are reforming in our turn; that architecture had to cope with the fantastic increase in population and activity which raised the population of Europe from 215 million in 1830 to 300 million in 1870, and that during the same period the material output of that population rose by an even greater proportion, in all fields. The second half of the nineteenth century saw the emergence of modern states, in Europe itself and, on the European pattern, in other continents; hence the world-wide uniformity which is now bringing about the great revolution in the state of mankind to which we are all witnesses. It was the nineteenth century that added to the discovery of iron; that of all materials is still used for the development of architecture. For example it was thanks to Bessemer steel, rapidly handled and economical, that Chicago could be rebuilt at such a dizzy speed after the great fire of 1873, and that skyscrapers could be erected, with the help of glass and concrete. The technical inventions of the nineteenth century and the present-day developments in architecture are so closely related that it is impossible to speak of nineteenth-century architecture without encroaching on a phase of history which belongs, by right, to the early years of the twentieth. The consequences of the solutions devised by builders in the years between 1850 and 1880 were not fully grasped, and gradually imposed upon the public, until the period 1905-50. If nowadays we demand houses open to the air and light, houses that are bright and warm in winter and cool in summer; if the conditions of domestic work for women have changed; if the need for a general revision of our cities is such a live issue; if we have before us public buildings as diverse as the church of Ste. Clotilde, built in Paris in 1840 and the new Unesco headquarters, erected in 1957, it is not only because material possibilities have altered, but also because since the first tentative approach to reflection and creation, in the middle of the nineteenth century, a new theory, a new functional attitude in architecture has been developed, and because those functional speculations have never lost touch with the new aesthetic canons.

If we maintain that only the figurative arts have cast off the forms they adopted during the neo-classical period, immediately following the French Revolution, then it must be admitted that nineteenth- and twentieth-century architecture has indeed little to do with painting. But if we acknowledge that the whole tendency of painting, which is the outstanding figurative art, since 1860 has been to break away from the formalistic traditions of a particular culture and move towards the elaboration of new figurative objects, in which the visual experience of artists is condensed into a critical analysis of the visible world, and if we also admit that architecture has not confined itself to keeping pace with technological progress, but has maintained a close relation-

ship with the social and economic imperatives of the present day, as also with its ideological bases and its perceptions, we shall readily perceive the underlying unity of the various disciplines.

It is evident that while architecture, as a technological activity, resembles the other practical activities of our day, it differs from them in possessing, like the other artistic activities, the characteristic of striving towards ends which are not solely practical, but partake of the imagination. It is in the closest possible analogy with the solutions advanced by the figurative arts, that architects make their choice among the countless solutions offered by the technical side of their work. It is not the sole aim of architecture to manufacture objects governed wholly by the economic considerations deriving from the materials it employs. While it has been said, with justification, that in the modern industrial world quality is a by-product of quantity, architecture eludes the iron law of industrialization. True, it must submit to the imperative demands of the profit-seekers, but not all houses, towns and public buildings that come into existence deserve the name of architecture.

Architecture, like painting, requires that the actual work of creation shall be preceded by a plan, an imagined form—which may well undergo changes while it is being carried out. Since 1860, some architects, like some artists, have created images of the world which have dispensed with the old landmarks established in conformity with the traditional purpose of monuments or of figurative objects, Of these, a very few, chiefly those created by men who knew how to deal with the new materials—men such as Eiffel, Contancin, Sullivan, Loos, Van de Velde and Frank Lloyd Wright—presented us with buildings that reflect man's sense of wonder at his power to give material shape to an image invented by his imagination and capable of serving as a model for other men's experience.

All great creations have been the product of imaginative powers closely related to the speculations of painting, the latter being freer in appearance only. The Eiffel tower, the Palais de l'Industrie (Pl. 53) or the New York skyscrapers express, as clearly as does painting, the creative determination of a century that has brought new materials under the control of its intellect. Thus, for true architects as for painters, the nineteenth century was a period of return to the very roots of their specific activities—to vision in the one case, to the empirical manipulation of materials and the analysis of social needs in the other case. For both parties the road to success led by way of a close study of the laws of vision and a scrutiny of the theories of imagination based on perception, unshackled by historical awareness.

Despite the presence of a few highly gifted individuals, such as Rude and Carpeaux, sculpture was not in the forefront of the nineteenth-century arts. Unlike the Quattrocento, for example, it did not produce any artists in whom one aspect of cultural life found more vivid expression than elsewhere. All sculptors, even Carpeaux, remained very faithful to traditional culture. Sculpture is perhaps the only art in which neo-classicism and academicism

still managed to produce creative work. Rodin was the only nineteenth-century sculptor to rank as a true representative of one of the major forms of civilization. He did so, in the first place, owing to the intrinsic quality of a technical skill which was among the most superb that the history of sculpture can boast. *L'Age d'airain* seemed to be modelled from Nature, so tremendous was the realistic force of the artist's vision and performance. This admirable work, created in 1876, gave expression to realism in terms of sculpture, as did the *St John the Baptist* of 1878, though it came notably late by comparison with the other visual forms of expressing ideas. Rodin subsequently became the interpreter in sculpture of the outward forms of Impressionism. Whether this constituted progress is questionable. The transference of one artistic technique to another form of art, the pronounced literary flavour of Rodin's work in his final phase, seem a less valied contribution than the forms he created under the influence of a first-hand analysis of life. It seems as though Rodin came closer to the Impressionists in *L'Age d'airain* than in *La Porte de l'Enfer* (1880). But throughout the last phase of his work he was the herald of expressionism, and thus the insufficiently recognized forerunner of one of the major trends of twentieth-century art. He had the great fortune to embody in his single person all the three momentous developments of the century. But it is clear that, given the limitations of the nineteenth century, no sculptor could rise to a leading position among creative artists by recalling the supremacy of Michelangelo. Rodin's genius excelled his aesthetic lucidity. And the great twentieth-century artists who have restored sculpture to the rank of painting and architecture have not followed his tradition. A realist in the modern sense of the word, an interpreter of the mysteries of living form, a great poet in the ancient, lyrical tongue, Rodin also had a presentiment of the marvels of the irrational; and our final impression is of a Janus, one face turned towards the present, one gazing into the future.

If this were intended as a history of nineteenth-century art, it would have to include many names of artists whose works, associated with those of the great masters, helped to spread throughout Europe the forms in which the outstanding phases of taste were exemplified. In particular, it would be necessary to give careful consideration to the many subtle gradations by which painters moved on, within a period of fifty years, from Manet's experience to that of Cézanne and Gauguin. The popularity gained by certain words, such as Impressionism, leads to an erroneous idea that at a particular moment all original artists adopted one common attitude. The development of architecture, the gradual absorption of the new techniques which led simultaneously, from Viollet-le-Duc to Sullivan and Van de Velde, to the different aspects of the functional style, had as many diverse facets as were contained in *avant-garde* figurative art subsequent to 1860—so often roughly subsumed under the term 'Impressionism'. But such a summary would be incompatible with the length of this study, as with the spirit in which the

entire History was planned. The important thing was to show by what stages art travelled, in the space of a century, from the neo-classical aesthetic canon which reigned supreme in Europe and the rest of the world around 1780, to the style of 1900. Our attention has therefore been confined to those artists and works which stand out as landmarks in the progress—rather, the development—of styles during the nineteenth century.

Early nineteenth-century art was imbued with Renaissance culture. In its final years, the century was laying down the principles of an art released from the particularism of the traditional cultures, based on a theory of vision and on the reasoned use of new materials and a new system of knowledge. No less than science, technology and social ideology, the arts reflected the effort made by the European countries to break away from principles that had been accepted for the past four hundred years and to establish a new dialectic of action. There are certain 'golden ages' when the whole of society follows the lead of a small group of individuals and develops principles of thought and action which remain unquestioned. And there are centuries of change, when people are striving, in a succession of empirical adjustments, to discover new intellectual laws. The nineteenth century was one of these. Neither in their overall perception nor in their practical attitude did artists remain the same from 1780 to 1900. I do not claim to have determined with complete precision the successive stages by which the ancient formulae were cast away and the new ones devised, during that period. But I think it may have been useful to explain that romanticism brought refreshment to the imagination rather than to the principles of knowledge and action, while the various experiments associated, closely or more distantly, with realism made it possible to reconsider the role of figurative representation, both in the individual and in the social sense. Between the time of Goya and that of the Impressionists, it grew evident that the very nature of the figurative object used by the artist to convey sensations to the public was susceptible of change.

The great adventure of modern art was by no means over by 1880. On the contrary, the following years witnessed the emergence of the great geniuses thanks to whom an analytical, critical period was succeeded by the epoch which created the forms of art and vision to which we are still faithful. The genius of Cézanne and Gauguin, Van Gogh and Seurat was certainly no less than that of Corot or Monet. But the end of the century found them in the same position as the last representative of the great Renaissance culture had occupied a hundred years earlier—their work was as much an anticipation of the twentieth century as an expression of the spirit of their own day. To give a clear picture of the significance of their contribution, we should have to take a general view of the opening years of the twentieth century. Whether we are considering the problems of technique and expression inherent in Symbolism and Wagnerianism or the part played by problems of colour and the scientific theory of contrasts and complementaries; whether we turn to the relationship between form and colour or to the connection between visible and invisible,

to the part respectively played in the construction of the image by direct observation of Nature and by reliance on memory, all the stylistic problems our own period finds so fascinating—the problem of abstraction and expression, the problem of primitivism and the unconscious—were first raised by the final generation of the nineteenth century. At the beginning of that century art was accepted as among the component elements of the traditional, humanistic culture of a human mind not subject to change. Whereas now, thanks to the influence of the final generation of the century, it is seen as one element in the tremendous survey which present-day man has undertaken in order to adjust his senses and his logic to powers that enable him not merely, as before, to adapt himself as best he can to a creation, but to vitalize the universe.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XV

1. Professor A. D. Chegodaev, art critic, feels that the picture of the development of art in the period 1780 to 1905 given in this chapter bears no relation to historical facts. It is a purely imaginary account of art in the nineteenth century, composed on the basis of a haphazard selection and even more haphazard interpretation of individual phenomena relating to the social, intellectual and artistic culture of the nineteenth century, yet it is designed to pick out elements to support the theory of the 'artistic renaissance' of the twentieth century, in other words for the 'flowering' of abstract art and other artistic trends, regarded as something 'independent' of reality.

   In the light of this 'artistic renaissance', the author regards the nineteenth century as purely negative. The art of this period allegedly was utterly and irredeemably conservative; it merely followed the old, stereotyped patterns and what appeared to the people of that time to be revolutionary was in reality a manifestation of sheer reaction. The development of art was completely unaffected either by the great French Revolution or by any other political event of the nineteenth century; during the period between 1780 and 1830 art was at a standstill; only a few extreme individualists succeeded in escaping from the general stagnation and in laying certain foundations for the future: elaborating 'artistic symbols', freeing art from 'figurativeness' and 'literariness', extolling 'pure vision', and so on. Amongst these forward-looking, far-sighted artists the author includes Goya, Turner, Corot, Courbet, and Claude Monet, without explaining why these particular artists rather than any others serve to confirm his theories. Their art is regarded solely from the standpoint of 'pure art', but even Claude Monet is said to have 'paved the way' for the future 'artistic renaissance' of the twentieth century. Other major artists of the nineteenth century, the author asserts, did not do this—not David, or Ingres, Constable, or Géricault, Delacroix, Daumier, Edouard Manet, Degas ... with the result that their work is either not mentioned at all, or referred to only in passing, in critical terms. As an illustration of the author's attitude to other national schools of art in the nineteenth century, it will suffice to quote the following sentence, taken from p. 586, on the subject of Russian nineteenth-century art: 'The few countries, including Russia and Austria, which remained under the control of autocrats, took no part in the general movement of ideas and arts except where even they felt the backwash of the great international current of innovation ... which resulted in the literary, and philosophical upsurge that marked Russia's struggle against autocracy in the 1860s and the emergence of an architectural and decorative style in Vienna during the last years of the century, those years of scientific and intellectual development which culminated in the downfall of the Habsburg monarchy.' This implies that there existed no worth-while art in Russia either before the eighteen sixties or after. It is essential, in this connection, to refer the reader to chapter XIX, 'The Russian Empire'.

   There is not a word about the art of Germany. the Scandinavian countries, the countries

of Eastern Europe, Italy, Belgium, etc. The whole of the development of art in the nineteenth century, according to the author, occurred within the boundaries of France and England only (with the exception of one Spaniard, Goya); and, apparently, the monarchy in those countries—Louis Philippe, Napoleon III, Victoria—did not prevent French and English art from 'taking part in the general movement of ideas and arts', apparently because there was also a parliament there and a chamber of deputies, and not an autocratic régime.

Critical studies of this kind have been fairly common in the twentieth century, especially since the end of the Second World War. Their undisguised aim is to demonstrate the absolute superiority of the '*avant-garde* art' of the twentieth century, i.e. of all kinds of abstract, surrealist, neo-expressionist and dadaist trends over the democratic, realist art of the nineteenth century, which is too obviously linked with the revolutionary (socially progressive) movement of that period. (See also Yu. Kolpinsky, 'Artistic Expression in the Nineteenth Century: An Essay in Interpretation', *Journal of World History*, XI (4).

Replying to the above criticism, Professor Francastel writes: '*On the contrary: my text emphasizes the revolutionary character of the changes undergone by art during the nineteenth century; its aim is not in the least to exalt the twentieth century with its abstract movements but to point out how, during the nineteenth century in the artistic field, a revolution of both the intellect and the imagination, which made a powerful contribution to the reversal of the inherited mental traditions of the past, was prepared in liaison with other revolutionary movements. The importance given to Goya emphasizes the forces of renewal of the period. In the same way, I purposely ignored men such as Horace Vernet and Yvon, who justified the conquest of Algeria or the victories of the Second Empire in the Crimea, and the Pole Matejko singing the praises of King Bathory's campaigns, although the immediate success of these artists in Europe was immense.*'

2. Professor Asa Briggs stresses that formal education was only one element (not always present) in the background of 'the participants in cultural life'. The fact that formal education was only for the few needs to be placed in this context.

3. To Professor Briggs, this is an overstatement. Methods of perception changed also, as did states of feeling.

4. Professor Briggs does not agree with this formulation since it does not make clear just who believed in innovations: a very small public, the leaders of taste, the innovators themselves?

5. Professor Briggs questions the meaning of 'social reform' in this context. Was there interest in social reform before?

6. Professor Briggs adds that the interest in the medieval should be also related to Carlyle, who is frequently mentioned outside this section, and to William Morris.

CHAPTER XVI

MUSIC IN EUROPE

BY JACQUES CHAILLEY

I. MUSIC IN 1775

I N the annals of the musical world, 1775 is not a solemn date. It was the year of Boieldieu's birth at Rouen and Nicolo's in Malta; it was the year when Grétry composed his *Céphale et Procris* and Mozart his *Re Pastore*; but none of these events changed the course of musical history. Yet there could be no more appropriate date at which to open a new chapter of this encyclopaedia. As the central point of a period of transition, 1775 is seen by musicians as the intersection of two worlds. The old world was drawing to a close amid a classicism whose apparent serenity was no more than a veil concealing the tortuous convolutions of the 'baroque' style, and the new world was coming to birth amid the first spasms of what was soon to be known as the romantic movement. People's minds were not unprepared for the change. This was the first year of the reign of Louis XVI, the last monarch of the French *ancien régime*, who had been crowned in 1774; and there was a breath of novelty in the air. Goethe had written *Werther* in the previous year; Beaumarchais had staged his *Barbier de Séville*; Voltaire and Chardin were at the end of their lives; Kant was at work on his *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781). In 1776 Klinger's drama, *Sturm und Drang*, made its first appearance, and its significant title was adopted by an entire school of literature.

In music the last echoes of the *guerre des bouffons* between the supporters of French and Italian music in Paris had died away about 1773, and Sammartini, the forerunner of Haydn, had just died aged 74. In a year's time Mozart would come of age at Salzburg; Haydn was nearing his forty-fifth birthday and, after fifteen years in the service of Prince Nicholas Esterhazy, was revealing the traits of his own individuality. Paris was flocking to listen to the Chevalier Gluck, who had just put on his *Orphée*, and there was a perfidious conspiracy to pit him against Piccini. Bach had been dead for twenty-five years, his sons were pursuing careers that had led them far and wide in Europe. The so-called 'gallant' style had now been carried everywhere from its birthplace in Italy, and though Pergolesi had died before him, the great Johann Sebastian Bach was completely forgotten—so completely that the name of Bach by itself would bring to people's minds either Carl Philipp Emanuel or Johann Christian, not their father.

From the social standpoint music was still, in theory, a matter for the Church, the Court, or the affluent bourgeois class. The 'humble people' had their folklore, ignored by musicians and scholars, and did not look beyond it;

no one crossed the borderline between the two. Country churches got along with plainsong in Catholic lands and hymn-singing in those of the reformed persuasion; but every town parish of any importance prided itself on the possession of a vocal and instrumental choir and its 'musical' (as against plainsong) services, for which a self-respecting choirmaster would always be zealous in renovating the repertory to keep pace with changes of taste—contributing his share by frequent compositions of his own. The kings, princes and princelings also had their official, salaried musicians, who were indispensable figures at all festivities and receptions—for which, again, new compositions in the 'modern' style were required. Haydn was practically the first composer whose music continued to be performed after his death, despite fluctuations in taste.

The wealthy bourgeois were now entering the field as rivals to Church and Court; they seldom retained their own musicians, but they lost no opportunity of inviting their friends to hear music in their own houses. If we add to all this the fact that every cultivated person played some instrument, usually the harpsichord (the lute having gone out of fashion some fifty years earlier) and that opera was highly popular in all big cities, we shall have a fairly complete picture of the musical activity of the period.

The reader will have noticed that amid all this there has been no mention of concerts for a paying public: these were soon to be introduced, and to transform musical life, but until well into the nineteenth century they remained too exceptional to exert any real influence.

Public concerts were first established in England, towards the end of the seventeenth century, in the form of musical evenings arranged in private drawing-rooms, with admission by subscription for a series. They were thus concerts of the ordinary type, differing only in the manner of recruiting the audience. Even at this early date there were plans for building special concert-halls, and a project was prepared by Thomas Mace in 1676. But the first known concert-hall—the Holywell Music Room, at Oxford—was not actually built until 1748, and it remained a unique curiosity for the rest of the century. In Paris, Anne Philidor founded the 'Concert Spirituel' in 1725, giving regular orchestral concerts for his subscribers. This new idea took a long time to catch on, but it nevertheless marked the entry on the musical scene of a new element—the mixed audience, as compared with the assiduous music-lovers or invited guests who had formed the concert audiences of the past.

What was heard at these concerts was just beginning to have a slight resemblance to what we hear nowadays. The classical style of orchestration, with its traditional range of strings, woodwind instruments and brass (though still very few of these last), virtually originated with the pioneer Mannheim orchestra (the great majority of whose members were Czechs) about 1756. Instruments, too, were beginning to resemble our own: Stradivarius signed his last violin in 1736, and the last bass viols were put away in their owners' attics about 1760, when the single-action harp, invented in 1720, was growing

in popularity. The oboe developed its first two keys in 1727, and Erard was to conſtruct his first pianoforte in 1777. Even singing was being revolutionized; earlier teaching methods had dealt only with articulation, expression and ornaments, but now they were beginning to include exercises for 'placing' the voice. Before long singers began to sing in artificial voices, as on the present-day concert platform, instead of in their natural tones—the former manner, which is now confined to our variety stage. Moreover, any mention of singing henceforth recalls the vogue of the *castrati* and the extreme freedom of interpretation and ornamentation by which written music became merely a scaffolding, as different from the actual performance as are the words of a music-hall song from its rendering by a leading jazz group.

When J. S. Bach died in 1750, he took the last great traditions of counterpoint with him into the tomb. For more than fifteen years before that (Pergolesi died in 1736) another idea had been gradually ousting it—that of a less austere style, more directly accessible, based on a simple melody supported almost exclusively by a *basso continuo* and a few accompanying flourishes. By about 1775 the *basso continuo* in its turn was threatened with extinction; soon it disappeared altogether, and its eclipse completely altered musical style. Henceforth there was an increasing effort to make music into something more than the decorative background to which it had been too frequently reduced, and the first waves of romanticism soon began to lap its shores: it was about this time that symphonies in the minor mode began to be written, comic opera grew sentimental, and the romances of Jean-Jacques Rousseau were winning all hearts. The classic tonality established its despotic rule for a century, and the perception of consonance advanced a step by 'absorbing' the natural chord of the ninth—though still in its transitory form—already adumbrated by Bach and soon to be generally adopted. Last but not least, a new era was dawning in the actual concept of the composer. Mozart symbolizes this, when he terrified his father by summarily breaking the links that bound him to the Archbishop of Salzburg and deciding that he would no longer be a mere wage-earning retainer in the suite of some great man. Composers were now to work on their own—though independence often meant poverty. A generation later, Beethoven was to make the composer into a superman, aloft in the empyrean and thence showering down upon mankind the nectar of the gods and the sublime sorrows of his boundless heart.

A new age was indeed coming to birth.

2. 1775-92: THE END OF A WORLD

The last decades of the eighteenth century would count for very little in the history of music, were it not for three masters of exceptional renown, thanks to whom musical life was to crystallize round two particular cities—Paris, where Gluck pursued his career, and Vienna, whither Mozart and Haydn both made their way and where Beethoven and Schubert were to appear in

due course. Hardly a generation separated Bach's death from the birth of Beethoven; yet the division between their respective periods was as sharp as the difference that marked the second from the age that was to follow.

There was very little contact between these two great centres of musical activity. Gluck's Viennese years, with their commonplace successes in Italian opera, contributed little to his triumph in Paris; Mozart's success in the latter city never went beyond a society whim; and Haydn did not win real fame there until about 1800—by which time Beethoven had embarked upon his great symphonies. Conversely it cannot be said that the noisy quarrels worked up during the final stage of the *guerre des bouffons*, or the rivalry between Gluck and Piccini, attracted the slightest attention on the banks of the Danube where what came to be known as Germanic classical music was now developing.

In France, opera had been stagnant ever since Rameau's death in 1764; there seems to have been no work worthy of mention since *Naïs* (1749), if, indeed, since *Dardanus* (1739), which may perhaps explain both the vehemence of the futile querelle des Bouffons and the frenzied welcome given to Gluck when he presented his first French opera, *Iphigenie en Aulide*, in Paris in April 1774, followed four months later by a French version of his Italian *Orfeo ed Euridice* of 1762, and in 1776 by Alceste.

Gluck was revered in his own day as one of the gods of music, and his theories, worked out shortly before he came to Paris with the help of Calsabigi, his librettist, were hailed as though the Messiah had come down to a lost land. Even Berlioz could not utter his name without melting into an ecstacy of adoration. Present-day opinion is more restrained. While paying tribute to his nobility of expression, though it does tend to drag, and acknowledging that some of his effects are moving, it views his 'reformation' by the light of a certain verbosity, for Gluck often announced as individual novelites methods used well before his time and, while proclaiming radical transformations, continued to observe traditional practice. What is chiefly remembered is his doctrine according to which the music is fully subordinated to the action, as opposed to that of Mozart which claimed that the action should be subordinate to the music; but since, when all is said and done, the action is just as effective in *Don Giovanni* as it is in *Alceste*, there may be grounds for believing that theories of this sort, no matter how much noise is made about them, have little importance except in books. . . .

Though Gluck, a musician of Czech–German origin who first adopted the Italian style and afterwards the French, stands as almost the only representative of serious opera in France in his day (Floquet, and even Piccini, are of slight importance), French comic opera, by contrast, was then at the height of its vitality. From the time of Monsigny's *Le Déserteur* (1769) it had ceased to draw its plots exclusively from feeble stories about old men being fooled and soubrettes in disguise; now influenced by the *comédie larmoyante* that Sedaine and La Chaussée had brought into fashion, it aimed at the pathetic and strove to gain recognition as tragedy for the humdrum public. Tunes in the style of

Rousseau were its substitute for the great aria, and Louis XVI used to shed tears as he hummed *Où peut-on être mieux qu'au sein de sa famille* ('There's no place like home') from Grétry's *Lucile*. Monsigny and Grétry were joined about 1785 by Dalayrac and Philidor. The French *opéra-comique* gave the Romantic movement in music one of its very earliest channels of expression: aesthetically speaking, there might be a century between *Rose et Colas* and *Le Déserteur*—both by Monsigny; yet though one seems to belong to the eighteenth century and the other to the nineteenth, they are divided only by seven years. *Le Déserteur* came only a year after young Mozart's *Bastien an Bastienne*, and preceded Gluck's first triumphs by five years. But Monsigny wrote nothing more after 1777, and remained in complete retirement until his death in 1817.

Symphonic music was also in full development in France, in the form of symphonies and of the still more popular *symphonie concertante*; both had grown out of the old *concerto grosso*, and called all kinds of instruments into a dialogue with the orchestra. Music of this type lent lustre to receptions and served to fill out the evening entertainments offered by prominant social figures like La Pouplinière and Seignelay; the most esteemed compositions were honoured by performance at the Concert Spirituel. In 1773 the latter had been put in charge of two of the best symphonic composers of the day— Simon Le Duc and Gossec—who ran the series in collaboration with Gaviniès, the violinist. In 1777 it was handed over to the singer Legros, who brought in Mozart. So far as symphonic music was concerned, Paris thus became the foremost publishing centre, and this alone was enough to promote intense activity there.

Chamber music was not so well represented, though Méhul's sonatas and Dalayrac's quartets are by no means worthless, and the symphonies of Blainville and Simon le Duc would no doubt have become classics if the three Viennese giants had not given a new dimension to the word 'symphony' by so far outstripping all their contemporaries. Though equally forgotten nowadays, late eighteenth-century French religious music is also not to be despised, and it came as a surprise when recent recordings brought to light the hitherto unknown names of Esprit Blanchard and François Giroust, revealing the existence of a lively Versailles school that held an honourable position right up to the Revolution.

The musical rivalry between France and Italy, the focal point of which was opera, was somewhat distorted on the French side owing to the fact that its official champion, C. W. Gluck, was a foreigner; but the Italian representation was almost equally shaky. The great days of Vivaldi and Scarlatti lay far behind, and neither Paesiello nor Piccini could do much for the fame of Italian music. This held its own, nevertheless, thanks to the prestige of the Italian singers—many of them *castrati*—to whom Porpora (d. 1766) had not long since taught a new technique which is still the basis of our vocal art. This included the hitherto unknown concept of 'placing the voice' and of an

artificial pronunciation, different from that of ordinary speech and lending itself better to sustained and beautiful singing. Moreover though the Italian operatic composers were somewhat mediocre in themselves, they achieved celebrity all over Europe: Salieri was director of the Vienna theatres, Sacchini settled in Paris in 1782, and it was as a pupil of the Italians and under the name of 'Bach of Milan' that Johann Christian Bach pursued a successful career in London until his death in 1782. He was the successor in London of Handel, 'il Sassone', who had also been obliged to invoke his period at Milan in order to wrest from Bononcini the right to rule supreme over English musical life. There was at this period perhaps only one really great Italian name—that of Cimarosa, who was often compared to Mozart; though the fact that, like Haydn, he was born long before Mozart and died much later (1749–1801) often makes it paradoxically difficult to decide whether he was Mozart's herald or imitator. His masterpiece, *Il Matrimonio segreto*, which might have been written by the Mozart of 1780, appeared only shortly after the younger man's death (1793).

Thus Italian prestige was based on theatrical tradition, though in point of fact the greatest Italian artists of that day were instrumentalists, such as the violinist Viotti (1753-1824) and the cellist Boccherini (1743-1805). The latter composed some very fine chamber music, including numerous quintets which left an ineffaceable stamp on the style of his instrument.

Italy also had an international reputation for music teaching: the Italian school of singing, based on Porpora's tradition, has already been mentioned; and the technique of music writing, paradoxically based on counterpoint in a period when that form was less and less practised, survived there better than anywhere else—Mozart, as we know, owed a great deal to the lessons he took with Padre Martini of Bologna.

In fact, the plain of the Danube had its spiritual outlet in Italy, whereas the German principalities, which had still not found their own musical individuality, were hesitating between the French patronage that reigned supreme at Sans-Souci, and the Italian label under which Hasse and Keiser were spending the last years of their operatic careers. This hesitation is demonstrated in the tremendous body of work composed by Telemann (still not fully explored); and it was under the Italian banner that Bach's sons earned international celebrity for their family name, which in their father's day had scarcely been known outside his own environment.

Such, therefore, would have been the total contribution of the generation we are considering, but for the two men who suddenly came forward to place it, in the eyes of posterity, on a different level, while a youth, destined to give it still greater brilliance, was growing up in their shadow.

Yet until about 1790 Josef Haydn advanced only slowly and gradually towards the fame which was to be his ten years later. Since 1761 he had been wearing the livery of a servant and filling the office of director of musical entertainments at the Esterhazy palace—no more. It is not a moot point

whether he would ever have gone further, but that London began to cast envious glances at the gardens of Eisenstadt and, by trying to capture the composer, opened a moral breach in the castle walls.

Rohrau, where Haydn was born in 1732, stands on the frontier between Austria and Hungary, in a setting more Hungarian than Austrian. Of the two castles between which Haydn, in his master's suite, used to divide his time until 1790, one is now in Austria and the other in Hungary. This ethnical ambivalence should not be overlooked in a study of the master's work and personality. It may account for the unexpectedly melancholy, almost wild ramifications of works that might be dismissed on a superficial examination as uniformly amiable, cheerful and refined. But the Haydn known and reverenced by Mozart when he dedicated to him his famous 1784 quartet had not yet written *The Creation*; his major work so far had been the *Russian Quartets* of 1781, which hold such an important place in the history of form and of the reasoned development of themes. Indeed, his fame was hardly greater than that of his brother Michael, the distinguished *Kapellmeister* whom Mozart had known well at Salzburg; he was thought of chiefly as the author of Italian operas (many of them written for the marionettes at the castle) and for imposing, decorative masses; his great symphonic period was not really to begin until the celebrated 'London' symphonies—when that meteor of genius, his pupil Mozart, had not much longer to live.

As for Mozart himself, there seems nothing left to say about him; it would be as futile to attempt to summarize here the tremendous range of his work, as to add to the thousands of pages which have striven to describe it. Some writers have displayed a rather ingenuous lyricism, while others have proceeded like a surgeon dissecting a greenfly under the microscope. But hardly any of them have pointed out that although during the thirty years of his public life that tremendous genius alternated between the extremes of acclamation and envious neglect, he exerted very little real influence. As an infant prodigy he passed through Paris, Munich and Milan, but left nothing behind him except a few commissioned works which were soon forgotten. Visiting Mannheim in 1777 and Paris again in the same year, he learnt more than he taught. The real, great Mozart, only began to emerge after his return to Salzburg in 1779, when he composed his *Sinfonia concertante* for violin and viola under the influence of Paris, followed by the *Vesperae de Confessore* and *Idomeneo*; and we do not see him in his full stature until after 1780, from the time of *Die Entführung aus dem Serail*. After that he had finished with his travels and renounced his status as a minor official at the Archbishop's court. The true, great Mozart lived for only eleven years, scarcely leaving Vienna except for short visits to Prague and Berlin; and success was vouchsafed to him for barely half of those eleven years. His star rose to its zenith in 1786, when the *Nozze di Figaro* scored a triumph at Prague; but at Vienna its success was not so assured even then, and the dwindling of his fame reduced him five years later to destitution and a pauper's grave. To us nowadays,

Mozart seems to tower, an unchallenged giant, over the whole of the period we are now considering; but that is a twentieth-century view. Even the nineteenth century usually relegated him to a place well below Haydn, and though he had several imitators (Cimarosa has already been mentioned) his real influence was slight. Mozart had only one true disciple—his own master, Josef Haydn. But at the time, nobody could have foreseen that the romantic presentiments that stir in his last works, from *Don Giovanni* to the *Requiem*, would soon strike roots in the mind of a young Rhinelander of Dutch extraction, Ludwig van Beethoven, born at Bonn and enabled by his patrons to make several visits to Vienna for purposes of study, though so far he had composed nothing except some pleasant pieces for the harpsichord and a few graceful *rondinos* for wind instruments.

3. 1792–1802: ECHOES OF THE CARMAGNOLE

Mozart died on 5 December 1791. Four months later, Rouget de Lisle wrote the *Marseillaise*. Until 1792 the Revolution could still be regarded as a matter of French domestic politics—nothing in Mozart's life or letters suggests that he ever gave it a thought. But after that, the illusion was destroyed. The ten years covered by this chapter, which run from *La Clemenza di Tito* to the 'Heiligenstadt Testament', represent the time taken to turn a thousand-year-old page of history.

As usual, political history in this connection is merely a framework and a starting-point. The violent domestic upheavals taking place in France were soon to carry the trample of horses' hoofs and the noise of '*Republican Saltpetre*' (to quote the title of a hymn by Cherubini) all over Europe; and it was not only thrones and crowns that were swept into a tragicomic ballet. Some social structures collapsed, new ways of thought originated, and a different manner of feeling and judging things began to replace criteria which had so far been regarded as unimpeachable.

At the close of the old era, two nations appeared to be dominant—for entirely different reasons—in the musical life of Europe. These were France and Italy; but as we have seen already, the latter had become virtually no more than a covering name for activities now transferred to the Danube. It may have been this remoteness from the revolutionary storm-centre that enabled Italian musical culture, amid the general upheaval, to maintain a pace of development which safeguarded musical traditions and ensured their preservation.

For Vienna, unlike Paris and the cities between the two, was receiving the rumours of war only at second hand. Cultural life followed its course (almost unruffled except in 1809). The death of Prince Nicholas Esterhazy in 1790 had released Josef Haydn from his servitude at the castle. Though he drew a pension he was now an independent musician; he had settled at Vienna and had twice been persuaded to visit England, which brought him the revelation of a supreme composer hitherto unknown to him—Handel. From this time

forth Haydn, who still cherished the memory of Mozart, ceased to be a composer of Italian operettas for marionettes. He had learnt a twofold lesson from *Don Giovanni* and *Messiah*. The series of great symphonies had already begun to mark the progress of this 'aged prodigy'—*La Reine* in 1786, *Oxford* in 1788, *The Clock* in 1795—and soon, stimulated by the shock of hearing *Messiah* in London, there followed that key work which was to span the gap between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: *The Creation* (1798), to which *The Seasons* came as a prolongation in 1801.

But this foresight into the coming century was, after all, only a brief flash of Haydn's genius. In 1792 he was 60 years old. When the same inklings began to bubble into expression in the young man of 22 who came to live in Vienna that very year in order to study with him (and who, incidentally, was to declare himself disappointed with Haydn's teaching) they broke out as a blazing dawn, instead of Haydn's majestic sunset. It is a detail, but a significant one, that as soon as he came to Vienna Beethoven gave up the harpsichord known to him from childhood and flung himself on the new instrument, the square, still rather jangly pianoforte which had recently been trying to supplant it and would succeed in doing so almost completely in the course of the period we are considering. He lost no time in studying its tone, was quick to perceive that it would require a new technique of composition, and forthwith began to pour out concertos, sonatas and a quintet, not to mention his trios and quarters, his septet and octet.

In 1798, the very year of *The Creation*, Beethoven gave one of his sonatas a name that rings out like a manifesto of the advancing romantic movement: the *Pathétique*. The feeling in this was perhaps still rather long-winded in expression, and hardly continues further than the dramatic introduction (dramatic and chromatic like the prologue to *The Creation*); but it carries, 50 years ahead of time, a kind of echo of *Tristan and Isolde*.[1] At Bonn Beethoven had been a young artist, haunting fashionable drawing-rooms, seeking popularity in them, and winning it despite his lack of education and his hereditary defects. In Vienna he fell a prey to uneasiness and soon became a rebel. He cared little that both his native and his adopted land were at war with France; he was thrilled by the ideas of the French Revolution, dazzled by its philosophers. We are practically certain, though positive proof has never come to light, that by 1801 at the latest he had joined the Freemasons—not, like Haydn and Mozart, with the aim of extending and sublimating Catholic beliefs that were still lively in him (in those days the two things were not incompatible), but impelled by his critical spirit and by the desire to find a super-religion of world brotherhood, with no dogma or laws. In that same year, 1801, he wrote his one and only oratorio, *Christ on the Mount of Olives*, and it was no accident that he chose the most human episode in the life of Jesus, with its weakness and anguish. But his first two symphonies were still written very much in the decorative manner of Josef Haydn. Before he could widen his bounds he had to experience his own tragedy, and the first signs of this were already appear-

ing. Before long Beethoven was forced to admit to himself and others that he, the musician, was going deaf. The fact became inescapably evident in 1802, and it opened a new period in his work and in the history of music.

Meanwhile, in France, the Revolution was thrusting ahead. Every excuse for music-making, outside the theatre and public festivities, was swept away, ruthlessly and without exception. There was no more music played in salons, no more Concerts Spirituels, no more aristocrats or rich men to support the musicians and give them employment. The choir schools, which for a thousand years had been the nurseries of musicians and composers, were closed down, and the Conservatoire, founded in 1795, proved a very inadequate substitute. This Conservatoire, as originally organized by a certain Captain Sarrette, was primarily a training school for regimental bands, with 5 bassoon classes, 11 clarinet classes and 6 classes for the horn; it had no class for composition, for the harpsichord or for singing, and only 3 for all stringed instruments apart from the double bass. All the same it was an important innovation, for this was the first time that musical training had been centralized, specialized (the choir schools, unlike the Conservatoire, also provided a general education) and cut off from the environment where the young musician would later be pursuing his art. And this concept, whether one likes it or not, now prevails in every musical conservatory in the world.

Thus it was that chamber music vanished from France completely and almost overnight. Only the opera houses remained open—in fact they prospered more than ever, subject to certain adjustments in the repertory which were prompted by current events. Grétry, for example, wrote *La Rosière Républicaine* and *Joseph Bara ou Anacréon chez Polycrate* (the Revolution was much addicted to ancient history). Comic opera, in particular, enjoyed a popularity that swept all before it. Monsigny remained in complete retirement from the musical world, but Grétry and Dalayrac went on writing and were joined first by Méhul, whose *Le Jeune Henri* (1797) is still remembered for its overture, and then by Boieldieu, who won his laurels with *Le Calife de Bagdad* in 1800. Above all, the considerable increase in open-air festivities and ceremonies, though it sometimes produced banal, uninspired libretti, was bound to give rise to a new style of music. Instead of working for a dozen attentive listeners in a salon with excellent acoustics, the composer now had to capture the ear of a large crowd (and this without microphones) and hold his own in a vast spectacle where music was not listened to for its own sake. He must compel attention, which meant giving up all niceties and subtle effects and learning to express himself with vigour and go straight to the point. It was in this way that Gossec, Catel and Lesueur created an art for the crowd, taken over a generation later by Berlioz.

Meanwhile there was very little new work being done in Italy. But Italian music enjoyed such a high reputation in France that even the Revolution did not prevent communication across the closed frontiers. Cherubini came to live in Paris in 1789 and Nicolo in 1799; in 1797 Paesiello, then choirmaster to

Ferdinand IV of Naples, composed a funeral march for General Hoche which won him an invitation from Napoleon later on; and in 1798 Cimarosa was condemned to death as a revolutionary, but fortunately reprieved.

We now come to the year 1802, another decisive turning-point in the history of the world and thus in that of music.

4. 1802-30: 'THE EMPEROR' CONCERTO

Other dates perhaps seem more exciting, but few of them indicate so precisely the moment of emergence from the trench that had been dug during the previous ten years. True, the war continued, but it had ceased to be a basic ideological struggle, and had now become yet another commonplace, futile rivalry between nations. Beethoven gave symbolical expression to the reversal of policy when, having written a *sinfonia intitolata Buonaparte* to the glory of the revolutionary leader, he furiously crossed out the title on learning that his hero had proclaimed himself Emperor. But the coronation in Notre-Dame was merely the culmination of a work that had begun with the Concordat— that decisive turning-point after which France gave up her massacres and destructions on the home front and began to reconstruct. And in that same year, 1802, Beethoven, who had gradually become the most prominent com- poser in Vienna, wrote his brother the heart-breaking letter known as the 'Heiligenstadt Testament' in which he openly admitted his deafness and implied that in future his musical writings would have no other destiny or judge than himself, set apart in his inner silence. His deafness was only partial until 1819, giving him time to write his great symphonies, from the *Eroica* to the Eighth, his great piano sonatas from opus 31 to opus 101, *Fidelio* and his penultimate quartets. After that, complete darkness descended, and from it emerged the last three sonatas, the Ninth Symphony, the *Mass in D* and the final quartets, including the *Grosse Fuge*.[2]

People were sometimes surprised by the novelty of Beethoven's work, but his genius was recognized with no serious opposition, and though he refused to visit foreign countries his fame soon travelled to them. Thanks to him, Vienna remained what it had been in Haydn's day, the musical capital of Europe—without a challenger, now that Paris had gone into eclipse. Haydn died in Vienna in 1809, to the accompaniment of the guns that announced the approach of the French army. But since *The Seasons* the glorious old man had been living on his past laurels. Five years after Haydn's death, Schubert began to compose.

All these events were pregnant with consequences. The change in the title of the *Emperor* Concerto was no mere political whim. Beethoven, a Viennese by adoption, had really turned his head in a new direction. He had been much given to writing his titles and notes in French or Italian; but now he averted his eyes from the south-west—so completely that when, a little later, Rossini crossed his path, he scarcely recognized him as a fellow musician. The

Viennese turn-table had begun to revolve, and for musical purposes, Vienna was soon to become a German city.

Incidentally, Germany was beginning for the first time to become fully aware of her musical genius. Thanks to the progaganda carried on by a Dutch diplomat and librarian, van Swieten, the fame of J. S. Bach had begun to spread—though he was regarded chiefly as a model for counterpoint and fugue —and Handel, '*il Sassone*', no longer needed to disguise himself as an Italian or an Englishman. A half-Austrian, half-German composer, only 16 years younger than Beethoven—Carl-Maria von Weber, the son of a cousin of Mozart's wife—was making a career for himself in Germany, with a brief interlude at Prague, and in the year of Beethoven's opus 110 (1821) he launched German romantic opera with *Der Freischütz*. In 1810 Mme de Staël wrote her book on Germany, and the writings on which the romantic movement was to be founded now began—long after *Werther*, the pioneer— to appear in rapid succession: Chateaubriand's *Le Génie du Christianisme* in 1802, Schiller's *Wilhelm Tell* in 1804, Chateaubriand's *Les Martyrs* in 1809 and Byron's *Childe Harold* in 1812 and *Manfred* in 1816—to be followed in due course by Lamartine's *Méditations* (1820) and Heine's first poems in 1822. Greuze died in 1805, but Géricault lived on until 1824. And in 1823 Sébastien Erard invented the double escapement, which virtually transformed the old pianoforte into the modern piano. Beethoven, after being a fore-runner of romanticism, was now its contemporary. Schubert survived him by only a year. The two men were almost neighbours, yet they seem to have met only once. Schubert admired and venerated Beethoven, but Beethoven ignored Schubert, and did not come to know his *Lieder* until the time of his last illness, although *Gretchen am Spinnrad* had been written while *Fidelio* was nearing completion. Schubert wrote more than 600 *Lieder*, at least half of which are masterpieces; 9 masses, 10 symphonies, nearly 20 operas, psalms, oratorios, choirs for every possible combination, sonatas, trios, quintets, an octet, 15 quartets, and a vast wealth of works for the piano—sonatas, fantasies, impromptus, *moments musicaux*—yet he was only 31 when he died! But the *Unfinished Symphony* did not have its first performance until 1865. . . .

The musical map of Europe was now settling into its permanent lines. Vienna, its supremacy approaching an end, was turning, as we have seen, towards Germany, where Weber was showing peasants dancing on the stage, conjuring up demons, and preceding Wagner in his recourse to the national legends for inspiration. When he came back to Vienna in 1823 with his *Euryanthe* (this was the year of the Ninth Symphony) he found himself challenged by the vogue of Rossini. The Viennese were slow to change, and if their composers abandoned the Italian style that their music-loving public preferred, that public would go somewhere else for it.

France, meanwhile, was slowly recovering from the upheavals it had suffered and beginning to rebuild on its ruins, though the war still went on—mostly beyond the frontiers. The French had awakened from the years of the Terror

to find themselves practically without art, except the hollow, conventional manifestations of official taste. They had military music and comic opera, but that was about all. The standard of their singers and instrumentalists had declined as well; the source of supply had given out when the choir schools were closed, and it must be remembered that the Statues of the Conservatoire (1795) specified that neither harpsichord nor singing was to be taught there.

For the preliminary reconstruction, France turned to Italy. Cherubini was appointed Director of the Conservatoire, while Spontini, Paesiello and Paër became Napoleon's official composers. The French vocal tradition, which before the Revolution had counterbalanced that of Italy—concentrating on expressive diction as the Italian school concentrated on beauty of tone—was lost for ever. A new technique had to be built up, copied, with adjustments, from the Italian model: nothing of the old manner survived, and that is why it has been impossible, up to the present day, to give a convincing performance of any French opéra of the school of Lully, Rameau or even Gluck.

Until about 1820 the Italian school consisted of old masters with a 'noble' style, with a propensity for Greek and Roman themes that places them as contemporaries of the painter David. Cherubini turned his back on his youthful comic operas with their gay, involved plots and produced *Anacréon* in 1803; Spontini's *La Vestale* appeared in 1807. But now some new comets began to blaze through the musical sky. A violinist, Paganini, who revealed utterly unsuspected technical possibilities in his instrument; a pianist, Clementi, who, simultaneously with Czerny, of Vienna, endowed the new instrument, the successor of the old-fashioned harpsichord, with technique and teaching methods; and a composer, Rossini, who at the age of 18 achieved such a success in Venice that he was commissioned to write (and did write) five operas during the following year. In 1816—this was the year of opus 101, and Rossini was 24—came the triumph of *The Barber of Seville*, followed by an unbroken chain of successes up to *William Tell* (1829); after which Rossini suddenly withdrew—the reason has never been conclusively explained—and henceforth wrote only slight (though not uninteresting) works.

The French composers, confronted with these unquestioned triumphs, had not enough vitality to discover a style of their own. They panted along in the wake of the Italians. Auber more or less kept up the minimum of one opera a year from 1812 to 1871. Boieldieu began by a period at the Russian court, from 1803 to 1810; his most successful work was *La Dame Blanche*, in 1825. But none of this amounted to much. There was just one genuinely original talent, which is only now beginning to be appreciated—that of Méhul, who was not merely the neo-classical composer of *Le Chant du Départ* and later of *Joseph* (1807), but wrote several noteworthy symphonies and a *Messe pour le couronnement de Napoléon* (not performed) which places him in the front rank of second-class composers.

Other countries were revealing few musicians as yet, except Spain, where Martin y Soler won appreciable success with his operas in Madrid, and later in

Italy and at Vienna. But the essential development to note is the acceleration of the change in musical customs, to the first signs of which we have already referred. In the aftermath of the Revolution, princes rapidly lost their prestige, if not their functions. Chapel choir-schools became scarcer and their members were less well paid. The musician was tending more and more to become an independent craftsman instead of a court official. He was obliged to earn his living by giving lessons, or by performing for a fee. Music publishing was expanding into an industry; Beaumarchais had founded the *Société des Auteurs* in France, but international agreements had not yet been signed; composers and publishers were always skirmishing, and sometimes revealed more strategic cunning than honesty. Concerts were beginning to be held, but they were rare, expensive and badly organized. Music was again popular in the drawing-room, but it was more a family affair than before, and guests were seldom invited. The piano had definitely supplanted the harpsichord, but— at least in France—ladies tended to prefer the harp, which set off their pretty white arms to such advantage. Drawing-room singers were becoming numerous; Schubert's *Lieder* were written for them and so were the thousands of French drawing-room ballads, soon to culminate in the '*mélodie*'. The Paris Conservatoire was no longer a school of military music, it had become primarily a theatre school—prose as well as lyric, for it was now a '*Conservatoire de musique et déclamation*'. For composers it had only one ambition, to teach them to write for the theatre; and the highest of its awards, the '*prix de Rome*' established by Napoleon, was given for an imitation miniature opera, the 'cantata'. As a reaction against this exclusive preoccupation with the stage, private schools began to come into existence, trying to recover the spirit of the old choir-schools. The most important of these, that of Choron (1816), which was succeeded, after it closed in 1830, by the Niedermeyer school, played a considerable role in musical life.

In the meantime, Beethoven's music was slowly but surely gaining the upper hand of the Italian and official 'Italian-style' compositions. The Paris Conservatoire, with Habeneck as its conductor, performed his first symphonies as early as 1807. A change in taste was gradually developing, soon to be stimulated by a young musician who won his *prix de Rome* just when the revolution of July 1830 broke out in Paris: Hector Berlioz.

5. 1830–48: FROM ONE REVOLUTION TO ANOTHER

1830 was a year of revolutions. Not only in France, where it was marked by the collapse of the attempt to restore the old régime imposed by defeat, but on all sides and in all fields. At Brussels the patriotic songs of Auber's *Muette de Portici* sparked off a riot which spread from the Théâtre de la Monnaie into the streets and ended with independence for Belgium; in Poland there was a general uprising, the Russians occupied Warsaw, and soon, in the historic phrase, 'order was restored' in the capital, whence Chopin had just departed.

At the Comédie-Française, the romantic movement in literature fought and won the battle of *Hernani;* Auber, elected to the Académie Française the previous year, was regarded in Paris as the composer of the day, thanks to *Fra Diavolo,* and he certainly had no inkling of the insignificance to which his fifty-odd operas and comic operas would be reduced by the effect of a manifesto of the musical revolution entitled *La Symphonie Fantastique,* which had just been completed by that year's *prix de Rome,* a hyperdynamic eccentric named Hector Berlioz. In Germany Robert Schumann, a twenty-year-old law student, had decided to devote himself henceforth to music, but this attracted no attention. What did cause a sensation was that a student of Berlin University, only a year older than Schumann—Felix Mendelssohn, who at the age of 17 had composed an overture of extraordinary perfection for Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream*—now brought before the public a work almost a century old, but completely unknown (during the composer's lifetime it had only been performed as 'functional music' at Vespers in Holy Week, and then filed away in the parish cupboard)—no less a work than Bach's *St. Matthew Passion.* Until then, Bach had been known only to students of counterpoint, as a good model for fugue exercises; now he was suddenly raised to the status of a composer who had 'also' written music, and this was to bring about a great change in the musical culture of the rising generation.

It was a rich generation. We have already mentioned Berlioz in France, Chopin in Poland and Schumann and Mendelssohn in Germany; but there was also a youthful conductor of theatre orchestras, itinerant, impoverished and arrogant, one Richard Wagner, who was dreaming at Riga, at Dresden or in Paris of writing his own libretti for his own operas and making opera an all-embracing spectacle where music and action would be fused into a unity never yet attained (as we have seen, that had been the theme of Gluck's theories, but he had not carried it from words to action). The period we are considering was to witness Wagner's first creative work, from *Die Feen* to *Lohengrin.* Vienna had now vanished from the musical map over which it had reigned supreme for the last century: Beethoven had died there in 1827 and Schubert a year later. Czerny was still teaching there, and Diabelli still publishing, clinging to the association with Beethoven that he drew from the memory of his insignificant little theme, the basis of the 32 Variations (it will be remembered that as a joke, Beethoven proffered eight bars from *Don Giovanni* among these 'variations'). But Vienna had no more composers of any note, and those who came a little later were of the calibre of Johann Strauss and Franz von Suppé.

Confronted by this ascending Germany, with its eager tendency to assert a retrospective title to the Viennese composers, France and Italy maintained a close alliance. The Italian opera ('Les Italiens') was one of the centres of attraction of Paris musical life, so popular that it gave its name to one of the busiest boulevards; and well-known Italian musicians elected to live in Paris. In addition to Rossini, who was by this time more a popular figure in drawing-rooms than a composer of music, Bellini had settled at Puteaux, and in 1840

Donizetti became director of the Théâtre de la Renaissance, then known as the Salle Ventadour. They cultivated a lavish, facile style of melody which showed off the singers' voices to the best advantage, accompanying them with a simple orchestral refrain. Prospering on this style, the *prime donne*, adulated and capricious, provided the necessary focus for scandal in social life which is now supplied by cinema stars. It was a childish kind of music which seems laughable nowadays, but it was then admired even by musicians of unquestioned value: Chopin adored Donizetti, and Wagner acknowledged that the idea for the final crescendo of the *Death of Isolde* had been suggested to him by the finale of Bellini's *Norma*. Paris thus became the capital of Italian music. Even the youthful Verdi, just beginning his career, was more often there than at Milan, where he quarrelled with the Scala after winning his first success there with *Oberto* and *Nabucco*, in a style not unrelated to Bellini's. But the man who was soon to gain acceptance as the recognized master of the Franco-Italian stage was neither a Frenchman nor an Italian, but a German Jew, Jakob Beer, alias Giacomo Meyerbeer, who won his triumphs with 'grand operas' which had historical plots, heavily spectacular presentation, and gaudy scenic effects. His contemporaries fawned upon him; Wagner, anticipating today's opinion, bluntly described him as 'absolute zero—which did not prevent him from imitating him extensively, at least at this early stage of his work. Later on, Meyerbeer's fame collasped; the great artisan of his 'debunking' was, no doubt, Schumann, a vehement critic and confirmed apostle of his own declaration of faith: 'Art is governed by moral laws.'

Against this background, of which nothing remains except as the memory of a vanished epoch, in confrontation with Mendelssohn and Schumann who, at Leipzig and Dresden respectively, were constructing the real German romantic music the foundations of which had been laid by Weber, three no less romantic musicians were at work in Paris, seeking new modes of expression. Only one of them, Berlioz, was a Frenchman; another, Chopin, was Polish—the son of a French émigré to Poland—and the third, Liszt, was a Hungarian with an international vocation who, being at this time associated with a French woman writer, Marie d'Agoult, had chosen France as his temporary headquarters.

Berlioz was considerably the oldest of the three. As early as 1829, in his first important work, the *Symphonie Fantastique* (which bore the sub-title *Episodes de la vie d'un artiste*) he had taken up and developed the idea first touched upon by Beethoven in his *Pastoral Symphony*—that of using the symphony to tell a descriptive story—but rejecting Beethoven's reservation of 'emotion rather than description'. Expanding an idea at which Weber had hinted in several of his operas, Berlioz laid down clearly the principle that a particular musical motif, having once been arbitrarily but clearly associated with some non-musical idea, can retain this association throughout a composition, thus constituting an explicit translation into music of certain ideas or feelings which may become very complicated. It is the *idée fixe* of his *Fantastique* that symbolizes the artist throughout the symphony, expressing by its

recurrence and its transformations the different states of mind through which he passes in his emotional adventures. Five years later, in his *Harold en Italie*, of Byronic inspiration, Berlioz attempted an extension of this fundamental concept; this time it was by means of a solo instrument (the viola) that he elected to represent his hero and his reactions to the scenes described by the orchestra. All the important thematic aspects of subsequent music, from Wagner's *Leitmotiv* to the miscellaneous themes of symphonic peoms or similar works, was derived from this discovery.

Descriptive music was not in itself a novelty. Indeed, during the previous period, French instrumental music had evinced a definite tendency to prefer it to purely formal music. It was to be further stimulated by Berlioz's discovery of the *motif signifiant*, and by its appeal to the imagination, which was in complete harmony with the current romantic trend. Programme music, or the 'symphonic poem', as Liszt called it, whether commenting on a picture, elaborating an impression or telling a story, was—rather than the symphony of absolute music—the typical orchestral form of the romantic age; it did not really disappear until about 1940, and even then not completely. The Germans were almost alone in their fidelity to absolute music: Mendelssohn wrote his five symphonies between 1824 and 1842, Schumann his four between 1841 and 1852; and when Gounod, and afterwards Bizet, followed their example, such oddity was regarded as tribute to the German school. Pure symphonic music did not recover from this neglect in France or Italy until the 1870s or thereabouts, when Wagner's triumph made the musical concepts of his country dominant outside its frontiers.

Berlioz and Mendelssohn addressed themselves to the orchestra (both of them had a great influence on the art of orchestration, although in opposite ways—one by his luxuriance, the other by his precision); whereas Schumann, Chopin and Liszt began with the peculiarity of preferring to restrict themselves to the piano. Chopin retained this preference nearly all his life; Schumann and Liszt turned to the orchestra, but only much later.

Meanwhile, Schumann was to pass through the intermediate stage of chamber music, the spirit of which he was to assimilate to such an extent that even his melodies—a genus of which he became enamoured after his pianistic period and of which he became the undisputed master—may be considered as chamber music for voice and piano. As for Liszt, the piano was so much a part of him that it was a long time before he began to orchestrate his pieces himself.

Indeed Liszt, the unchallenged master of piano orchestration, who had set himself stubbornly (and successfully) to become the Paganini of the piano, waited a very long time before beginning to orchestrate his pieces himself; at first he had them scored by assistants, second-rate musicians such as Conradi, Raff and Krauss, whose drafts he afterwards revised. What we said just now about programme music applies with a few exceptions to Schumann's piano compositions; and it left its mark on Liszt's entire output, whether for piano or orchestra. Only Chopin resisted: countless sub-titles have been added

to his Studies, Preludes and Waltzes, but there is no justification for any of them. The only group of his works which has any external basis is the very one that has never been labelled in this way: the four *Ballades* inspired by legendary poems by Mickiewicz, which are really symphonic poems for the piano.

The symphonic poem, whether descriptive or narrative, was not the only expression of this romantic belief in the descriptive and evocative power of music. It was paralleled by an attempt to suggest a geographical or chronological setting, to convey what we should call 'local colour'. In 1844 Félicien David won fame as a master of orientalism with his oratorio, *Le Désert*; this immediately prompted a young Belgian composer, César Franck—who at the age of 24 had already written some *trios concertants* and several piano fantasies —to write an oratorio in the same style, *Ruth*. After which he withdrew into · obscurity and was heard of no more for thirty years, when he reappeared as the illustrious 'aged prodigy' of Sainte-Clotilde and the Sociéte Nationale. It was Berlioz, again, who introduced an 'archaic' local colour, relying for this purpose upon certain chords and modal inflections which he declared should not be used in current music. Liszt developed an enthusiasm for the gipsy music he heard in Hungary, and being convinced that this was the folk music of his country (an error not corrected until Kodály and Bartók carried out their investigations, towards 1905), he carried over this local colour from his *Rhapsodies* even into the introduction of his one and only piano sonata. Chopin, too, remembered his native land and wrote mazurkas and polonaises as well as his waltzes, preludes and studies.[3] Hitherto, Russia—apart from its traditional songs and its religious polyphony, the latter put into order by Bortniansky about 1800—had had no music except Italian opera and French comic opera. (Boieldieu had lived there for a time, Berlioz was soon to be given a great welcome, and before long Marius Petipa, from Marseilles, was to create a Russian ballet style based on such French ballets as *Giselle*.) Now, in that distant country, one lonely composer was trying to give his operas— though strongly influenced by Rossini and the Franco-Italians—a national colour which ultimately made him the father of Russian music. This was Glinka, whose *A Life for the Tsar* was put on at St Petersburg in 1836, and followed in 1842 by his *Ruslan and Ludmilla*. Another country had been added to the musical map of Europe.

Meanwhile, musical scholarship too was progressing. Fétis published his monumental *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens* in Brussels in 1839, and in 1840 the monks of Solesmes, with Dom Guéranger at their head, set to work upon the liturgical restoration of Gregorian plainsong. Aristide Cavaillé-Coll, who revived the technique of organ-building, settled at Paris in 1833; and in opposition to the plethora of hollow 'brilliant' variations on the operas of the day which were all the rage in fashionable society and against which Chopin and Liszt had such a hard struggle (even bringing themselves to make a few concessions to the style), the dignity of the king of instruments was upheld by a classical school with Boély as its director. The insipid ballads of which Loisa

Puget was the queen were still popular drawing-room fare; but Schubert's *Lieder*—not always well translated—were already becoming known, and Berlioz was soon to transform the ballad into the '*mélodie*' (a term he was the first to employ). When the 1848 revolution broke out, the vital forces in music, which were to continue their rivalry, were no longer France and Italy (or Italy-on-the-Danube) but Paris on one side and Germany on the other; while Russia was beginning a musical career for the first time. Richard Wagner, who would tip the scales on the side of his native land, was still in exile, having left Paris for Zurich: the period of his masterpieces was at hand, but his triumphs still lay far ahead.

6. 1848–60: ZUKUNFTSMUSIK

In 1848 the exhausted Chopin gave his last concert in Paris. He died in the following year, which witnessed the triumph of Meyerbeer's detestable *Prophet*. In 1847 Liszt had changed mistresses and gone to live at Weimar. With Chopin dead, Liszt departed to Germany, and Wagner taking Switzerland as the base for his European influence, Paris had lost all the great men who had given it distinction except Berlioz, a solitary figure struggling against an increasing lack of understanding. Only one great work marks this period— *L'Enfance du Christ*, its gentle melancholy so unlike the volcanic eruptions customary to this composer; but it witnessed the beginning of *Les Troyens*, a mad enterprise whose naïve gigantism doomed it to failure from the start. Apart from Berlioz, Paris musical life was lapsing into a deplorable mediocrity. And since the Revolution, which had centralized national life even more effectively than the monarchy, almost all the musical activity of France was concentrated in Paris. Auber was still turning out his annual opera with imperturbable serenity; Meyerbeer, who was in poor health, had slackened his output with no loss to his prestige. Around these two there gravitated a number of theatre composers, some of whom had merit, though one is astonished to read the enthusiastic praise they received from contemporary critics. Of these were Halévy, Ambroise Thomas (who was Director of the Conservatoire) and Reyer (one of Wagner's earliest admirers, who ingenuously scattered his operas with blond Valkyries under the impression that this gave him a share of the master's genius). Before long the Parisian public began to find even the *Opéra-Comique* rather too serious, and turned to the *opérette*, handled with tremendous verve by a Frenchman of German origin, Jacques Offenbach. He became manager of the Bouffes Parisiens in 1844, and the airs from *Orphée aux Enfers* (1858) ran through Paris like wildfire. Organ music suddenly became fashionable, but only because a certain Lefébure-Wély gained regrettable celebrity by imitating on the keyboard the roll of thunder followed by the twittering of birds after the rain.

Faced with the musical collapse of France, Italy gave Verdi the task of restoring a situation which looked brilliant only at a casual glance. Verdi set

about this by achieving for the first time something approaching a combination of Italian melody and the full-bodied harmony the Germans were then making popular in Europe. His three famous works, sometimes known as the 'popular trilogy' (*Rigoletto, La Traviata* and *Il Trovatore*) still had little of the density of Wagner's music, or even of the masterpieces of the following period; but without neglecting vocal interest and liveliness of staging, they represented such progress in harmonic, rhythmic and orchestral texture that they have maintained their success unimpaired down to the present day.

Thus, Italy was calling attention to itself again in the person of Verdi. Russia was quietly going on with the preparations for its forthcoming emergence into the limelight: Glinka, who died in 1857, had a successor in Dargomijsky, whose *Roussalka* (1855) continued the movement begun with *A Life for the Tsar*. Denmark produced a composer of merit, Gade, whose musical anagram was composed by Schumann. But the most extraordinary feature of this period was the spectacular development of the German school, which had the twofold advantage of a rare conjunction of talent and genius and an intelligent musical policy, consistent and stubbornly pursued—something that was disastrously lacking in other countries, particularly France, and still is so in many cases.

For one thing, the years 1848 to 1860 saw the appearance of Wagner's first masterpieces, the *Tetralogy* and *Tristan*. The year 1859 alone witnessed three new operas—Gounod's *Faust*, Verdi's *Ballo in Maschera*, and Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*. The following year Wagner came to Paris for the stormy performance of his *Tannhaüser*, and while there wrote a manifesto entitled *Zukunftsmusik*. If by this he was referring to the next fifty years, the juxtaposition of the three titles just mentioned shows that this haughty attitude was not entirely unjustified. What he presented in his work as daring innovations were very soon to become the ABC of musical dramaturgy. No opera composer after *Tristan*—except Verdi now and then, in stubborn reaction—could venture to dispense with the symphonic overture based on the principal themes of the work, the orchestra's role as a commentator upon the plot, the unbroken structure—no longer cut up into pieces but presenting a connected flow of recitative and arias—or the symphonico-dramatic construction based on the respective 'themes' of the characters or situations—the *Grundthema*, as Wagner used to say, or the *Leitmotiv*, as his commentator von Wolzogen preferred to call it—with dances and incidental items used solely to contribute to the plot. People even came to find it natural that at times the singers' voices should be reduced to a mere declamatory background for a development left largely to the sovereign orchestra (this was described by one of Wagner's detractors as 'putting the statue in the orchestra pit and the pedestal on the stage'). All this seems perfectly natural nowadays, but it derives entirely from Wagner; certain features of the system may have existed here and there before his day, but they had never been assembled in a single work of art.

Yet Wagner had had his own model, from whom he had often drawn

inspiration. It is impossible to exaggerate his debt to Liszt, whom he treated with the same offhanded unkindness that he meted out to everyone. The Liszt of Weimar was a musician of a very different stature from the Liszt of Paris— of the *Etudes d'exécution transcendante*, the *Galop chromatique* and the first *Hungarian Rhapsodies*. Like Schumann, he had come to the orchestra after the piano; and he had taken his place between Berlioz and Wagner as a master of orchestral colour. He had devoted much thought to the problems of harmony, and had given practical expression to the fascinating ideas put forward as long ago as 1832 by the Belgian musicologist Fétis, in his lectures on music, concerning the expansion of tonality. He thus forged for himself a bold, original mode of expression from which his son-in-law Wagner borrowed extensively and brazenly. In his sonata of 1853 he went further than Beethoven had done in the attempt to condense that rich, dispersed form—four pieces in one—into a unity. His symphonic poems, to which the *Faust Symphony* really belongs, though they are sometimes long-winded and pompous, contain many admirable passages. It is perhaps not generally realized, however, that the title of the *Preludes* and their attribution to a quotation from Lamartine which it would be vain to seek in that poet's complete works, results from a hoax perpetrated by Princess Sayn-Wittgenstein (who was responsible for many others). In point of fact this is a symphonic rearrangement of four unpublished choruses (the rough drafts are extant) based on *Les Quatre Eléments* by Joseph Autran, a Marseillais poet whom the Princess considered to be too insignificant!

In 1856 Liszt brought out simultaneously his *Dante Symphony* and his monumental *Messe de Gran*. This work heralded Liszt's third phase, that of the mystical yet worldly 'Abbé', proud of his cassock with its purple sash (for though he never went beyond the minor orders, he had received a canonical prelacy) whom we shall meet in the next chapter.

Meanwhile Schumann was living his last tragic years, after having written as a background for Byron's drama, *Manfred*, some music that may be regarded as a typical example of the inward-gazing, tormented romanticism which contrasts with the imposing works of Berlioz in the same way that Lamartine contrasts with Victor Hugo. He was not long dead before a young musician who had been the friend of his last days and remained the lifelong friend of his widow Clara, began, as it were, an attempt to continue his work. This was Johannes Brahms, who sometimes attained a depth equal to Schumann's. In 1856, the year of the *Messe de Gran*, Brahms was already working on his third quartet, and his *Romances de Maguelonne* appeared in 1858, a year before *Tristan*.

The study of the past was being pursued at the same time. In 1852 de Coussemaker published his *Histoire de l'Harmonie au Moyen-Age*, and the Bach Gessellschaft began its series of publications. In 1853 Niedermeyer, taking up Choron's work where it had been left, established his valuable 'school of religious music' in Paris. The vigorous, fiery pen of Berlioz was still castigating the 'musical grotesques'. In 1858, the year before *Faust* and

Tristan, there occurred a little event which, though it attracted no attention, was to have far-reaching consequences—Edouard Lalo, a young French composer, published a string quartet. This was a premonitory sign. Things were soon going to change.

7. 1860–75: THEATRE OR SYMPHONY?

During these fifteen years musical life was dominated by two factors— Wagner's triumph and the rapid rise of the Russian school. The two were quite unconnected, the Wagnerians having no eyes for St Petersburg or the newcomers for the site of the Festspielhaus at Bayreuth. The link between them comes later, at the time of *Pelléas*.

Wagner, having been granted a political amnesty, had just returned to Germany when the miracle he had always hoped for occurred—in the form of an approach from King Ludwig II of Bavaria, who offered the composer his friendship and undertook to carry out all his wishes. This was in 1864. Then came the great adventure: the theatre built at Bayreuth on new lines— revolutionary, like the music it was to house—to be a temple for the worship of Wagner; the great pilgrimage-festivals, the foundation, under the master's benevolent eye, of Wagner Societies devoted solely to his glorification, etc. While the monumental Tetralogy, *Der Ring des Nibelungen*, was nearing completion, Wagner produced another masterpiece, *Die Meistersinger*, in which, temporarily abandoning the heights of epic drama, he made merciless fun of his former adversaries and their pedantry. Henceforth the man and his work were to be a storm-centre for fanatical enthusiasm and furious disparagement. His influence on other composers was rather slow in making itself felt, however, and does not become perceptible much before 1860. Even Liszt, the musician closest to Wagner and who now became his father-in-law, borrowed less from him than he had given him in former days. The Abbé Liszt had entered the Church in 1864, after which he interested himself chiefly in sacred music, abandoning the dreams of supreme virtuosity which had haunted his youth. His inspiration became loftier and purer: the study of the works of his latter years, so different from those on which his fame was based —whether oratorios such as *Christus* and *Ste Elisabeth de Hongrie* or simple piano pieces (*Sunt Lacrimae Rerum*, 1869)—is a perpetual source of amazement; the victim of his early celebrity, Liszt still awaits to be discovered.

Wagner and Liszt were two isolated figures, around whom German music went placidly on its way as though they had never existed. It derived chiefly from Schumann. The *Innigkeit* of his romanticism left its deep mark on his immediate successor, Brahms, and thanks to an obvious and dubious slogan in which the two utterly different figures of Schubert and Schumann were associated, was soon recognized in Austria, where a new school was beginning to arise, this time turned frankly towards Germany instead of Italy. The first

and most brilliant representative of this school was Anton Bruckner (D minor Mass, 1864).

Italy, during these years, was strangely silent. Verdi was alone, or almost, in the foreground; in 1867, with *Don Carlos*, written for the Paris Opera, he closed his long series of traditional operas. *Aïda*, in 1871, was undoubtedly a turning-point; the structure of the work and its general plan showed little change, but the style, and above all the orchestration, had become much more confident; there were many passages of discreet but pleasing exoticism which conferred a novel dramatic accent. Two years later Verdi carried his dramatic genius, outside the theatre, to heights he had never attained before, with his admirable *Requiem*, dedicated to the memory of the poet Manzoni. This was followed by ten years' silence, baffling to his admirers, who could not foresee the tremendous reawakening that was to come in 1887.

The Western musical world was so unaccustomed to pay attention to Russia that it scarcely noticed the extraordinary developments now taking place there. Or rather it listened to Tchaikovsky's romantic effusions (*Romeo and Juliet*, 1869), in which it recognized its own ideas in a somewhat inflated form, but saw nothing more than clumsy, uninteresting stammering in the far more original art that was gradually growing out of the research being done by a group of five self-taught musicians (plus a few minor figures) gathered round Mily Balakirev.[4] The critic Stasov dubbed this group *Kutchka* (little bunch); it has come down to history as 'the Five'.

The work of the *Kutchka* was the culmination of the work and example of two generations, Glinka's and Dargomyzhsky's. Its members (Balakirev, Cui, Mussorgsky, Borodin and Rimsky-Korsakov) declared that theory was of no important and that composition was to be learnt by studying the works of the masters, not by mulling over treatises. The masters they usually elected to study, apart from Glinka and Dargomyzhsky, were Berlioz, Schumann and Liszt. But they turned above all to their country's own rich heritage of folk music, which the professionals had either neglected or misused. Beethoven, for instance, had taken a 'Russian theme' as the finale of his seventh quartet: Mussorgsky uses the same theme in *Boris*, to show what it ought to sound like. The Five went different ways in course of time. Balakirev proved too autocratic and his followers wearied of him and fell away before he had written very much (*Islamey*, 1869). Cui, a military engineer, was of negligible importance. Not so Borodin, a chemical engineer by profession. He is the only member of the group who turned to 'absolute' music, quartets and symphonies; but his vigorous gift for colour and his powers of suggestion are clearly demonstrated by his musical pictures (*In the Steppes of Central Asia*) and his unfinished opera, *Prince Igor*. Rimsky-Korsakov, a naval officer, was the youngest of the *Kutchka* except Cui (he was born in 1844). He composed little as a member of the group (one symphony in 1865), his gifts not being fully revealed until after it broke up. Last but not least comes the man whom his contemporaries considered so unskilled that Rimsky, to 'get his work across'

almost completely rewrote it, but who is now revered as one of the greatest geniuses in the history of music—Modest Mussorgsky, first a military officer and afterwards a government clerk.

Mussorgsky composed no 'absolute music'; he was always a tone-painter, with visual reactions. He wrote songs, tone-pictures for the piano, disjointed sketches for a symphonic poem (*Night on the Bald Mountain*, which was finished by Rimsky-Korsakov), more sketches for operas he never finished (*The Marriage, Khovantchina, Sorotchinsk Fair*) and just one complete opera, the admirable *Boris Godunov* (1869), which was revised in 1872 and which Rimsky-Korsakov felt called upon to 'rewrite' in 1896-8, an example since followed by Shostakovich and others. *Boris* is the tragedy of the people rather than that of the Tsar; it owes nothing to Wagner's operas (only one 'motif' passes from scene to scene—Grigori's—and even that is superimposed rather than developed), and is no less original than they.

Mussorgsky's work departed so far from recognized standards that at first it met with considerable opposition; for some time it was known only in various 'sugary' rearrangements (many of them due to the ill-advised posthumous friendship of Rimsky-Korsakov) and could not be appraised in its true form. Even now, the original *Boris* is hardly ever heard; even the Bolshoi Theatre in Moscow presents a compromise whose most prominent features are taken from Rimsky-Korsakov's more showy version.

A tidal wave of nationalism based on folklore was soon to pour down from the North over the rest of Europe. In Norway, a gifted successor to Gade was already emerging in the person of Edvard Grieg (*Peer Gynt*, 1874), while Bedrich Smetana had come to the fore at Prague (*The Bartered Bride*, 1867).

In France Wagner did not really become known until about 1880 and Mussorgsky some ten years after that. But the valiant efforts of Berlioz (who lived until 1869 and finished his *Troyens*) were beginning to bear fruit; French taste was gradually turning away from Italy, with the vocal and theatrical aspects of music, and towards Germany, where the interest was symphonic and structural (the divinities Berlioz worshipped were Gluck, Beethoven and Weber). Paris had by no means lost its prestige, but it was characterized by a curious mixture of frivolity and of research that was not yet sure what direction to follow. The popularity of the Viennese waltzes and operettas was not confined to the stage; for there was a great vogue for private balls and amateur theatricals, and musical pieces were chosen for the latter whenever possible. Offenbach continued his triumphs (1866: *La Vie Parisienne*) and Chabrier, a clerk at the Ministry of the Interior, was collaborating with Verlaine on full-blooded musical farces such as *Fisch ton Khan* and *Vaucochard père et fils* (1863). Soon, however, farce grew more refined: Offenbach was succeeded by Lecocq (*La Fille de Mme Angot*, 1873) and Chabrier, after *Vaucochard*, revealed a lighter touch with *L'Etoile* (1897) and *Une Education manquée*. Gounod, who had written his *Faust* in 1859, was now

turning out pleasant semi-character pieces for the theatre, including *Mireille* (1864) and even *Romeo and Juliet* (1867). He lived on till 1893, without adding much to what he had already achieved. Bizet, after his conventional *Pêcheurs de Perles* (1862) rose to a new level with *L'Arlésienne* (1872) and *Carmen* (1875).

The Conservatoire was still exclusively interested in training musicians for the theatre; but the young composers themselves longed increasingly for the 'absolute' forms of chamber music and symphony, in which the Germans had persevered almost alone for the past fifty years. We have already noted Lalo's quartet of 1858. But as early as 1853—the year after Schumann's 4th Symphony—Saint-Saëns (aged only 18, but already organist at the church of St Merri) had ventured upon his 1st Symphony in E flat, followed next year by Gounod, his elder, and a year after that (1855) by Bizet, a newcomer aged 17. The last-named, however, always refused to publish his now famous Symphony in C, because he thought it was too similar to its model, Gounod's symphony. In 1861 Pasdeloup established his *Concerts Populaires* at the Cirque d'Hiver, and these carried the taste for symphonic music far beyond the rather narrow circle of the subscribers to the Conservatoire concerts, and served as a model for future associations of the same kind.

In 1866 at Solesmes, the work of restoring plainsong entered upon a new phase under Dom Pothier. A great deal had still to be done, however, before the doctrine could be finally established. The *Six pieces for organ* written between 1860 and 1862 by César Franck, the new organist at Sainte-Clotilde, though not yet revealing any marked originality, were far superior to anything produced in this sphere for the previous fifty years, with the exception of Liszt's compositions. And in 1872, with the appearance of Franck's oratorio, *Redemption* (revised in 1874) it began to be clear that if this fifty-year-old composer—whose name had scarcely been heard since his distant début and who was rumoured to be at work on a great religious composition based on the Beatitudes—were to continue his sudden, belated development, he might soon emerge as a musician of the first rank. Saint-Saëns, too, was affirming his vocation for the oratorio (*Le Déluge, Oratario de Noël,* first version of *Samson et Dalila*) and still more for the symphonic poem (*La Rouet d'Omphale,* 1871, *Danse Macabre,* 1875) and the concerto. In the last field Lalo came forward as his rival in 1873, with his *Symphonie Espagnole,* dedicated to the great Spanish violinist Sarasate: this constituted a first, significant attempt, often repeated afterwards, to reduce the excessive exhibitionism of the solosit and, while still giving him his full value, to make his role a part of the symphony in general, instead of encouraging him to stand out from it (hence the un-accustomed title).

As already mentioned, it seems that all these developments, whether in France or in Germany, had Schumann as their principal starting-point and point of reference—or, in the case of Saint-Saëns, Mendelssohn. Again, it may be seen as the result of a felicitous conjunction between Schumann's

example and the French tradition of 'ballad' singing (the use of that word should not lead us to exaggerate its artificially sentimental aspect) that in the years immediately preceding the 1870 war the two greatest French song-writers came forward as Gounod's successors: Henri Duparc and Gabriel Fauré. The former had studied under Franck, but far outstripped his master in his speed of development: unfortunately illness was to bring his work, which was of exceptional quality, to a premature end. Fauré, however, was only at the beginning of a career whose lavish output has even now not been assessed in all its implications.

Meanwhile, Wagner was still regarded as an aloof eccentric, discussed with curiosity and sometimes with uneasiness. His full significance was still a mystery except in Bayreuth and its immediate surroundings, and the gradual discovery of it was to be the outstanding phenomenon of the following period.

8. 1875–90: IN THE SHADOW OF BAYREUTH

After the Bayreuth Theatre opened (the first festival took place in 1876) the master wrote only one opera until his death in 1883. This was *Parsifal* (1882), a strange composite work which—intoxicated perhaps by the clouds of incense now rising before him—he had a vague ambition to make into the liturgical chant of a religion, where he himself would be a combination of god and high priest. The performance was a positive ceremonial (it was strictly reserved for Bayreuth, until 1913), applause was forbidden, etc.

In point of fact, although if Wagner had written nothing more after *Die Meistersinger*, or even after the *Ring*, we should have lost some masterpieces, it would have made no difference to the subsequent history of music. Nothing is written there that could not have been said already. If the period on which we are now embarking corresponds to the reign of Wagner, this is due to the universal penetration of his ideas and example, rather than to his creative work, which was virtually finished. During these fifteen years there was hardly one great composer who did not make the 'pilgrimage' to Bayreuth at least once and return deeply impressed and ready to call in question every aspect of his art. The only ones who resisted were a few uncompromising nationalists such as Verdi and those who, like Brahms and Bruckner, would have no truck with the theatre.

Wagner's influence was of two kinds. As a man of the theatre he imposed a new concept of opera production. As a musician offering innovations— whether his own or taken over from Liszt—he called attention with greater persistence than any of his predecessors had done to the importance of harmonic 'dressing'. Upon this, without really changing its character, but by the constant employment of appoggiatura, whether resolved or no, he con- ferred a 'density' and an appearance of complexity which soon came to be regarded as evidence of fertility and which was before long considered indispensable. Ultimately, in the dubious analytical arguments of the

Schönberg school, it was invoked as an example to support the attempt to cut down the tree and leave only the ivy.

However Wagner's experiments may have developed in course of time, they provided an invaluable stimulus to the European musical world of that day, which was uneasy and eager for change. The only exception to this, strangely enough, was Germany itself, where musical activity, led by Brahms and rapidly spreading to Austria, went calmly on along the lines of Schumann's romantic style, with no inkling of the unfortunate consequences which would one day result from its hidebound lassitude.

In France, where Garnier's Opera House opened in 1875, the new ideas crystallized chiefly around César Franck, who became as it were the director of conscience of the young, dissatisfied generation. The official school—the Conservatoire, whose head was now Massenet (*Manon*, 1883, *Werther*, 1885)—remained impervious to any breath of change, but a rapidly growing group of composers were enriching their language, tightening up their modes of expression and extending their harmony. Franck himself had completely changed his style: in 1879, the year of his Quintet, the first composition he had finished since his unequal *Beatitudes*, the 56-year-old musician began to explore a new path. This was the beginning of a succession of masterpieces not to have been anticipated from anything in his earlier work, which culminated, in the very year of his death (1890) in the *Three Chorales for Organ*.

The two most prominent members of the group of disciples that gathered round him—Vincent d'Indy and Ernest Chausson—were so dissimilar in their style as to illustrate clearly the broad-mindedness of their master. The first was a deliberate and constructive classicist; as early as 1886 (the year of Franck's Sonata for piano and violin) his *Symphonie sur un chant montagnard* gave French folk-song official access to the concert platform. The other carried to extremes the impulses of a tense, generous romanticism often justified by an unaccustomed breadth of melodic inspiration. The 'young hopefuls' of the earlier period were gaining ground in the teeth of strong official opposition: Lalo finished *Le Roi d'Ys* in 1876, only to have it refused by the opera (it was not staged until 1888, and then at the Opéra-Comique) and his *Namouna*, one of the first ballets to have a symphonically constructed score instead of a pretty, restful alternation of symmetrical figures (Léo Delibes, *Sylvia*, 1876), was a fiasco in 1882. Saint-Saëns could not get his *Samson et Dalila* put on in Paris, and had to wait until 1877 to witness its triumphant presentation—in a German translation, at Weimar. He was to reach the zenith of his symphonic mastery in 1886, with his 3rd Symphony with Organ (it matters little that after that he lingered on until 1921).

Chabrier became a professional musician and asserted a strong personality, flamboyant, sometimes truculent, yet often sensitive (e.g. *Gwendoline*, 1880, which is wrongly called 'Wagnerian' because the absurd libretto by Catulle Mendès drags in Valkyries). Gabriel Fauré, on the other hand, shook off the

lingering traces of banality still to be found in some of his songs in the 1870s, and soon, displaying a supreme instinct for the harmonious curve, achieved an inner depth and harmonic subtlety whose full scope has not always been readily understood by foreign musicians (including the German-orientated French critics of 1960); e.g. his 2nd Quartet (1886), Requiem (1887) and *Shylock* (1889).

Meanwhile, an eccentric, humorous young night-club pianist of Irish origin, Erik Satie, whose path lay quite outside 'ordinary' musical life, was writing down sequences of bold chords and combining them into short, deceptively simple-looking pieces, succinct and in advance of their time (3 *Sarabandes*, 1887; 3 *Gymnopédies*, 1888; 3 *Gnossiennes*, (1890). They interested few people, but among those few was the 1884 *prix de Rome*, Claude Achille Debussy. It was in the year 1888–9 that Debussy, after writing his two *Arabesques* and a few songs—in the broad style of Massenet, to words by Paul Bourget and Vincent Hyspa—was plunged like so many others into the crisis that a visit to Bayreuth induced in most musicians. The conclusion he was about to draw from this experience differed considerably from that reached by other composers. We shall soon be seeing him at work.

Thus it was that—paradoxical though it may seem—just as Berlioz, with his anti-Italian campaigns, had paved the way for Wagner in France, so the aftermath of the Franco-Prussian War, regardless of nationalist antipathies, threw the French musical world wide open to penetration by German concepts, whence it drew inspiration for the revival on which it had already embarked. Since French music was emerging from a period of eclipse, it could not expect a *quid pro quo* from German music; hence, in complete contrast to the situation in the eighteenth century, people formed the habit of regarding French music as negligible, not perceiving that it was now ceasing to be so. This was to have deplorable consequences from the point of view of our present-day, twentieth century music.

Wagner died in 1883, soon after producing *Parsifal;* Liszt followed him three years later. But as yet there was no sign of a direct heir to either on the German scene. Brahms (1st Symphony in 1876, last in 1885) was a follower of Schumann, and so was the youthful Richard Strauss.[5] The latter, who had written a *Serenade* for wind instruments in 1882, began as a violent anti-Wagnerian. He was converted by his friendship with Hans von Bulow and by the discovery of *Parsifal*, but he always kept at a cautious distance, and it was through his symphonic poems (*Don Juan*, 1887; *Death and Transfiguaration*, 1889) that he revealed the creative range of his musical powers and his lavish orchestration. These were qualities which began, at a late stage of his life (about 1885) to win fame likewise for Anton Bruckner, organist at Linz—who was by that time nearing 60, had written his 7th Symphony and was finishing his monumental *Te Deum*. With Bruckner, Austrian music was finally drawn into the wake of the more austere Germany; relegated to the background, the dying strains of Schubert's *gemütlich* style, now despised on the concert

platform, were echoing from their last refuge, the popular waltzes of Johann Strauss father and son (the latter's *Blue Danube* dates from 1867).

Central Europe was now joining the game in its turn. After Smetana, Anton Dvořak was kneading the racy folk-themes of his own country into the thick dough of Germanic post-romanticism, while Leoš Janáček had begun to show the first signs of his more deeply original talent—which was not fully recognized, however, until after 1910.

Italy had shaken off the Wagnerian deluge like water off a duck's back. After the long silence that had followed *Aïda* and the *Requiem*, the aged Verdi astonished the world by producing a masterpiece that had almost nothing in common with his earlier works—*Otello* (1887), where the sole concession to the Wagnerian manner is perhaps the suppression of the division between scenes. In Russia the *Kutchka* led by Balakirev had split up in 1874; Mussorgsky had become a hopeless alcoholic and had virtually stopped composing (he died in 1881, two years before Wagner).

As a rival to the 'St Petersburg school', a very different movement was developing, which has sometimes been called the 'Moscow school'; this emerged from the teaching of Anton Rubinstein who had studied in Berlin and directed the Vienna Conservatoire; its most famous spokesman was Tchaikovsky (*The Queen of Spades*, 1890). Opinions concerning Tchaikovsky today differ widely. His renown and audience are considerable, but his detractors use as much vehemence in denouncing him as bombastic, vulgar and commonplace as do his admirers in praising his melodic gift, his direct expression, and the generosity of his brilliant, amusing or pathetic discourse. Westerners often have difficulty in seeing in him anything but a continuer of their own romanticism, whereas Slavs are quite prepared to discover in his music, just as in that of the Five, an authentic echo of their national sensitivity. Tchaikovsky died in 1893, ten years after Wagner. But now, feeling uneasy about the self-education advocated by his former group, Rimsky-Korsakov belatedly addressed himself to a meticulous study of the textbooks: he had been appointed professor of composition at the St Petersburg Conservatory in 1871, and felt it his duty to acquire a thorough knowledge of the subject he was to teach. This twofold training, in two separate stages, led to an extraordinary virtuosity in his writing, sometimes tempered, perhaps, by a kind of malaise due to the disparity between his basically original inspiration and the too-guarded application of a technique not always suited to its purpose. It is significant that Rimsky-Korsakov, disregarding the wishes of his former friends, should now have formed an alliance with the academic Tchaikovsky, even going so far as to seek his advice. Almost everything he wrote before 1875 was revised and re-orchestrated later on—*Sadko* (1867) in 1891, *Antar* (1868), in 1876, and again in 1897, *Pskovitianka* (1868-72) in 1876-8 and again in 1889-93. Rimsky was a tireless worker; not content with composing and revising his own works, he devoted endless time to completing his friends' unfinished compositions, co-ordinating their drafts, and even 'correcting'

them in the interest of their careers. He has since been roundly abused for this excessive zeal, particularly in connection with *Boris Godounov*, which ended, thanks to him, by becoming world-famous.

Rimsky-Korsakov's action put an end to the antagonism between the nationalistic, intuitive St Petersburg school and the Westernized, Schumannized and pro-Conservatory Moscow school. They were now resolved into a synthesis—perhaps a compromise—which made Russia, in these last years of the century, into one of the principal live forces which were to help in forging the music of the twentieth century.

9. 1890–1905: THE DAWN OF THE NEW CENTURY

The Paris Exhibition of 1889 did a symbolic action when it erected the iron mass of the Eiffel tower, rising into the sky from the heart of the city. While the first skyscrapers were being built in New York a new civilization, ill-defined as yet but already putting down roots, was beginning to conquer the old world. Everywhere, and particularly in France, the twentieth century had its real beginnings in 1890, rather than in 1914 or 1918. It brought changes even to the knowledge of music: the oriental orchestras heard at the Exhibition showed that there were other parameters besides Beethoven's symphonies, and the first volumes of the Solesmes *Paléographie Musicale*, published in this same year, 1889, proved that such had existed before Bach or even before Palestrina. The revived plainsong as taught by Dom Mocquereau—known henceforth as 'Gregorian Chant'—revealed, to the surprise of the musicians, that rhythm need not necessarily be a kind of gymnastic exercise, with the teacher counting 'One–two, one–two'. César Franck died in 1890, but Charles Bordes was appointed choirmaster at St Gervais that same year and soon instituted the historic performances of ancient music which were afterwards carried over to the Schola Cantorum—where Debussy, sitting in the garden on the steps of a wooden staircase, was overwhelmed by emotion on hearing for the first time the music of an unknown composer named Rameau. In this year, 1889, Claude Debussy—he had dropped the 'Achille'—was going through a severe crisis in his musical life. His first pilgrimage to Bayreuth had, as usual, been the occasion of a revelation and an act of faith; but his second visit, a year later, had made a very different impression on him. Not that he questioned Wagner's genius; but now he noticed the 'stunts' that were used; he was irritated by passages that dragged and others that were heavy, and infuriated by the repetition of certain methods. He began to dream of an art as rich as Wagner's, but in which all the points that Wagner 'drove home with his fist' would be delicately hinted at, and understood at once. The result came in 1893, with the *Prélude à l'après-midi d'un Faune* and the first beginnings of *Pelléas et Mélisande*. Debussy worked for nearly ten years on the latter—years in which he also composed his Quartet, the *Chansons de Bilitis* and the three Nocturnes.

Debussy's experiments were both aesthetic and technical in character. The first of these aspects naturally awakened enthusiasm in some quarters and hostility in others; it set its stamp firmly on the period; yet—apart from a few minor imitators—it had no very great influence on other composers. Whereas the technical aspect left an indelible mark on the history of music and split the musicians, not only of that day but even of the coming twentieth century, into two groups, sharply divided according to whether, within the framework of their individual personalities, they did or did not follow Debussy's example. Only one composer, Gabriel Fauré, succeeded in avoiding this dilemma; borrowing nothing from the younger man, he steadily continued to deepen his personal mode of expression, nourishing an exceptional sensibility (*La Bonne Chanson*, 1891) which could sometimes rise to a majesty worthy of an earlier day (*Prométhée*, 1900). All the rest had to make a half-unconscious choice between a post-Wagnerian romanticism without novelty and without a future (which does not mean without value) and a questioning scrutiny, following Debussy's example, of the traditional principles of analysis and construction which were still being taught in the conservatories of music. This was a hard trial for teachers, who could not see that their lessons now related to the past, and that if their pupils were not to imprison themselves in the past they would have to forget all they had been taught and make their own way in life—at the risk of making terrible mistakes and committing themselves, in their turn, to sterile courses.

Debussy chiefly taught people to *listen to sounds*—to the sound of each note, with its echoes, its affinities, its potentialities, independently of the custom that had listed its uses in so-called 'rules' which were no more than habits too readily dignified with that name. As a result, in addition to the accepted and registered uses—which were not interfered with—there arose countless other possibilities of expression, sequence, colour. Debussy himself explored these eagerly, without exhausting the practically endless list.

Maurice Ravel, Debussy's junior by 13 years, followed his example and sometimes went even further, though in a quite different aesthetic direction. In 1895, when only in his twentieth year, he composed a *Menuet Antique* and a *Habanera* whose original promise was confirmed in 1901 by *Jeux d'Eaux*, soon followed by the Quartet in F. Gabriel Pierné was more cautious; he listened to the theories of these two young pioneers without abandoning the support of established standards, revealing his mastery in his oratorios (*L'An Mil*, 1897) and his chamber music (Sonata for piano and violin, 1900), Paul Dukas suddenly won fame at the age of 32 with his *Sorcerer's Apprentice* (1897), accompanied in the same year by a generous and lavish Symphony. But the majority, frightened by the thought of what might be destroyed in the course of the new movement, were chiefly concerned to set up protective barriers. The Conservatoire, where Théodore Dubois had succeeded Ambroise Thomas as director in 1896, resolutely stopped its ears. As a protest against this determined deafness, Charles Bordes, the founder of the historic concerts

at St Gervais, established the Schola Cantorum in this same year of 1896. To Vincent d'Indy, who, like the organist Guilmant, had been a co-founder, he entrusted a composition class which very soon became the school's main centre of attraction, to be fused in due course with the director's functions.

The Schola had a tremendous influence. Around d'Indy and with his late master, César Franck, as their nominal symbol, there gathered most of the young musicians who had become dissatisfied with the Conservatoire and its formalism and who felt the attraction of teaching based on the analysis of all masterpieces, ancient and modern, rather than on the imitation of a few official models. Even Debussy's modernism was admitted; but d'Indy was 11 years older than Debussy himself; the first waves of the Wagnerian tide and his own worship of Beethoven had left a deep mark on him, and despite his broad-mindedness, tempered by a certain dynamism, he regarded Debussy with a mistrust which was naturally reciprocated. With the love of paradox which always singularized him, Erik Satie himself, then in his late thirties, came to the Schola as a student in 1903. Meanwhile he had been at the Chat Noir at the same time as Alphonse Allais and had then joined the Rosicrucians and founded a church of which he was the leader, the priest and the only worshipper.

As the twentieth century was thus advancing, the nineteenth was shedding its dying rays. Massenet was still at work (*Le Jongleur de Notre-Dame*, like *Pelléas*, dates from 1902); so was Saint-Saëns, round whom disciples and continuators were now gathering (H. Rabaud, *La Procession nocturne*, 1899); Guillaume Lekeu, a Belgian who had been a pupil of Franck, died at the age of 25, leaving a Sonata for piano and violin (1892) which was hailed as a masterpiece; Maurice Emmanuel successfully defended his theses on Greek orchestics and launched his campaign for a renaissance of the ancient form of scale; d'Indy was putting the finishing touches to his Wagnerian dramas (*Fervaal*, 1889–95) and assembling an interesting neo-Franckist school round the nucleus of the Schola (Guy Ropartz, *Pêcheur d'Islande*, 1893; Albéric Magnard, *Guercœur*, 1897–1900); the naturalistic music drama, echoing the post-Verdi realists in Italy, took over Zola (Alfred Bruneau, whose *Le Rêve*, in 1891, had attracted attention as being in advance of its time in harmonics) and in 1900 produced its most interesting work, Gustave Charpentier's *Louise*—which, appearing two years before *Pelléas*, symbolized the close of the century.

In Italy, the mighty Verdi had produced his swansong in 1893—the dazzling *Falstaff*—and his successors did not seem to have learned from him what they might. After his death they frequently copied and exaggerated the defects of his earliest works, precisely those he had succeeded in eliminating from his latest compositions. However, this brought them success: Mascagni's *Cavalleria Rusticana* (1890) and Leoncavallo's *Pagliacci* (1892) are popular even nowadays with a wide public; in the same line of development, but at a definitely higher level, Giacomo Puccini (*La Bohême*,

1896; *La Tosca*, 1900—the same year as *Louise*) made a surprisingly successful compromise by a skilful alternation of vulgarity and refinement, and may well, sooner or later, recapture the musicians' ear without ever having lost that of the public. But in opposition to the broad, melodramatic effects sought by the realists, as they were called, Italy, too, was planning a revival of her classical traditions. In 1898, when he became director of the Sistine Chapel, Don Lorenzo Perosi, an authority on Palestrina's style, began preparing his country to follow Verdi's maxim: '*Torniamo all'antico, sarà un progresso*'.

While in Italy the one idea was to follow in Verdi's traces, Austro-German music (for the two entities were by now virtually one) was continuing in the style of Wagner and Brahms as placidly as the latter had continued in that of Schumann. The leader here was now Richard Strauss. He kept his forces marching in the same unchanging direction, though he himself occasionally indulged, as an exception, in some vigorous though short-lived burst of originality. In 1895 his symphonic poem *Till Eulenspiegel* revealed surprisingly vivacious colour and rhythm, while later on, *Salome* and *Elektra* (1909) were to show that he could be forceful and sometimes even concise. Hugo Wolf was hailed as a master of the *Lied*. Gustav Mahler, by turns conductor at Prague, Budapest, Hamburg and Vienna, still further widened the uninterrupted, unbroken stream in which German music was now tending to flow, while sometimes contributing a remarkable variety of colour. In the same line there followed Arnold Schönberg, whose extensive works (*Gurrelieder*, 1900, *Pelleas and Melisande*, 1903—a symphonic poem inspired by Maeterlinck but entirely unconnected with Debussy, whom Schönberg never heeded) are marked at this period by a perfect mastery of composition according to the post-romantic standards then prevailing, and give no hint of originality.

In Russia Rimsky-Korsakov was the unchallenged leader (*Sadko*, 1897; *Tsar Saltan*, 1900) and his pupils, assembled round the publisher Belaiev, emulated him in striving for a synthesis of the Russian spirit with Western technique. These pupils included Glazunov, Gretchaninov, Taneiev, Liapounov and Liadov; the pianist Rachmaninov remained faithful to the spirit of Tchaikovsky (who died in 1893, after producing his *Symphonie Pathétique*) and Scriabin, after skilfully imitating first Chopin—sometimes to the very verge of plagiarism—and then the harmony of Wagner and Liszt, turned to philosophical speculation for the elements of a new harmony which he was soon to build round his synthetically constructed 'mystic chord'.

Other countries, little heard of up to now, were likewise beginning to take stock of their own personalities. Felipe Pedrell was studying the rich folklore of his native Spain and the work of the old Spanish masters, from Moralès to the Spanish disciples of Scarlatti, and his teachings were paving the way for a musical renaissance in that country. England had discovered in Delius, and above all in Edward Elgar (*Enigma Variations*, 1899) its first national composers since Purcell. Finland found itself reflected in the work of Jean Sibelius, and Norway in that of Grieg. Dvŏrák died in 1894 at Prague; in 1903 his successor,

Janaček, finished *Jenufa*. Georges Enesco was barely 16 years old when, in 1897, he extended his reputation as one of the most gifted composers of his generation from Bucarest to Paris.

In the meantime, changes were taking place in musical life in all countries. Symphony concerts were now a regular institution, held weekly in the majority of cities; chamber music concerts were increasing in number; musical activity had ceased to be the privilege of fashionable drawing-rooms and self-centred cliques. A musical press was coming into existence and facilitating the interchange of ideas; travel was easier (the first railways had been opened in 1823) and musicians, who had always been great travellers, were becoming accustomed to looking beyond their national frontiers. Long before the tragedy of 1914 the world had radically altered, and in music as in other matters, the nineteenth century had gradually made way for the twentieth.

10. EPILOGUE: AFTER 1905

So far as music was concerned, the twentieth century, as we have seen, had already begun to take shape round the nucleus formed by Debussy, Ravel and others of their generation. Among the latter, Florent Schmitt asserted his talent in 1906 with his setting for the 47th Psalm, and Albert Roussel in the same year, with his *Divertissement*. André Caplet took longer, though he was a friend and collaborator of Debussy as early as 1901 (and orchestrated his *Martyre de Saint-Sébastien*). Debussy himself was widening his horizon, with *La Mer*; Ravel was preparing for his experimental *Histories Naturelles* (1907); and Fauré, gradually surrendering to the same cruel infirmity as Beethoven, had withdrawn to the solitary heights of *La Chanson d'Eve*. In Russia Rimsky-Korsakov had a new pupil, a young man called Igor Stravinsky, who was working on a demure Symphony in E flat. At the Schola in Paris Isaac Albeniz was delving into his memory to bring to light his ancestral Spain, while Falla was writing *La Vida Breve*.

During this period Zoltan Kodaly, at Budapest, was exploring the real Hungarian folk music, after having brought from Paris the very first news of Debussy and Ravel. He passed on both these discoveries to his friend and fellow-student Bela Bartok, who promptly gave up the emulation of Liszt to which he had so far confined himself, and began seeking for a personality of his own in the traditions of his race. Malipiero, Casella and Respighi were leading Italy out of the realistic rut. America too was preparing for the future, in both halves of the continent, and the great expansion of musical teaching to be noted there was a presage of an early and decisive irruption on to the international musical scene. An eager quest for novelty was the order of the day everywhere, and novelty was beginning to make its appearance, not in a sterile imitation of Debussy's personal methods, but in accordance with the example he had set.

The only exception was, perhaps, Austria–Germany, where—despite some;

brief, magnificent bursts of originality from Richard Strauss (*Salome*, 1905; *Elektra*, 1908; *Rosenkavalier*, 1910) nothing really seemed to have changed since *Parsifal* and Schumann's Quintet; indeed, this static spirit found in Max Reger the guide and standard-bearer who was needed to soothe the musical conscience. This perhaps accounts for the violence of the reaction that impelled Schönberg, once he perceived the futility of his initial efforts, to try to destroy everything and to reconstruct synthetically, through a revolution, the new world which—unlike other composers—he had shown himself unable to construct through evolution.

Then came two almost simultaneous thunderclaps—*Le Sacre du Printemps* in Paris and *Pierrot Lunaire* in Vienna. They were followed by a thunderclap of a very different order—that of Sarajevo.

And a new page was turned.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XVI

1. Doctor V. D. Konen, Doctor of the History of Art, writes: 'The author remarks in passing that Beethoven's *Pathétique* foreshadows Wagner's *Tristan and Isolde*. The comparison as it stands means little and needs to be explained further.'

2. Doctor Konen thinks that in view of the extreme compression of the information in this account of Beethoven's life, there is no point in saying that he was completely deaf when he composed his last works (the Ninth Symphony, the *Mass in D* and the last quartets) since this might give the impression that they were in some way inferior.

3. Doctor Konen points out that the author says of Chopin that he too, like Liszt, 'remembered his native land and wrote mazurkas and polonaises as well as his waltzes, preludes and studies'. Such a formula cannot be applied in this way to Chopin. He was not simply a Parisian remembering his homeland. The mazurka runs through the whole of his work and his whole thinking is based upon and begins and ends with the mazurka. The Polish principle in Chopin's work needs to be brought out and formulated more clearly. One has only to recall that he composed 16 polonaises and 58 mazurkas and that in all his work, in particular in his polonaises, which achieve a truly monumental character, can clearly be seen Chopin's links with the folk music of Poland and his patriotic ideas.

4. Doctor Konen writes: 'The treatment of Tchaikovsky is totally unsatisfactory. The author says in so many words that "the Western (musical) world . . . listened to Tchaikovsky's romantic effusions (*Romeo and Juliet*, 1869), in which it recognized its own ideas in a somewhat inflated form . . .". Thus, neither his significance as one of the greatest of Russian artists nor his importance as a symphonic composer of European standing are recognized. The view of Tchaikovsky as an imitator of the West is unfair and has in any case long since become outmoded. In our opinion, it is necessary to show Tchaikovsky's links with the main romantic stream in Russian art and in particular with the work of Tolstoy and Chekhov, the achievement of the Moscow Art Theatre and so on, and to remove from him the "academic" tag which is put on him somewhere else in the text.'

5. Doctor Konen notes that Richard Strauss is referred to as 'a follower of Schumann' on a par with Brahms. The line of thought is difficult to follow. Besides, if so much significance is attached to Schumann, it would be desirable to give some account of his artistic principles. Our view is that the typical features of Schumann's music are profound psychological understanding of human feelings combined with passion, ardour and romantic reverie. His vocal music is typified by the merging of the music with the words, by his ability to bring out the meaning of the text in musical terms. Typical of Schumann's piano pieces are his cycles of short lyrical, dramatical and pictorial compositions. In his symphonies, he attempted to go beyond the framework of purely lyrical content, introducing elements of genre and elements from everyday life.

CHAPTER XVII

PHILOSOPHICAL THOUGHT[1]

BY LOUIS MILLET

THE eighteenth century is known as 'the century of the philosophers'. Its academies, its salons, its published writings and its private correspondence all bear witness to keen intellectual curiosity, to vivid interest in the scientific, social and technical problems which must be solved if mankind's lot were to be improved—as it could and must be. Diderot's Encyclopaedia, the final volume of which appeared in 1766, had two aims—to satisfy the thirst for information and to spread a knowledge of the new technical methods.[2]

This century, which has been accused of frivolity simply because it preferred rationalism to mysticism, came to an end—whatever the arithmetic of history may assert—between 1770 and 1780. Condillac, Hume and Vauvenargues all left the world in 1775; and in 1776 Adam Smith published his book *The Wealth of Nations*; Voltaire and Rousseau died in 1778; and as was said just now, the Encyclopaedia had completed publication. It was a century which set greater store by intellectual 'enlightenment' (*Aufklärung*) than by warmth of heart. (J. J. Rousseau was an illustrious example to this rule, and in some ways this was his misfortune.) The great metaphysical structures of the previous century (Descartes, Spinoza, Malebranche, Leibniz) had revealed their weakness when lesser men attempted to create systems from their masters' theories. Now the rule was 'Never believe without experiment'. When Holland wrote in 1773 that it would be hard to find a Cartesian anywhere, he was stating a fact of that day, though he had no inkling of what the morrow was to bring forth.[3]

For in those years from 1770 to 1780, a number of spiritual fountains gushed up and formed streams whose waters were to intersect and mingle for the next hundred and thirty years. Rousseau's influence began to increase; 'desiccated' analysis began to prove distasteful; sentiment resumed its sway. This was pre-romanticism. It was illuminism too, represented by Swedenborg, that prolific author whose works were eagerly read. The seeds of the great metaphysical system of the nineteenth century were already germinating in this general reaction against the *Aufklärung*: in Germany, Lessing, Hamann and Herder surrendered to an intuitive sense of universal life.

But during those same years, and also in Germany, Kant (1724–1804) was developing his philosophy; it was in 1770 that he began to formulate the ideas put forward in 1781 in his first great work, *Critique of Pure Reason*, Kant himself tells us that it was the scepticism of David Hume that wakened him from a 'dogmatic slumber', in other words from unquestioning acceptance of

the tenets of German philosophy (Leibniz, Christian Wolff). Hume had called
in question all the accepted metaphysical affirmations, striving to determine if
their foundations were completely sound. All he could discover was the
properties of the human mind, in which there is nothing specifically causal.
Thus, he declares that the relation between cause and effect is based on
nothing more than the habitual observation of certain chains of events; beliefs
stem from the imagination; the dogma of the immateriality of the spiritual
substance (the soul) derives from the ambiguity of the terms 'matter' and
'substance'. In theory everything is possible, and therefore everything is open
to doubt; but the nature of things, and of the human mind, is such as to
generate certain constants, which we take for ineluctable truths because to
doubt them would require a disagreeable effort. Kant was prepared to make
that effort, as his reference to an 'awakening' indicates. In a way, he continued
the work of Hume, for he explicitly criticized all the powers of the mind. He
began by slowly and methodically considering our powers of knowledge
(*Critique of Pure Reason*, written over a period of ten years and recapitulated
in 1783 in his Prolegomena)—declaring that our senses, through which alone
we can gather material, are themselves conditioned by space and time, two
universal and common forms without which we could have nothing but a
chaos of sensations. Similarly, our understanding has general principles with-
out which thought would have no structure—in other words, for Kant, could
not exist; these are the twelve categories, of which causality is one. The con-
necting link between perception and understanding is imagination, by means
of which the mind formulates its scientific methods (categories of numbers,
of living species, etc.). Thus Kant explains how science is possible, soon after
Newton had placed it on a systematic foundation. The impression of inevit-
ability, considered by Hume to result solely from contingent repetitions, may
have a basis in reality—but that basis must be subjected to careful scrutiny.
It certainly exists in the experimental field, where there is a possibility of
'synthetic *a priori* judgements', such as that 'water boils at 100 degrees
centigrade', where we can affirm, as something inevitable, a property (boiling
at 100°) which we could not discover solely from consideration of the thing
(water) or of the concept of it (its nature, or its chemical formula).

While critical philosophy explains and confirms the value of science, it sets a
limit to the claims of reason, the third of our sources of knowledge; the sphere
of metaphysical fact lies beyond our reach, since we are the slaves of our senses,
which restrict our knowledge. However, the powers of the human mind are
not confined to knowing; in 1788 Kant published his *Critique of Practical
Reason*, which is a study of action. Here he discovers a new faculty, the will;
analysing the principles which everyone agrees in regarding as moral, he
declares them to be the direct product of reason, but of reason put to a new
use (practical or moral use); in this instance it does not depend upon an out-
side source (like perception and understanding in science) but produces its
own effect, lays down its own law; it speaks through the mouth of duty. Thus

we discern in the individual, freedom; in the race, indefinite duration, which is necessary to the attainment of moral perfection, and in the universe, God, the necessary condition of the combination of virtue with happiness. Kant goes back to the teaching of *philosophia perennis*, but gives them a new foundation, rooting them in man himself. He extended this method to the study of art and life in his *Critique of the Faculty of Judgement* (1790), where he comes up against the problem of the synthesis between intuition and the concept. If that synthesis is possible (it defines intellectual intuition, or the archetypal understanding which is the property of God,) it entirely eludes us; our understanding is derived, dependent, and displays its finite nature by its need for images, which it is reduced to 'waiting for'—Kant even says in one passage, to 'watching for'. Kant applies the same method to his study of religion (*Religion Within the Limits of Reason Alone*, 1793), Politics (*On Perpetual Peace*, 1795), and so forth. He also meditates upon the historical condition of mankind. And a problem that continually haunted him was that of the unity of human powers and their synthesis. He left many notes on this subject, which were published after his death under the title of *Opus Postumum*; this work shows traces of the influence of Fichte, the first of the great post-Kantian metaphysicians, whose *Theory of Knowledge* had appeared in 1794.[4]

Thus, a reaction against the philosophy of enlightenment, against the intellectualism and empiricism of the eighteenth century, set in as early as 1775–1800. It did not imply a repudiation of the scientific patrimony: on the contrary, the desire was to increase and amplify that patrimony, to release it from the shackles of what was considered to be a desiccating analytical method —to lead it into a new dimension, after the manner of the brothers Montgolfier when, in 1783, they took the first step towards the mastery of the vertical dimension of space. But while some thinkers were patient and methodical, others were impetuous, and from them came the romantic explosion, *Sturm und Drang*, ardent and irresistible. In addition to all this, the developments which began in France in 1789 revealed yet another power of reality—history, or the creative power of time. For the movement of rational protest against the abuses of the *ancien régime* was suddenly swept off its feet by an invincible force; beginning as a methodical undertaking, a form of organization, it now became a revolutionary passion, an inspired, religious passion (with its worship of reason, of the supreme being, etc., in 1793–4), a violent passion that shook the whole of Europe with its tatterdemalion pride; the battle of Valmy (20 September 1792) aroused the enthusiasm of men like Goethe and Kant, and the Napoleonic epic awoke similar feelings in Hegel. The revolution opened an era that lasted until 1905 (the ultimate preliminaries to the Russian revolutions of March and November 1917) and during which Europe was rocked to its foundations (1830, 1848, 1870–1). Men were now determined to shape their own destiny: history lay before them, an open field, replacing 'the state of nature' so dear to their eighteenth-century forebears. Kant rose to the concept of the philosophy of history, just as he adumbrated projects of social reform.

Saint-Simon was preparing his positive policy, the 'new Christianity'. This was undeniably a great upheaval, a burst of creative emotion, 'that of the mind confronted by history, which had become the Work' (H. Gouhier, *l'Histoire et sa philosophie'*, p. 128).

During the period we are considering (1775–1905), Europe was traversed by all three of these currents—romanticism, the philosophy of history, and a rationalism which ebbed and flowed. These spiritual currents, brought to the surface by individual genius and the workings of chance, are like three musical themes which intermingle, in discord or harmony, to form the *leitmotiv* of the whole century.

Kant's critical philosophy set up a tremendous effervescence, and within about fifty years Germany gave birth to several large-scale, impressive meta-physical systems from which our own epoch is still drawing nourishment, though it is true that today's most vigorous spiritual currents can be traced back to Hegel. That period, which may be compared to the fourth century B.C. in Greece, had its point of departure in Kant's utter rejection of com-promise; rarely had analysis been so penetrating as his, seldom had methods and principles been so ruthlessly overhauled. But what he had begun must be continued; for while reason, man's supreme power, 'the faculty of the non-conditioned', as Kant called it, had been shown to be the lawgiver in the moral sphere, its power in that of speculation had not been fully revealed. The grasp of ideas, the perception of their relation to empirical reality—were these denied to reason ? Kant had built up an introduction to metaphysics, but in a sense different from that determined by him; knowledge was not to be rejected, but converted, transformed. The determination to restore the unity and domination of knowledge, to raise it to a new power, is found in all three of the great metaphysicians—Fichte, Schelling and Hegel.

Fichte (1762–1814) made it his first concern to popularize the tenets of Kant. But as we saw just now, Kant dissociated himself from the attempt—though it was not altogether a misrepresentation, for Fichte demanded a rigorous scrutiny of the nature of freedom, which Kant at that time regarded as the keystone of his moral beliefs. Fichte's aim, however, was to remove all bounds to freedom, and the manner of doing this was described by him in very abstruse terms (in his *Theory of Knowledge*, published in 1794, which was mentioned above). He was a university professor, and in his lectures he set forth these ideas, which if widely accepted would he thought liberate mankind. Hegel called this system 'subjective idealism'; for Fichte, like Kant, looks to the subject for his absolute principle, that freedom which resides not in the blind force of passion, but in autonomy. And as with Kant so with Fichte, the laws of reason compel recognition of the human essence in each individual as the absolute value. That value derives from the idealistic impetus of a rational power which is always greater than its works, an impetus which draws its knowledge from philosophy and gives man a vertical dimension thanks to

which all social and historic factors are seen to be relative, derived, secondary. The subject (*das Ich*) thus stands revealed in its absolute individuality but can reach that condition only by advancing to the limit imposed upon it by objects (the *nicht-Ich*) and, thereafter, by continually transcending this. Thus, Nature witnesses the achievement within itself of a freedom which dominates it infinitely. Such is the power of man that he can apply rational laws to all that he encounters in space and time: the right to disrupt social bonds, the right to establish a state on purely scientific principles (the closed, commercial state, the autarchy). Fichte also threw himself into the nationalist opposition to Napoleon and fired the younger generation with his 'addresses to the German nation'. Briefly, he may be said to proffer a dynamic, rational system of idealistic opposition, of active hostility to whatever arrests movement or binds man to nature—a philosophy of spiritual tension, related to the stoicism of the ancients. Its immediate influence was ephemeral owing to historical circumstances; but a hundred years later it was still alive, and many thinkers were drawing inspiration from it.

The historical circumstance unfavourable to Fichte was that his contemporaries included two other men of genius, Schelling and Hegel—who, moreover, outlived him.

Schelling (1775–1854) published his first system of philosophy (*Ideas for a Philosophy of Nature*, 1797) when he was only twenty years old and fresh from the Protestant seminary where his fellow-students had included Hegel and Hölderlin. His ingenious, effervescent youth was attuned to the fervour of romanticism, which was epitomized in the twentieth year of life. At this very time, Hölderlin was bringing poetry and philosophy into juxtaposition, in the attempt to end the division between them; like Heraclitus before him and Hegel a little later, he was bent on discovering a unity in contradiction, he was forcing thought to turn in its tracks and reach towards its origins. Schelling was then teaching at Jena, where there was a group of romantics including Novalis, Schlegel and Tieck in addition to himself and Hölderlin: and as we shall see, the influence of the romantic movement steadily extended as time went by.

Schelling's philosophical career opened with the publication, in 1797, of his system of Nature, a curious conglomeration of recent scientific discoveries (such as oxidation and galvanism) with ancient theosophical and alchemistic beliefs such as transmutation and spiritism. Nature, he declared, was a great living entity, and was therefore possessed of infinite and perpetually varying activity. The dynamic elements was not in the subject, as Fichte maintained, but in the object—an object which must be considered in all its limitless dimensions. This was what Hegel called objective idealism.

At the end of four short years, however—during which three elaborations of his philosophy of Nature had been issued, in 1797, 1798 and 1799— Schelling announced that he had drawn up a new system, and in 1801 he duly published his metaphysic of identity (*Darstellung meines Systems*). He

now regarded his earlier concepts, taken over from Fichte, the theosophists, the scientists, and the earliest romantics, as too widely diversified, and they prompted him to make a tremendous effort of unification. The effort was so vigorous that it led to the conviction of universal identity. The absolute towered above all contrasts, including those propounded by Fichte; the one transcended all Nature, every predicate (like Plotinus's supreme principle—*nous*); it contained no source of differentiation within it; the same was true of mind and Nature, identical save for the preponderance of subjectivity or objectivity (activity centred on the self or on being); but truth lay in never departing from the absolute, in remaining always intuitively aware of it, so that every force is seen to be a manifestation of the absolute.

This metaphysical effort reveals a resolve to be arrested by none of the determinations in which a slothful reason takes refuge; in it one can sense the desire to embrace reality in all its complex aspects. But the effort is perhaps not carried far enough, and though the problem of the unity of contradictory factors is posed, the solution offered by the intuition of universal identity may well be as Hegel wrote when he broke publicly with his former friend—merely 'the night in which all cows are black' (the English equivalent being 'When candles are away, all cats are grey'). The break with Schelling is clearly foreshadowed in Hegel's introduction to his *Phenomenonology of Mind*, which he finished on the night of 13 October 1806, when the battle of Jena was drawing to a close.

But Schelling continued his reading and his meditations, turning now to the writings of Boehme and Meister Eckhardt. His metaphysical speculations took a third turn, in which he strove to express the drama of the absolute as the life of God, and its gradual revelation in Nature and mankind. The books he wrote at this time were not published until after his death, which occurred in 1854.

Throughout his life, and despite all variations of system, Schelling thus propounded ideas which were diametrically opposed to those of the eighteenth century—advancing a philosophy of Nature which may be called 'romance', like the similar speculations put forward by Goethe during the same period* formulating the intuition of absolute and universal identity within the whole and reverting to the themes of medieval German mysticism. Like him and after his time as well, the romantic movement took up these views, moulding them into poetry, drama, etc.

But at the same time a new system of metaphysics was being built up by a man aware of the inadequacy of subjective reflection (Fichte) and cloudy intuition (Schelling); and that man was Hegel.

Hegel (1770–1831) was so well aware of the extreme difficulty of his task that he was convinced he could succeed in it only by framing 'inconceivable concepts'—in other words, by employing the reason (not the understanding, which is too short-winded, too earth-bound) and raising it above its customary

* In 1790, Goethe published his *Metamorphoses of Plants*.

level, yet never taking flight into the cloud-cuckoo land of the ineffable; philosophy is the Logos (see Jean Hyppolite's *Logique et existence*). Hegel himself defies classification; he was neither an idealist nor an empiricist, but both at the same time, for he went beyond both attitudes (there have been few philosophers with a culture so wide, with such a love of the concrete, such a sense of the actual—but there have been even fewer who have displayed such metaphysical audacity, to the point of striving to *think* his contradictory propositions instead of merely grasping them); he was not simply a romantic, though he shared the romantics' enthusiasms, nor simply a devotee of the philosophy of history, which originated with him; not simply a rationalist, though he wrote that 'everything real is rational' and that 'everything rational is real'. His dialectical power was so tremendous that once he was dead his disciples split into opposing camps (left and right), as a result of the extreme determination of the whole. This makes our present attempt a highly ambitious one![5]

To quote his own words, Hegel was 'a son of his time'. So is every philosopher, indeed every individual. But the ignorant fail to realize the fact, whereas the philosopher tries to think out the problems with which history confronts him. Hegel sets himself to do so, and he carried his task right through. That is why he neglected none of the three trends then perceptible in Europe, nor gave precedence to any one of them over the others. He thus arrived at a 'self-consciousness' of his period—in other words he gave philosophical expression to all that was stirring its history. And thus it is that his metaphysical system was one of ideas. An idea is an aspect of reality raised to an element of thought, and it is also thought given temporal effect—the two aspects being indistinguishable, which is why, on this plane, the real and the rational are one and the same thing. It is not surprising that Hegel should have been enthusiastic about the French Revolution and the Napoleonic epic: in his lectures on the philosophy of history, he says that

'never since the sun stood in the firmament and the planets revolved round it, had man been seen to stand on his head—that is, to base himself on the idea and build reality on that foundation. . . . All thinking beings acclaimed that period. A sublime emotion prevailed in those days, an enthusiasm of the mind sent a tremor through the world, as though not until that moment had there been a true reconciliation between divinity and the world'. (Hegel was giving these lectures nearly forty years after the events to which he refers.)

The last phrase quoted above, 'a true reconciliation between divinity and the world', may seem surprising. In fact, however, it indicates Hegel's basic purpose—to rise to an understanding of the life of the absolute. This is no abstract notion, but a deeply rooted concern, a fully conscious aim. Hegel began his thinking life at the Protestant university of Tübingen; he had continued it in his theological meditations (all his early writings deal with Abraham, Jesus, etc.); and he was to close his career, as Rector of the

University of Berlin, with an apologia for Lutheranism. His speculations invariably culminated in the philosophy of revealed religion. Absolute knowledge is the idea of the life of the absolute; for God, to Hegel, is not an abstract, extra-mundane principle. At Tübingen he had been deeply impressed by one of Luther's hymns, 'God Himself is dead'. How could that negative moment be conceived of in a sphere usually represented as changeless, timeless, etc. ? This dimension of the negative must be grasped. The great discovery is expressed in the term *Aufhebung*, which defies translation, for it means both dissolution and preservation. There may indeed be a forthright negative, doing away with a pseudo-reality. But the motive force that drives the world, history and thought is of a different order—it is negativity, that strange power of the negative through which some aspect of reality is negated, only to be taken up again. It is the bud lying at the heart of winter's frost, the daylight hours beginning to lengthen at the December solstice, the seed (grain, foetus, etc.) which seems to deny itself, in order to rise to the level of the new, adult being that is to come; it is the slave labouring till he becomes the master of his owner; it is the universal law of 'dying and becoming', illustrated by St Paul's words, 'the seed is not quickened except it die'. In the language of philosophy, it is mediation. Hegel says in the introduction to *The Phenomenology of Mind* that mediation usually inspires a sacred horror: it seems to have no part in the absolute. But

'in fact that sacred horror springs from ignorance of the nature of mediation and of absolute knowledge itself, for mediation is nothing other than *equality-with-itself-in-motion*'.

Hegel rejects the absolute of death and returns, as Bergson did later, to the true Platonic concept of ideas, as carrying within them the basis for all relationships, just as in the Phaedrus the soul is a self-moving principle. He also returns to the concepts of mysticism which lie at the root of German philosophy, as we saw when considering Schelling's course of development. (Meister Eckhardt, Suso and St John of the Cross held that man's movement in God would altogether cease and collapse if God were not *in himself* real movement, the source of communication.)

That is why Hegel declares that the absolute is subject and not merely substance; inert substance lacks that *Wirklichkeit* which constitutes effective and efficient reality. True substance is the movement of setting-oneself-down, and must therefore deny what is merely a separate aspect of itself. Thus, the absolute is mediation. Consequently the vague, ineffable intuitions of Schelling for instance, must be rejected. Mediation develops as a system, of which philosophical (or as Hegel calls it, 'speculative') knowledge is the expression, the Logos. That is the principle and the justification of Hegel's dialectic, which becomes absurd if we try to reduce it to a dreary succession of triads constructed in the form of 'thesis–antithesis–synthesis'. The dialectical movement is not a succession of opposing concepts, leaping from one thesis to

another; it is the knowledge immanent in actual reality, expressing its unique, infinite power—the working of the negative at the very core of being, by which being acquires meaning. Hegel caricatured gives us Flaubert's Bouvard and Pécuchet, with their pretentious, shallow assimilation of ideas and their inevitable turning away, their clash of theories, their confusion. Whereas through *Aufhebung* the philosopher brings his thought into harmony with the dynamism of the spirit, as manifested through history.

With this philosophical method, Hegel was able to put fresh life into social and political concepts. In his *Philosophy of Law* (1821) he pursues the same aim as Plato in the *Republic*, studying the foundations of the modern state and the modern social order, of which morality and family life are among the components. These considerations lead him to draw the conclusions from the reformation of the Prussian state, upon which the Government had embarked after the collapse at Jena; he raises this reformation to the plane of ideas and shows how necessary it is, although by this time Napoleon's successes had damped the ardour for renovations. We see, too, how he works out a philosophy of history that recapitulates past events in order to elevate them systematically to the level of reason. We perceive his ability to transform the philosophy of art. His speculations all amount to a philosophy of religion as well. And lastly, the humanistic sciences originate with him. Yet amid all this there is 'no lack of cohesion, for he never loses sight of the spiritual link that unites these different aspects of reality within the whole. The whole which, thought and therefore uttered, is alone real.

All isolated views—those of rationalism, romanticism, historicism—are thus outstripped, in a synthesis of rare power, the power of Hegel's genius.

On 14 November 1831, his voice was stilled. For ten years or so, his memory held Germany under its sway. But which of his followers could rise to that level of speculative knowledge, could equal the master? Living thought gave way to a system by which the problems were simplified—Hegelianism. During the 1840s a few disciples tried to revive the doctrine, applying it to religious and political problems; these were the 'leftist' Hegelians, the most distinguished among whom was Ludwig Feuerbach, Marx's master. Feuerbach's *Essence of Religion* (1841) dismisses the fundamental metaphysical problem on which Hegel had unceasingly meditated, that of the absolute. Feuerbach recognizes no divinity apart from man: his was the first of a long series of works of atheistic humanism.[6] At the same time, David Strauss (*Life of Jesus*, 1835) and Bruno Bauer (*Critical History of the Gospel of St. John and Synoptic Gospels*, 1840-42) were trying to apply Hegel's ideas to the scriptures; but they failed to rise above the level of historical relationships. These were the years in which the youthful Karl Marx (born in 1818) and a few others were trying to combine German metaphysics with French socialism, an attempt which was short-lived. It was also the time when Max Stirner made a bid to draw the ultimate conclusions from these now divergent currents by rejecting all forms of thought in favour of an anarchial freedom, that of the

individual in perpetual isolation, unique. Hegel's influence passed through similar vicissitudes outside Germany, particularly in Russia and England.

The reaction against the great German metaphysicians finally took a more decided turn in' Germany itself, with Goethe and Schopenhauer—who approached the matter from diametrically opposite angles. Goethe wished to by-pass speculation and attain to a form of wisdom in which all human tendencies could develop freely. As for Schopenhauer, in 1818 he published a book, *The World as Will and Idea*, which fell completely flat at the time. Between 1830 and 1860 he wrote several treatises in which he revived the analytical spirit of the eighteenth century and persistently attacked the German metaphysicians, including Kant. The world, for him, is a tissue of phenomena, but these are mere phantoms, emanations of an irrational and evil principle, the will-to-live. Desire rules the world and perpetuates the human race, to its misfortune. Art may appease the will, but salvation is only to be found in the extinction of desire, the drying up of thirst, the Hindu Nirvana. Man must deny his own will.

It would be an error to assume that the great German metaphysicians of this half-century have gradually powdered into dust. We shall see their influence re-emerging in various forms in social philosophy and later among the French and Anglo-Saxon idealists. And in our own day, Hüsserl, Heidegger and Marxism are incomprehensible without reference to their Hegelian sources. For the three great metaphysical systems—and Hegel's most of all—drew life from the three complementary currents each of which expresses one aspect of life—rationalism, romanticism (the intuition of the life force) and the philosophy of history (the revelation of the power of liberty). E. Bréhier expresses this by saying that during this phase of German philosophy, one of the richest in history, 'the universal rhythm of things' was grasped and expressed by the intelligence (*Histoire de la philosophie allemande*, 2nd edn, Wien, pp. 182-3); it exemplified 'a universal form of human thought' (ibid.) with a place of its own side by side with English empiricism and French rationalism (ibid.). Its unique value will become more apparent when these two last currents are studied.

I. BRITISH EMPIRICISM

During this half-century the continent was epic and metaphysical, but England remained reasonable and utilitarian. This was the time when, before any other great nation, she was carrying out the industrial revolution, opening the present age. As the unquestioned mistress of the seas since Trafalgar (1805) and with a wealth of colonies in spite of the American secession, she was the greatest power in the world—despite the revolutionary and imperialistic wars, or even perhaps because of them. After the construction of Stephenson's locomotive (1824), England developed a railway network which enormously facilitated the exploitation of her mineral resources.

At this period—as in some sense the reflection underlying harmony with these economic circumstances—the island was divided between two philosophical currents, both emanating from the rationalism of the eighteenth century: Scottish psychology, and utilitarianism.

Hume was undoubtedly the greatest of the Scottish philosophers. His influence was preserved by Thomas Reid (1710–96), of Glasgow, whose *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man* (1785) extol the virtues of common sense. At the beginning of the nineteenth century there was a keen interest in psychological analysis at the University of Edinburgh: Dugald Stewart (1753–1828), Thomas Brown (1778–1820) and Sir William Hamilton (1788–1856), all of whom were professors of that University, likewise took common sense as the foundation on which to base very reasonable views. Hamilton wrote that conscience is to the philosopher as the Bible to the divine, and defined perception as immediate knowledge, resulting from the properties of external things. Beyond these, inaccessible, is the unconditioned, which can be known through religion, William Hamilton is also celebrated for his doctrine of the quantification of the predicate, the direct forerunner of Boole and Morgan and thus of all modern logic. Aristotle had been satisfied with quantifying the subject of propositions, distinguishing the universal (all, none) from the particular (some) and the singular (Socrates); but allowance must also be made for the extension of the predicate in the proposition. Thus, 'some men are French' may mean either 'some men make up all the French' (if we are thinking of the whole human race) or 'some men are some of the French' (if we are referring to the members of an assembly, congress, etc.); whereas 'all squares are quadrilaterals' must always mean 'all squares are some of the quadrilaterals'.

As we shall see later, the formulation of spiritualism in France was influenced by this Scottish school.

At the same period, England was evolving another doctrine, equally opposed to mysticism and to the deeper speculations of metaphysics. This was utilitarianism, founded by Bentham (1748–1832). The great, self-evident principle here is happiness, defined as the greatest balance of pleasure over pain; pleasures may vary in quality and extent (the arithmetic of pleasures). Bentham's main interest was jurisprudence, and his first application of his doctrine was in the sphere of penal reform. His *Panopticon* (1802) presents a scheme for a model prison, whose inmates would be cured of all wish to fall back into crime, not through punishment or violence, but by being given a picture of the advantages of virtue; in this, Bentham was a pioneer of modern justice. In 1808 Bentham made the acquaintance of James Mill, father of John Stuart Mill, and they became friends.

It was also about this time that Malthus formulated his theory of population (1798), according to which, if nothing happens to slow down the rise in the population, it will increase by geometrical progression (doubling every 25 years), whereas the means of subsistence can only increase by arithmetical

progression. The influence of these ideas was, as we know, considerable and still is so. Malthus drew several conclusions from his theories, some of them political (opposition to communism, as a factor contributing to over-population) and others ethical (the practice of chastity); but further conclusions, of a practical nature, can also be deduced—such as war or contraception. This has been called a gloomy doctrine. Other outstanding economists of the period included Adam Smith (1723–90) and Ricardo (1772–1823).

But the greatest of all English philosophers during this period was undoubtedly James Mill's son, John Stuart Mill (1806–73). The latter describes in his *Autobiography* (1873) how his father brought him up, in the light of utilitarian principles. James was his son's tutor and sole companion, teaching him uninterruptedly, at home and on their walks. At the age of three the child was learning Greek, at seven years old he was studying the dialogues of Plato, etc. At fifteen he made the acquaintance of Bentham's doctrine of 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number', adopted it, and founded the Utilitarian Society. But theories cannot drive out nature, and at twenty years old Mill suffered a nervous breakdown which left him apathetic, listless and melancholy. Incessant and premature intellectual analysis had dried up the springs of life in him; now he was to be overwhelmed by the other human power—sentiment.

But he was not simply swept off his feet by a blind force. At this time England was yielding to romanticism, reacting against the artificial conventions of autocratic intelligence and eager for a return to Nature and a reawakening of sentiment. Poets, such as Wordsworth (1770–1850) and Coleridge (1772–1834) had already given form to this reaction, and J. S. Mill, guided by them, added moral sentiments to the calculations of Bentham's followers. He stressed the moral aspect of pleasure, declaring that it was better to be Socrates, even in misfortune, than a satisfied hog, and that when Jesus of Nazareth preached unselfishness he was foreshadowing utilitarian ideas. Thus, Mill rose to the concept of moral delicacy as a quality acquired through culture and becoming a second nature.

He also published a *System of Logic* (1843) which is a recognized classic. In it he describes the methods of experimental science (concordance, difference, concomitant variations, residues) and induces from these Hume's principle of causal relations, which he supplements by pointing out that all our scientific inductions have so far proved to be correct.

John Stuart Mill's influence and activity extended beyond the coasts of England and the boundaries of the period with which we are concerned here. His *Utilitarianism* appeared in 1863, his *Three Essays on Religion* were published in 1874, a year after his death. He was a prolific correspondent, particularly with August Comte.

Reason, calculation and realism—these were the principal features of English philosophy of that day, which thus followed other paths than those of German thought and was attuned to the technical and economic achieve-

ments of the intelligence. This was the triumph of eighteenth-century rationalism, sometimes (with J. S. Mill) enriched by a streak of romanticism.

During this period France was opening up an intermediate path, that of spiritualism, whose influence was to continue into the philosophy of the Spirit (founded by Lavelle and Le Senne in 1934) and which tried to find a place both for the contribution of metaphysics and the requirements of empiricism.

While romanticism, often associated with counter-revolutionary reaction, won an obvious success in France with Chateaubriand, Joseph de Maistre and Louis de Bonald, the influence of the eighteenth century, and particularly of Condillac, was maintained thanks to the ideologists, who met at Auteuil in the *salon* of Mme Helvetius. As early as 1803 they came into open opposition to Bonaparte, whose authoritarianism they rejected. They were implacably hostile to any religious revival, declaring that philosophy must henceforth be based exclusively upon observation and experience. The leading representatives of this fidelity to the rationalism of the age of enlightenment were Destutt de Tracy (1754-1836), Volney (1757-1820) and Dr Cabanis (1757-1808), the author of voluminous works on *Les Rapports du physique et du moral de l'homme*. Stendhal's work is the outcome of this cold, objective spirit of analysis. Ideology had a dual influence—direct in certain foreign countries (including the United States, where President Jefferson was a friend of de Tracy, and Italy, where certain Liberals welcomed the intellectualist theories together with the revolutionary armies); indirect in France, where it awakened Maine de Biran to an awareness of inner reality.

Maine de Biran (1766-1824) was at first an habitué of Mme Helvetius' *salon* and a friend of the ideologists. But as early as 1805 he replied to a question set as a competition by the Académie des Sciences morales in a manner contrary to that of the ideologists, who had selected the theme. The question was worded in the manner of Condillac: 'How can the faculty of thought be analysed and what are the component elements to be recognized in it?' Biran rejected analysis as indicating only elements such as physical feeling (for instance, 'mobile touch', the source of the sense of resistance); according to him, the sensation of effort is the direct expression of a faculty, recognized by the inner sense, which reveals it clearly to us (*'certissima scientia'*, *'clamante conscientia'*); this faculty is the volo, the source of an independent ('hyperorganic') force in the organism; this is the conditioning factor of human life, which is superior to animal life because the latter is passive. Biran discovers the subject, or rather rediscovers it, in the wake of the Augustinians and the Cartesian metaphysicians; it is the self or the consciousness, or the will— three words used to designate the selfsame reality. The subject is active self-consciousness. This was a profound truth which was to have a great future, especially in France. Ravaisson noted this already in his report on *La Philosophie en France au XIXe siècle* (1867), where he describes Biran's philosophy as a form of 'spiritualist realism or positivism, the generating principle of which

is the mind's inner consciousness of an existence which it recognizes all other existence to derive from and depend upon, and which is simply its own action'.

Biran's *Journal* pours forth a spate of complaints about his poor constitution, his bad health, his distaste for the world and the weakness of his will; but the entry for 23 July 1815 includes a presentiment of the greatest importance. Who knows, he asks, how much can be achieved by reflection, and whether there may not be a new world *within us*, to be discovered one day, perhaps, by some metaphysical Colombus? That world, like America, was to have several explorers (Descartes, Bergson and others) and Biran was one of them. The discovery of the primitive fact of the inner self provided the foundation for a new science with man as its subject—one as positive as the natural sciences, but using methods befitting its theme. Ideology was transformed and became subjective.

Biran returned to this fundamental idea in other writings, which were not printed during his lifetime. About 1812 he was working on an *Essai sur les fondements de la psychologie*, which he never finished and which remained unpublished; he kept returning to it and correcting it for some three years, in the attempt to take stock of his ideas and reduce them to order. In his study he analyses the faculties of the human being, from the simple affective system to the reflective apparatus, by way of the compound sensory and active perceptive system—the final level, reflection, being that of metaphysical truth. He includes morality, since reflection makes judgements, is synonymous with effort or activity, and requires self-control and self-government. Thus the second life, in which the active power of man finds scope, appears to be self-sufficient. Incidentally, Rousseau's *Vicaire Savoyard* had been a great formative influence in Biran's earlier years; by 1794 he had given his heart to Rousseau, whose style he admired and through whom he was developing self-awareness. Throughout a life which some of his contemporaries may have regarded as somewhat unphilosophical (he began his career in the Royal Guard and was among the defenders of Versailles in 1789; later he became a member of parliament, and during the Empire and the Restoration he was a *Conseiller d'Etat*) Biran remembered Rousseau's ideas, and his philosophy expresses them, in its own way.

In the latter part of his life, however, he came face to face with two other problems, and devoted himself to these, neglecting his earlier speculation. They were, the absolute, and religious life. The former question had occupied him before; he took it as a chapter of his anthropology, in which he had nothing in common with Kant (he recognized no division between phenomena and noumena); for him, self-knowledge was the knowledge of the ego, of inner reality. After 1818, however, Maine de Biran discovered a second primitive fact. The first had established the supremacy of the ego, thanks to its activity; the second finds expression in passive states which cannot be ascribed to the first, or animal life—for instance, the state of beatitude in which the philosopher sometimes found himself during this period; a state which came of its

own accord, independent of his control, but which brought a sense of spiritual elevation. This new fact was of considerable importance; it shifted the focus of Biran's interest and transformed his previous system, for he now recognized that above the second life, that of human activity, there was a third, spiritual life, a state of passivity caused by the irruption of a force from above. This brought a deliverance from the flesh which was far more radical than the precarious liberation achieved by will-power. It was religious life nourished on the fruits of the Holy Spirit—light and love.

Lachelier declared that 'Biran is our Kant'. That means that with Maine de Biran the twists and turns of Kant's *Critique* become superfluous. But the succinct judgement has a further implication: just as Kant was the progenitor of the nineteenth-century German metaphysicians from whom we are still deriving ideas, Biran was the source of a current of thought which, though less ambitious in its expression—since it strove to be positive—was carried quite as far. For the spiritualism which pervades the writings of Ravaisson, Lachelier, Lagneau, Boutreux, Bergson, Lavelle, le Senne, etc. aims at the absolute with as much assurance as do the great post-Kantian systems, yet remains in the tradition of the French 'moralists'. In other words, it applies the stringent rules of reflective analysis to that being—the subject—which each of us must discover and explore for himself. Rationalism has expanded to embrace the ego.

But Biran's bequest was not taken up for some time. In the first place it was exploited by a school which failed to grasp its full implications—that of eclecticism.

Napoleon was annoyed by the ideologists and probably took little interest in Biran (who, towards the end of the Empire, became aware that Bonaparte's policy would lead to disaster, and argued against it); and in 1811 he was singing the praises of Royer-Collard. 'Do you know,' he said to Talleyrand, 'that a very serious new doctrine is arising in my University? It may do us great credit and rid us of the ideologists once and for all, by reasoning them out of existence on the spot.' This doctrine, pioneered by Royer-Collard (1763–1837), was eclecticism, that special form of spiritualism later championed by Victor Cousin (1792–1867). It had high ambitions, its aim being to combine the most profound aspects of German metaphysics (Hegel and Schelling) with the moderate demands of the Scots, if not with those of the eighteenth century. Its tone is rhetorical, grandiloquent—'a sonorous trumpet-blast', as Bergson says. Cousin claimed to be the dictator of philosophy, with those who professed it as soldiers under his orders. As will be anticipated from this most unphilosophical style, the results were not impressive. Cousin was heaped with honours and his doctrine carried the day, particularly under Louis Philippe (1830–48); but the system he constructed was weak and lacked cohesion; it was based on the principles of causality and substance, on the strength of which he affirmed the existence of Nature and of a God in whose image the world was made. Cousin tried to base a system of ontology on a psychological foundation, but his psychology was superficial and his ontology

purely verbal. As an official philosophy, eclecticism merely served as the screen for philosophical research deriving from Biran, initiated chiefly by Félix Ravaison, who published a well-written and perceptive thesis on *l'Habitude* in 1838. However, Cousin enjoyed a certain vogue in the United States, where he influenced 'American transcendentalism'.

In the field of spiritualism two other writers—very dissimilar in character— deserve mention. One was a Frenchman, Joseph Joubert (1754–1824)—a shrewd psychologist and an aesthete who relished the world and its delights and carried his subtle epicureanism to the point of enjoying illness and declaring its charms. The other was an Italian named Rosmini (1797–1855). Joubert was a fugitive from religious life, which he found too austere; Rosmini was ordained a priest in 1831. Guided by the tradition of Augustinian idealism, he rose to a spiritual intuition of the absolute, by analysing the idea of being. This led him to a system of ethics based on love; for the idea of being, as the universal norm of knowledge and action, opens our eyes to the goodness and value of our fellow beings. Rosmini played a political role in 1848, when he was sent on an embassy to the pope by another Italian philosopher, Gioberti, an idealist like himself, who was Minister to the King of Sardinia.

We thus see the great diversity of these writers, each of whom was equally anxious, in his own way, to experience and enhance the life of the spirit. They were rationalists, but in a different fashion from the eighteenth-century intellectuals, for they succeeded in extending the power of reason, either using it as a means of discovering the subject on which a true system of meta- physics could be constructed (Biran, Rosmini) or invoking it as the justifica- tion for ambitious, half-baked speculations which were inconsistent and consequently more wordy than genuine (eclecticism). We also note that these spiritualists did not turn their backs on political life. They did not, however, propound a theory of politics—which was something Hegel had been at pains to do, and which was taken up by other writers, largely from the angle of social philosophy.

The eighteenth century was by no means indifferent to political problems; nearly all its philosophers propounded theories on the origin of communities, the nature of the social bond, and the sound constitution for a state. With one exception, all their systems were rational, concerned with the social contract, the state of Nature, the balance of power and so forth. The exception was an Italian, Vico (1668–1744). In 1725 he published an extremely important book; it was badly constructed and its importance was not recognized at the time; but the nineteenth-century philosophers were to draw upon it. Vico was the first to put forward a philosophy of history, for before him, speculation on the course of development of the human race had been purely theological. He rejected rationalism, declaring that it made the mistake of ignoring the para- mount importance—especially in the early stage of human life—of imagination and passion. He went so far as to advance the notion of progressive develop-

ment on the mental plane; this thanks to his method, which was comparative.

Vico could not hope for understanding during the enlightenment. But once the epic aspect of history was recognized, the development of social, philosophical and religious ideas could no longer be ignored. Thus it came about that the truths glimpsed by Vico were first brought to fruition in the nineteenth century.

Now that more than a hundred and fifty years have elapsed, it is easy for us to appreciate the creative elements in the revolutionary movement. But for those on whom its violence was unleashed, its impact was inevitably more questionable. It is not surprising that some of them should have tried to sift the chaff from the grain of the 1789 harvest; indeed, one can easily understand the attitude of those who were against revolution in all its aspects. One such was Edmund Burke (1729–97), an Irishman by birth, who was one of the fieriest orators in English parliamentary history. In his eyes, all change was criminal; tradition was the sole source of wisdom. Society must above all be organized. Hegel reflected on these ideas and embodied them in his political synthesis.

The social philosophers made an effort resembling Hegel's, but spared themselves the metaphysical foundation. Some of them took the Christian revelation in its stead, while others rejected theology, though their thought may have included a religious dimension.

Among the first of them in France was Ballanche (1776–1847), a friend of Chateaubriand and a philosopher of the Restoration; he was an optimist who regarded history as a philosophical epic, with each nation playing the role for which its genius fits it. Ballanche discovered Vico in 1819, but he himself attributes a religious meaning to history, declaring that heroic figures, such as Joan of Arc, are a concentration of the divine and the national. Another manifestation of this social messianism occurred in strife-torn Poland. Its exponent was Wronski (1778–1853), who came to France as a refugee in 1803. Wronski actually uses the word 'messianism' in the titles of his works; he considers that the absolute will accomplish itself through the tragedies of history, that a federation of nations will be established and that mankind will then come to its true birth. In 1833 a Frenchman, Buchez (1796–1865) carried these ideas to their extreme by basing his theology of history on *faith alone*. This was known as '*fidéisme*', had Bautin (1796–1867) as another adherent, and was disapproved of by Rome.

Social philosophy was to produce its best results in a different direction. The leader here—sometimes disavowed or even attacked—was the Comte de Saint-Simon (1760–1825). After serving as an officer under the *ancien régime* (he fought on the American side at Yorktown), he had been an enterprising speculator during the Revolution (when he nearly went to the guillotine). He alternated between the conditions of multi-millionaire and bankrupt. Among his secretaries were Augustin Thierry and Auguste Comte. In 1814 he founded

his 'positive policy'. At the same time he was advocating the opening of canals through the isthmuses of Suez and Panama, devising a scheme for an international bank, and training followers who were to form important companies (canals and railways). His ideas justified such activity, for he pointed the contrast between the critical periods (egotistical, metaphysical, revolutionary) and the organic periods (collective, laborious, orderly). Social science, now a positive doctrine, showed, according to him, that society should henceforth be directed by manufacturers instead of by soldiers and priests: this was the *Nouveau Christianisme* (1825) and he was to be its Messiah: there was no such thing as a social problem, for the industrialists and bankers would do what was best for the poor. Saint-Simon's last years were worthy of a prophet; he lived in poverty, but surrounded by enthusiastic disciples who revered him as the founder of the true religion of the future. His influence was tremendous, both in intellectual matters (with Goethe, Carlyle, Comte, Marx, etc.) and in practical ones; side by side with the St-Simonians' churches of which Bazard and Enfantin were the '*Pères suprêmes*' (they designed a waistcoat which buttoned up behind, so that it could not be put on without the help of a brother) were the big industrial firms founded by his followers. Ferdinand de Lesseps, when French vice-consul in Egypt, was converted to St-Somonism by a '*Père Enfantin*' and applied the doctrine later, when carrying out his Suez Canal project (1869). All these labours, imposed by force if necessary, must be undertaken in a spirit of the greatest optimism, for St-Simonism teaches that all things are divine. It is a religion without asceticism, trusting in instinct from the moment society is organized on the right lines.

This was a very non-religious religion. Matters were quite different with *Auguste Comte* (1798–1857), Saint-Simon's one-time secretary, whose youthful encounter with the Messiah of positivism had a determining influence on his positivist philosophy. Comte's doctrine takes up the concept of historical evolution based on the contrast between critical and organic periods. This he formulates in his law of the '*Trois états*', which lays down a definite order of progress in three stages—the theological (organic and imaginative), metaphysical (critical) and positive (organic and rational). Combined with the systematic classification of sciences which Comte drew up, this law became an instrument of historical analysis. Thus, the last two volumes of the *Cours de philosophie positive* (the lectures were delivered from 1826 onwards and the course concluded in 1842) present a philosophy of the history of the human mind which embraces all activities—religion, philosophy, science, technology, art, political and social systems. As with Plato, the intellectual reforms advocated by positivism were to lay the foundation for the science of man, the philosophy of science, and social reform. However, after being Saint-Simon's disciple Comte came under another and even stronger influence, that of Clotilde de Vaux, whose purely Platonic love lit up for him the 'year without parallel' (1845). Clotilde taught August Comte the depth and absolute value of love, and after she died, in 1846, she became as it were the high priestess of

the religion of humanity. This was a truly religious religion, with love as its breath of life, and was organized on the lines of Roman Catholicism.* Comte's mental universe was now complete and consistent; his social philosophy was based on a general philosophy—a fact which sets him apart from all other political theorists. He classified the sciences in an order of priority, connecting their increasing complexity with their order of emergence in history (from mathematics to sociology) and organizing the *cursus studiorum* accordingly. That order is the basis of progress, which is to foster natural altruism, enable everyone to 'live for others' and put an end to the mind's rebellion against the heart. Comte declares that there is no need to create institutions, for they already exist (the family, religion, the political bodies); all that is needed is to liberate them, allowing woman to develop her spiritual force, religion its universality and positivity, and setting the different powers of the state in their proper positions. Finally, Comte arrives at the triad—sympathy, synthesis, synergy, expressing the threefold unification of individuals, of knowledge and of action. Comte had a great influence, especially in Brazil.

Apart from Comte, with his vast picture of society, there were a number of other thinkers who concentrated on 'the social question'. In France, one of the more original was Fourier (1772–1835), a romantic, utopian socialist who regarded passion as the source of human labour. Just as Newton, with the law of gravity, discovered the determining principle of the motion of matter, Fourier discovered the law of harmony which ensures human happiness. Divine providence, he declares, has bestowed many and complicated passions upon us; it is for us to discover how to make use of them; rightly applied, they will prompt us to productive activity. Human beings will find satisfaction by assembling in phalanxes of 1,620 associated workers (the passions comprise 810 characteristics, and the phalanx must have an equal number of men and women); that group is large enough for each individual to suit his own taste, and small enough for the human scale. This will make it possible for the passions of every member to develop for the good of the community, especially the three chief passions, which are the composite (the passion for union), the cabalistic (the passion of rivalry) and the butterfly (the passion for change). Work becomes a pastime. All forms of duty and constraint vanish, and the butterfly is satisfied in love and in labour alike. Fourier's philosophy spread and he won as many adherents as Saint-Simon and Comte, or even more; by 1848 he had over 200,000 followers in America. Many Saint-Simonians came over to him; V. Considérant edited a paper, *La Phalange*, founded a cooperative (the firm of Godin, which is still manufacturing stoves) at Guise, in northern France, and tried to start a phalanstery in Texas. Some of Fourier's followers remained faithful to Catholicism as well.

At this same period an Englishman, Robert Owen (1771–1858) was also calling attention to the unsatisfactory distribution of wealth and the irrational

* *Système de politique positive* (1852-54).

aspects of the system of production (*A New View of Society*, 1813). He called for the expansion of the industrial system, saying that the increase of production should be greater than the rise in the population which had appalled Malthus. Owen practised what he preached; he left home at ten years old, with 40 shillings in his pocket, and while still a young man he was running a cotton mill which employed 1,700 people (out of a total population of 3,000) at New Lanark, near Manchester. Visitors flocked there in thousands, astounded to discover that the factory employed no children under the age of ten and that even adults were not required to work for more than ten-and-a-half hours a day. There were even schools for the workers' children, a co-operative shop, and cultural and sports facilities. Robert Owen had a pragmatical rather than a speculative turn of mind, and took little interest in political theories. But the energy with which he denounced the vices of capitalism in its early phase undoubtedly had its effect on labour legislation in England.

A complete list of all socialist theorists of this period would fill a whole book! Constantin Pecqueur (1801–87) preceded Marx in castigating man's inhumanity to man, illustrated by the condition of the working classes in England. In 1839 Louis Blanc (1811–82) published a book on labour organization in which he proposed that profits should be divided into three parts, one going to the workers, another being used for welfare purposes, and the third financing investment. In 1840 Cabet (1788–1856) published his *Voyage en Icarie*, a communist utopia which, like many other people, he tried to establish on the other side of the Atlantic. In his *La Liberté en Allemange* (1835), Alexis de Tocqueville (1805–59) championed political liberties against the levelling influence of egalitarianism.

In short, this half-century was seething with social theories; the spiritual heritage of the French Revolution was lost through the enslavement of the workers in large-scale industry; information and social ideas were carried far and wide in the cheap newspapers, which came into existence in France during the July Monarchy (1830–48); philosophers meditated the lessons of history and longed to reorganize society. Every form of social thought proliferated, from the abstract speculative genius of Hegel to the practical experiments of Fourier's followers and of the various socialists who were attracted by the potentialities of the new lands in America, down to the achievements of Robert Owen. The forces awakened by history were now seeking to steer the course of history. The world was moving towards a breaking-point. In 1848, almost all of Europe fell into the throes of a philosophical and political revolution.

Auguste Comte had just founded the religion of humanity. Romanticism had joined forces with the philosophy of history and was invigorating the socialists' utopian doctrines as well as political activities; a general effervescence was perceptible as republican ideas spread through France and all over Europe. Like Charles X in 1830, Louis Philippe—the first and last

monarch to be known as 'King of the French'—was swept off his throne by the revolution which had again raised Paris to fever pitch. Lamartine was a member of the Provisional Government that proclaimed the Republic. At the extreme left of the Assembly sat Lamennais (1782-1854), a socialist Catholic, a priest censured by his superiors in Rome. (His friends Lacordaire and Montalembert had bowed to authority, accepting, from a sense of discipline, the Church's alliance with the forces of reaction.) Victor Considérant, editor of the pro-Fourier *La Phalange*, was demanding that the Assembly should vote funds for carrying out reform, and Alexis de Tocqueville, another member of Parliament, took office in Odilon Barrot's Government. Proudhon's pamphlet on property had been published not long before (1841). England was shaken by unrest among the workers. Revolutionary ardour spread to Italy, Germany and Austria in turn, and was crushed in the iron grip of reaction. In France, the bourgeois reactionaries won their triumph in April, scarcely two months after the February revolution. From 22 to 26 June, the workers were crushed by the army and the National Guard. The rich had defeated the poor.

This was the moment at which the light inherited from Hegel's philosophy of history came to illuminate the course of events. Or rather, it illuminated them in anticipation. It was on the eve of the February revolution, that Karl Marx, from Brussels, mercilessly castigated the socialists' illusions in his *Communist Manifesto*, with its famous challenge: 'Workers of the World, Unite!' which epitomizes the ethical views of its author together with his analysis of history.

For the *Communist Manifesto* is the work of a philosopher. In it, Marx shows that history is explained by the existence of classes and the inevitable struggle between them. But he does so in order to denounce this exploitation of some men by others. At present, he says, the middle class, which has destroyed all the former social relationships, is openly indulging in selfish calculations, having melted everything down to values of exchange expressed in terms of money. This is open, shameless, direct and undisguised exploitation—but a 'momentary barbarism', for though Marx believes the position to be historic, he aims at changing it. In fact, a world market has already come into existence, a universal class has made its appearance; the outline of a future whose circumstances are scientifically determined can already be perceived. The fact noted, the diagnosis follows; as its title suggests, the *Manifesto* presents a picture of the dawning communist society in which the old bourgeois society, with its classes and its class antagonisms, will make way for an association where the free development of the individual is the condition of the free development of the community.

This analysis is a condemnation of fumbling republicanism. On 29 June, a few days after the blood-thirsty reprisals of June 1848, Marx wrote in the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, which he had just founded,

'The fraternity of the antagonistic classes, one of which exploits the other,

that fraternity which was proclaimed in February,* inscribed in large letters on the brow of Paris, above every prison, every barracks—its true, authentic, prosaic expression is *civil war*, the war between labour and capital. That fraternity blazed in every window in Paris on the evening of 25 June, when bourgeois Paris was festively lit up, while proletarian Paris was burning, bleeding, dying.'

Elsewhere, still referring to the events of June, Marx draws a sociological moral of the highest significance, declaring that the bourgeois republic signifies 'the absolute despotism' of one class over the others. In the countries of ancient civilization, a republic merely provides the ground on which bourgeois society can transform itself. That is why the *Manifesto* affirms that the proletariat, being without social status and without traditions, is the destructive class *par excellence*; for its members have no possessions to safeguard. World union will turn the proletariat into the dominant class, and a proletarian party will come into existence. This analysis of the 1848 revolutions prompts Marx to a programme of action: 'Overthrow of the bourgeoisie! Dictatorship of the working class!' (*The Class Struggle in France from 1848 to 1850*). Twenty-five years later, these events and the still topical analysis of them suggested a similar formula to Marx: 'the revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat'.[7]

Meanwhile, France and Europe were to be subjected to dictatorship of another kind. As early as 1848, while Lamartine secured only 8,000 votes, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte was elected President of the Republic with an overwhelming total of 5.4 million votes. On 2 December 1851, he secured full powers by a *coup d'état*. Victor Hugo and many others went into exile. The same kind of thing was happening at Vienna, at Berlin, in Italy and in Hungary, thanks to their respective armies. While the Austrians were crushing the revolution in northern Italy, the French army, still theoretically republican, was putting an end to the Roman Republic and restoring Pope Pius IX to his full rights as an absolute sovereign (June–July 1849). Here again, force had defeated philosophy; the triumvirate which was governing the Republic was led by Mazzini, a metaphysician and political thinker who regarded the national unity of Italy as being, like that of any other country, a spiritual necessity, with the nation as the indispensable intermediary between the individual and mankind in general.

Thus, 1848 had witnessed the brief triumph of republican ideas, an ephemeral victory to which romantic dynamism and the philosophy of history both contributed, with little or no assistance from the power of reason. At that moment, rationalism took refuge in science or in theoretical speculation (electicism, utilitarianism). The strength of the reaction was soon confirmed by events. Moreover, many philosophers were then accepting or propounding the idea of dictatorship. We have just seen what attitude Marx adopted;

* The 1848 revolution had revived the motto, 'Liberty, Equality, Fraternity'; it had also abolished slavery and, for the first time, introduced universal suffrage.

Montalembert and the French Catholic party supported Napoleon III; Auguste Comte considered that the *coup d'état* of 2 December marked the transition from the 'futile parliamentary début proper to the English tradition' to 'the dictatorial phase which alone is truly French'. It was, indeed, an 'empirical dictatorship', but its intellectual vacuum was only waiting to be filled by the doctrine of positivism—and Comte concluded his life with an appeal to the conservatives (see *Système de politique positive*). In so expressing themselves, these thinkers sought to achieve an entirely estimable purpose— social unity; but so much depends on the manner! The following period (1848–1905) was gradually to reveal the conditions really needed for human unity.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the circumstances of daily life underwent a transformation even more radical than that of the previous fifty years. A technological revolution took place, rendered possible by many scientific discoveries. Science brought about so many advances (electricity, X-rays, medicine, first attempts at flying, etc.) that it seemed to lie at the root of every improvement and to be directed solely towards man's comfort. It became a kind of providence, and in those days many people believed it could solve every problem. This dual hope, this twofold attitude, in which the age-old aspirations of magic were transferred to science, gave birth to a very powerful movement, known in France as *scientisme*.

This was the period when the traditional myths regarding the origin of life on earth were beginning to be questioned. In 1809 Lamarck had published his *Philosophie zoologique*, in which he demonstrated the existence in living things of a power of adjustment to external conditions which accounted for the transformation species; but he was a pioneer in the field, scorned and misunderstood by scientists and philosophers alike (Comte criticized him severely). In 1859 Charles Darwin published his *Origin of Species*, which was destined to attract tremendous scientific and philosophical attention. In it he explained the evolution of living species as the result of natural selection, caused by the struggle for survival; the best-adapted species had survived and multiplied, throughout the many thousand years which had elapsed since they originated. Evolution gradually became an accepted scientific and philosophical doctrine. Herbert Spencer (1820–1903) developed it into a universal system, identifying evolution with progress; he explained all phenomena (biological, spiritual and social life) in terms of matter, movement and force, evolution being the increasingly complex integration of simple material elements. Spencer believed himself to have reduced the loftiest realities (ethics, art, social life) to associations of less complex factors. Meanwhile, Thomas Henry Huxley (1825–95) was popularizing the concepts of evolution. A new image of the universe took shape, and for several decades its simplicity was welcomed.

While these vast systems were being drawn up (Darwin even invoked

biological expediency to account for psychological phenomena, such as the emotions; Spencer applied his principles to psychology, sociology and ethics); scientists were doing more positive work. Claude Bernard (1813–78), who taught at the Collège de France from 1847, discovered the glycogenic function of the liver, the regulating principle of the homeotherms, the role of the sympathetic nerve, the action of poisons, etc. . . . In his *Introduction à l'étude de la médicine expérimentale* (1865) he sums up the effective method that had led him to cause such upheavals in biological theory, declaring that science must be deterministic and ignore, in its explanations, the 'guiding idea' or vital principle, only the phenomena stemming from which are to be studied. Louis Pasteur (1822–95) discovered and made a study of microbes, accounted for fermentation, prevented the abandonment of silkworm breeding, originated a new branch of medicine which gave protection against post-operational infection, and defeated hydrophobia (1835). At last, in 1838, the Pasteur Institute was established and is still continuing his work.

Fascination with science had the further effect of bringing experimental methods into the study of human phenomena: psychology, sociology and ethnology came into existence during this latter half of the nineteenth century. A number of scientists and philosophers helped to build psychology into science; among them were Taine, Ribot, Wundt, Pavlov, Janet, Binet and Freud. In 1870, Taine (1828–93) published a work, *De l'intelligence*, in which he gave a prominent place to descriptions of pathological and physiological research and—still more important—laid down a strictly analytical and determinist methodological principle:

'Wherever it is possible to isolate and observe the elements of a compound, it is possible to explain the properties of that compound in terms of the properties of its elements, and to deduce from a few general laws, a host of particular laws . . .'

In Germany, the first laboratory of experimental psychology was founded at this time; Heinrich Weber (1795–1878) introduced measurement into psychology and discovered the differential threshold of sensations (1846); in 1860, this discovery was expressed in a mathematical formula by Fechner (1801–87); Wundt (1832–1920) built and equipped the ancestor of the modern psychological laboratories (at Leipzig in 1876). Richet and Beaunis in France, Sergi in Italy and Ladd in the United States were following the same path. After 1870, Ribot (1839–1916) began to define the principles of objective psychology. In Russia, I. P. Pavlov (1849–1936) applied psychological methods to the study of conditioned reflexes (producing a conditioned salivating reflex in dogs for the first time in 1902).[8] Between 1890 and 1905, Alfred Binet and Dr Simon, examining abnormal children in Paris schools, devised intelligence tests (as they were afterwards called by Cattell) and drew up a metric scale of intelligence. During these same years, Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) was establishing psychoanalysis at Vienna. Trained as a doctor, he had become

interested in hypnosis and had later invented a method of analysing the unconscious, which he applied first to dreams (*Traumdeutung*, 1899) and then to the 'psychopathology of everyday life' (1901). He thought up the theory of the 'Oedipus complex' and gave it general application in his *Totem und Tabu* (1913), where he declares that sex holds the explanation for the origin of the human race, art, law, religion, etc.

But other syntheses were being drawn up, no less ambitious in their aims and just at categorical in the claims they made. Emile Durkheim (1858–1917), the intellectual heir of Comte, who went so far as to use the term 'sociology', which Comte had coined, maintained that social life was the only reality and that the individualistic attitude, in whatever form (subjective or objective) could no more explain human phenomena than the study of the properties of oxygen and hydrogen could explain the properties of water. Social life, said Durkheim, is an original synthesis, and must be studied scientifically. In his doctor's thesis (*De la division du travail social 1893*), he set out to prove that, left to himself, the individual cannot survive. He studied suicide, the elementary forms of religious life, and pedagogics, and composed a broad sociological synthesis to account for the various human activities.

The sociology of Vilfredo Pareto (1848–1923) moves in another direction. Pareto was born in Paris and died in Geneva. He studied in Italy (he became an engineer and subsequently a director of the railways). Between 1893 and 1906 he taught at the University of Lausanne. He was an economist who introduced mathematics into political economy. Together with Léon Walras, he is one of the founders of the theory and the school of general economic equilibrium. This scientific economist underlines the existence of unalterable social instincts (the desire for power, religious needs, etc.) and the importance of irrational factors (beliefs). His synthesis is both scientific in its method and anti-intellectual in its basis. Mussolini fascism was to recognize its substantial debt to Pareto and was to honour him as a master. His main works are: the *Cours d'Economie politique* (1896), the *Manuel d'Economie politique* (1906), *l'Economie mathématique* (1911), the *Traité de sociologie générale* (1916).

A rush of discoveries and new theories was taking place in the natural sciences as well. In 1899, Hilbert published his *Grundlagen der Geometrie*, the basis of contemporary axiomatic structure. In 1887, Hertz discovered electromagnetic waves; in 1890, Branly invented the radio conductor, and in 1895 Roentgen took the first X-ray photograph. In 1897, Clément Ader made the first important aeroplane flight. In 1898, Pierre and Marie Curie discovered radium. In 1900, Planck invented the quantum theory. In 1905, Albert Einstein discovered photons, explained photo-electric effects, and propounded the theory of relativity.

In view of this tremendous effervescence among scientists, it is not surprising that in his *Die Welträtsel* (1899), Ernst Haeckel (1834–1919) should have attempted to explain the 'riddles of the universe' in terms of science. In this book he takes his evolutionary theories and strives to use them as the foundation

for a complete theory of monism; space and time, he says, are infinite, matter is in a state of perpetual and universal motion which produces cycles of evolution; all metaphysical concepts (God, freedom, etc.) are dismissed.

Never had science exercised so strong an attraction—or, no doubt, one so unscientific. The authors of these great syntheses were trying to achieve, by various short cuts, the results sought by the metaphysicians at the beginning of the century; but they merely succeeded in caricaturing the problems involved, and were in danger of bringing discredit on science. All the same, there is much to be learnt from them. For one thing they shed light on the psychology of the period, which Ernest Renan (1823–92) had clearly perceived when he declared in *l'Avenir de la Science* (written in 1848, published in 1890) that 'Sciences alone can give the human race what it cannot live without —a symbol and a law'. Like many other thinkers, Renan—an ex-seminarist who had lost his faith—expected science to take the place of religion. But— and this is the second illuminating point—there was no single scientific synthesis, but a number of them. And unlike the metaphysical systems, which were always fairly open-minded and could be regarded as complementary, these syntheses were mutually exclusive, for each was based on a certain *level* of reality, *held to be the sole truth* (life, the source of all evolution; sex, the chief motive force of mankind and its works; society, the only real synthesis; or even, in the view of Spencer or Haeckel, matter and its universal motion). *Scientisme* culminated in an *internal* crisis; since no one science spoke the same language as any other, they could only seek to defeat one another. As we shall see, the crisis was highly beneficial, for it induced in such men as Husserl and Bergson a keen awareness of the problem of philosophy. The only moral we need draw at this point is that rationalism, if it is reduced to the level of a mere order of phenomena (matter, life, psychism, society) becomes utterly incapable of satisfying the demands of reason, foremost among them the principle of contradiction.

2. THE INFLUENCE OF KANT

But rationalism can avoid such a downfall. It may remain critical, as Kant wished it to. And Kant's influence is perceptible in this second half of the century. Schools which claimed him as their master came into existence both in Germany and in France.

In Germany, the neo-Kantians were a galaxy of distinguished philosophers hostile both to psychological theories and to large-scale metaphysical syntheses. They reverted to the transcendental method, the analysis of the conditions of knowledge and action; they denied intellectual intuition; they stressed the power of thought in building up experience. At Marburg, Hermann Cohen (1842–1918) wrote profound studies of Plato, Kant, and the principles of the infinitesimal method, and Paul Natorp (1854–1924) expounded Plato's philosophy in the light of Kant's theories. Ernst Cassirer (1874–1945) was

writing works of great importance on Leibniz and on symbolism, which were published in the twentieth century. At Baden, Windelband (1848–1915) set out to unify the various spheres of philosophy by applying to them the concept of obligation which he maintained to be universally valid (it is *obligatory* to think truly, to do good, to enjoy beauty), and B. Bauch (1877–1942) showed that the system of categories is an open one. Others discovered 'psychological *a priori*' factors, defining different types of minds (Simmel, 1858–1918), or establishing levels of certitude (Volkelt, 1848–1930). Following their different lines and studying their different fields, they all laid strong emphasis on a primordial philosophical truth—that universality is based on the power of thought, and so, therefore, are all human values. They did not, like the proponents of *scientisme*, bind rationalism on a Procrustean bed by defining it a property of reason; so they were able to reveal and explain the original power of man's various productions, perceiving them at the source.

Rationalism and relativism were also the precepts of French *néo-criticisme*, founded by Charles Renouvier (1815–1903). Several philosophers in France had shown an interest in Kant at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but only in a superficial and ephemeral way. Renouvier began by concerning himself with social philosophy (he published a *Manuel républican* in 1848). Under the Second Empire he turned entirely to philosophical speculation and brought out his four *Essais de critique générale* (1851, 1858, 1864). Later he was associated with F. Pillon in editing philosophical magazines (*La Critique philosophique, La Critique religieuse, l'Année philosophique*) and published three further works, *La philosophie analytique de l'histoire* (1896–8), *La nouvelle monadologie* (1899) and *Le Personnalisme* (1903). He had three principal subjects of meditation: the law of numbers, according to which only finite series are possible; the power of liberty, revealed to him by his friend Lequier, who pointed out that without free will there could be neither truth nor morality; and relativity. Renouvier was also interested in religious problems, offering explanations of evil and of the Fall. Like Baudelaire, he had a strong dislike for the dogma of progress, maintaining that liberty is always complete, and that the world was created so that people could test its power. Renouvier had a great influence in France for thirty years, from 1870 to 1900. Outstanding among his disciples were Pillon, Prat, Brochard, Dauriac, Liard and Evellin, but the greatest and most original of them all was undoubtedly Octave Hamelin (1856–1907). However, Hamelin moved away from the critical method to some extent, and constructed an entirely idealistic system of knowledge of which I shall speak later on.

The predominant characteristic of all these rationalists was their keen sense of relativity, accompanied by a rejection of anything resembling empiricism. This position was full of promise from the philosophical standpoint, as it confronted them with a problem which, though difficult, was inherent in the human condition—the problem of the universal, which must be apprehended in the infinite variety of its contingent aspects. Here we still have the meditation

on the Idea which originated with Plato (almost every one of the rationalists wrote extensively about him), was revived by Kant and carried further by Hegel.

In short, Kant's influence went beyond the letter of his writings and inspired a philosophical style which remained critical, analytical and relativist and therefore contrasted with the broad metaphysical outlines, the mediocrities of *scientisme*, and the ardours of the romantics. Nevertheless, these last continued to represent a powerful current in history.

The contrast between passionate ardour and cold reason is a permanent feature of human nature; it is more difficult and rarer to link the two. In the second half of the nineteenth century, confronted with the excesses of *scientisme* and the critical rigours of Kantian rationalism, a tidal wave of sentiment swept over Europe, and in all directions hearts were displayed on sleeves.

The anti-rationalist rebellion was sharpest and most fruitful in Denmark, the home of Søren Kierkegaard (1813–55). The whole existentialist movement was to spring from that lonely, anguish-ridden figure, who in his last years, from 1851 onwards, was the butt of a campaign of derision which finally killed him. Kierkegaard could flare up against a fashionable prelate with biting scorn:

'In the splendid church of the Palace an imposing court preacher appears before a select gathering of distinguished, cultivated persons, and delivers, with deep feeling, a sermon on the text: "God chooses the humble and despised". And nobody laughs!'

His whole life was a tribute to sincerity, whether he was breaking off his engagement or pursuing his violent attacks on the over-elaborate philosophical systems which were like castles in the air.

'The fate of most designers of systems in relation to their systems is like that of a man who builds a huge castle and then settles next door to it, in a barn: they themselves do not live in their huge, systematic constructions. In the spiritual sphere this is, and will always be, a decisive objection. In the spiritual sense, a man's thoughts must be the construction in which he lives; otherwise, they are spurious.'

Kierkegaard put into practice the maxim of the German romantic poet, Novalis: 'Philosophy is the act in which the philosopher burns himself out.' His short life ended in tortured solitude, occupied by an ardent discourse with the God of the Bible. It was a non-conformist battle with the official Church (*Der Augenblick*, 1855, bears witness to that) and an irrational one, for he maintained that religious life requires an infinite leap across everything human, that there is an insurmountable barrier between faith and reason. Kierkegaard believed that the only spiritual value—authenticity, infinitely superior to the objectivity of truth and the generality of concepts—was to be found in sub-

jectivity, in fidelity to the feeling of subjective existence. This subjectivity is involved in a living drama, locked in a kind of hand-to-hand struggle with divine subjectivity.

In France, Jules Lequier (1814–62) had a life comparable to that of Kierkegaard. The latter's father had cursed God, and this was probably the explanation of the tragic anguish that clouded his son's existence. Lequier ended his life deliberately, by an act he may have intended as a challenge to God: an excellent swimmer, he waded out into the ocean that surrounds his native Brittany and swam, on and on, leaving the coast further and further behind, until at last he vanishes from sight. At that time he was unknown and his writings unpublished. Renouvier, greatly influenced by him, quoted from them and brought out some fragments of *La Première vérité* in an edition of · 120 copies (1865). Now the existentialists hail him as a great forerunner—for no strong spiritual current can ever run dry. His philosophy is an unceasing meditation on freedom—not moral freedom, rational freedom, etc., but absolute freedom, an ambiguous power (to do or not to do ?) with long-term results (the succession of events is set in motion by one initial action, one first beginning). It is freedom itself which shows man he is free; confronted by the arguments of fatalism and predestination, Lequier protests: 'That is not so— I am free.' The free act is a mystery. Action is mysterious: 'By action, we create ourselves.' Here, as with existentialism, there is a recognition of the supremacy of the act, of life, over the concept, the essence. But Lequier holds this supra-rational human fiat in balance with the divine fiat: man is a created creator, God is the infinite being; man must believe and love; his trust will save him, for salvation is the junction of the two freedoms—that by which God subjects man to the test of choosing, and that by which man surpasses even the choice, in some act of tragic trustfulness, such as the sacrifice of Abraham, Lequier rediscovers certain of Hegel's formulas:

'Man's intelligence is finite, yet representative of the infinite; God's intelligence is infinite, yet representative of the finite.'

His reflections on freedom as something to be passionately experienced thus lead him back to the commonplace attitude towards the problems of destiny: 'A martyr to his ideas' meant, for him, a witness to freedom, even unto death.

Pierre Leroux (1797–1871) had a quite different life. He took part in the 1848 revolution and drew up a system of human romanticism, in which he stressed the part played by Messiahs. Leroux dismissed an intellectual speculation about knowledge and declared his unshakable faith in the communion of all parts of the real in the whole.

In the chosen country of romanticism, Germany, Schelling's influence was revealed in *Gustav Theodor Fechner* (1801–87). Converted by Lorenz Oken's *Nature Philosophy* (Oken was a follower of Schelling), Fechner threw off the atheism to which he had been led as a medical student. He published *Nanna* (1848) and *Zend Avesta* (1851), two books which, as he said himself, are

'suckers from Schelling's tree'. Knowing nothing of Kant, he unhesitatingly proclaimed a universal animism—the plants, the earth, have souls; the stars are angels; God is the soul of the universe, all other souls being contained in him; he is total, unlimited consciousness, while the individual consciousness, apparently independent, has a threshold above which there is nothing but a portion of the divine consciousness. This theory of the whole in metaphysics did not prevent Fechner from taking an interest in psychology. (I have already mentioned his contribution to that science.)

Schelling's ideas are also reflected in the work of another German, *Eduard von Hartmann* (1842–1906). In 1869 he published his *Philosophie des Unbewusstsein*, afterwards elaborating the moral, religious, political and other conclusions to be drawn from it. Life suggested to him the existence of an unconscious, far more powerful than the centres of consciousness, which are always partial and divided. The unconscious is intelligence and will-power. It fills the role of the classicists' God; it is the vital principle by which the universe was created; the creative process was an irrational, aimless dynamism, finality being apparent only in the destination of the universe, which is to return to the void. The old-style Germanic naturalism can be recognized in this force, defined as absolute and destructive.

More important, and also more original, was the message of Nietzsche (1844–1900). His style was fervent, he challenged the universe, he reversed all the established standards, he was aggressive. All these characteristics express the preoccupation with strength. Individualism is only one facet of this romantic structure: for it is strength that causes difference, and difference alone can satisfy. In Nietzsche's philosophical language, this strength which creates difference is expressed through an unremitting flow of polemics, of anti-dialectical arguments; it is the principle of multiple affirmation, of the will as power, of being as luxuriant, creative life. Among these creations, values are the loftiest: the power of the life-force, and therefore of difference, is displayed in the fact of their creation, which is a perpetual renewal (creation cannot be repetition); if they endure, values perish; to be overthrown is of their very essence. Thus man repudiates his own nature; he is a cord stretched across the gulf that divides beast and superman. This romanticism, the product of a neurotic admirer of Wagner, comes to the stumbling-block of an ultimate difficulty: confronted by the subtle multiplicity of created values, of the forces that create differences, Nietzsche (*The Will to Power*) declares the need for 'a synthetic great man' in whom 'the jarring forces would be restrained by a single yoke'. Thus even his romantic individualism cannot suppress all aspirations to human unity; but it is to find expression only in the sphere of the life-force, and this robs it of humanity: against the 'all too human' the 'superhuman' becomes inhuman.

Even England, despite its empirical and utilitarian traditions, was to have its romantic philosopher in the person of Carlyle (1795–1881). For him the universe is a strange, mystical world and history is the work of the heroes.

Carlyle admired German poetry and metaphysics and hated the age of reason. Like Nietzsche and Kierkegaard, he wrote in a passionate, turbulent, rhapsodic style befitting his ideas. He held that knowledge of the eternal is a matter of the heart, not the head, that heroes possess that supreme wisdom and are therefore the predestined leaders of the masses, who must be reduced to obedience through iron discipline. Carlyle declares that the history of the world is in essence that of the great men who have worked in it. They have been the leaders of the nations, the shapers and models, the creators of all that the mass of mankind, considered as a whole, has succeeded in doing or attaining. The hero, he says, is a messenger sent from the depth of mysterious infinity, to bring us tidings; he comes from the inner substance of things.

Carlyle was the most original of the romantics here; one should really make some reference to another Englishman, Ruskin (1819–1900), and go outside Europe to consider an American, Emerson (1803–82). All these were prophets who inveighed against the established order and against 'reason' taken in the same sense of the term—that of the enlightenment—instead of in the Hegelian sense. But in their rebellion, driven by the force of the passion that inspired their language, they extolled only one aspect of man—the tragic grandeur of a destiny vibrant with the irresistible current of dynamic vitality, but imperilled by dark, lurking forces. The hero is their model, in contrast to the rationalist sage; he cultivates his individual differences, expresses himself through violence, and is himself the plaything of a fate that will tear him apart. This is a profound view of the human condition—but an incomplete one.

The romantics sang of the human tragedy, and became intoxicated with their own words. That tragedy they saw as the permanent struggle between unsupported freedom and transcendent destiny. There is a classical outcome for that struggle, which is described in patristic and medieval theology. But was religious belief still possible after the enlightenment, in a century when man was beginning to discover his power over the universe—in the age of progress and positivism?

History had already replied to this question. Ever since the beginning of the century, the German metaphysicians and the French spiritualists (Maine de Biran) had returned to meditation on the absolute, approaching the subject from a new angle. What was more, even the philosophers of progress, the theorists of political organization, the positivists who believed that Christianity had had its day, were drawing up catechisms, proclaiming themselves as Messiahs and basing their optimism on a species of pantheism—to say nothing of those who, like Comte, constructed a well-organized religion, complete with priests, churches and sacraments. The religious aspect inseparable from the human tragedy was thus reappearing in new forms.

Christianity, nearly two thousand years old, was still flourishing. Renan (1823–92), unconvinced by Catholic exegesis, might leave his seminary and the Church and pin his hopes on science; but the theological current of

philosophical speculation continued to be followed by many thinkers in the spiritualist tradition.

At a time when the British romantics Carlyle and Ruskin were already attacking empiricism and utilitarianism, England was witnessing the birth and growth of a veritable religious revival, the Oxford movement. Newman (1801–90), a prominent Anglican churchman, took the lead in this; later, in 1845, he became a Roman Catholic. His doctrine is an apologia invoking supra-rational arguments; in *The Grammar of Assent* (1870) he shows that pure logic cannot produce *real* assent, which requires practical experience; in this essentially religious life, assent, always voluntary, is the force that attracts us to the beautiful, the true, the heroic. This assent is religious faith: religious doctrine is accepted because God is its author and declares it to be true. This is living religion, not merely ritual or magic practices.

In Switzerland, Charles Secretan (1815–95) took part in a similar religious revival; but he did not leave the fold of the reformed Church. In 1848–9 he published a *Philosophie de la liberté* which had far-reaching repercussions throughout the second half of the century. In it he differentiates between two forms of reason, the pagan and the Christian, only the latter being able to rise to an understanding of the religious mysteries of destiny (the Fall and redemption). He also attacks pantheism, showing that the essence of God is absolute freedom—an idea put forward by Plotinus, taken up by Hamelin and Renouvier, and considered at length by Lachelier. True morality, for man, is the achievement of freedom—in other words, obedience to God, apart from whom all is naught. In addition to this personalization, Secretan's doctrine, in its meditation on Christ, as the perfect being through whom the power of redemption reaches mankind, rises to the concept of the Church as the 'absolute organism' in which all men can find salvation.

In Rome, Pope Leo XIII was at the head of the Catholic Church from 1878 to 1903. In 1879 he issued the encyclical *Aeterni Patris*, proclaiming Thomism as the official philosophy of the Church. (It was this same pontiff who in 1891 issued the encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, on the condition of the working classes, and in 1892 called upon the Catholics in France to accept the Republic.) Beginning in the 1880s and continuing to our own day—particularly at Louvain, with the encouragement of the future Cardinal Mercier—Thomism, a broad-minded form of rationalism, a realism open to the various orders, has provided the basis for much historical speculation and many attempts at systematization. This revival of Thomism, with the interest it expresses in the 'Fathers' and 'Doctors' of the Church, was also to stimulate fresh interest in the philosophical principles of St Augustine and Duns Scotus.

Side by side with these definitely theological trends, France was about to witness a very original movement, which set out with the intention of remaining intrinsically philosophical and bringing in the greatest possible number of truths by a widespread process of reasoning. The leader in this case was Maurice Blondel (1861–1949). At the Ecole Normale Supérieure he had been

the pupil of Léon Ollé-Laprune (1838–98), who had himself been influenced by Newman. In 1893, at the age of 32, Blondel published the thesis which made him famous: '*L'Action Essai d'une critique de la vie et d'une science de la pratique*'. This calls on a dialectic which follows the levels of action from disenchanted scepticism to existence aspiring to the Absolute. Each level reveals its inadequacy and engenders the next. Ultimately, man finds himself faced with a choice which is beyond him: to love the finite infinitely or to love the infinite infinitely—an infinite which he cannot determine and which hence brings about the transition to religion.

Will, bold decisions, commitment in life; these are the keys to the philosophical intentions common to Newman, Secretan and Blondel, as to Lequier and Kierkegaard before them. The theistic spiritualists are determined to be rational, but in the deepest and most far-reaching sense of the word; consequently, they respond even to the promptings of romanticism. Philosophers of the will, they are also rationalists who, like Pascal, realize that 'the final achievement of our understanding is to recognize that there is an infinity of things which surpass it' (*Pensées*, fragment 267; Pascal adds that our understanding merely betrays its weakness if it fails to recognize this). This is a heroic attitude, induced by the abyss which yawns between man's finitude and his thirst for the infinite.

Other thinkers, while equally desirous of safeguarding spiritual values, were bent upon avoiding this final confession of helplessness and, above all, its practical consequence—acceptance of some form of religious belief. Their meditations are directed towards capturing the 'divine spark' in man; Blondel was wrongly charged with immanentism, but nearly all these others accept that consequence of their method and adopt an idealist standpoint.

In France, the first representative of this current was Félix Ravaisson (1813–1900), a subtle philosopher and an artist, who deliberately ignored the ponderous constraints of eclecticism. In 1835 he wrote a memoir on Aristotle's *Metaphysics*, interpreting their philosophy in a Plotinian sense. In 1838 he brought out his thesis on *l'Habitude*, a work of rare polish, subtlety and penetration. During the thirty years or so when Victor Cousin reigned supreme, there was no place for Ravaisson in philosophy, and he devoted himself to art. In 1867, he drew up a *Rapport sur la philosophie en France au XIXe siècle*, in the last part of which he sets forth his views on metaphysics. This, declares Bergson in his book on *La vie et l'œuvre de Ravaisson*,

'presents the visible universe to us as the outer aspect of a reality which, if seen from within and grasped in its essence, would appear as a free gift, a great act of generosity and love. No analysis can give any idea of these admirable pages. Twenty generations of pupils have learnt them by heart'

—no doubt a personal confidence. Influenced by Schelling, with whom he was acquainted, Ravaisson thus constructed a natural philosophy characterized by sober, restrained romanticism; for him, the universe was a theophany, and the

ultimate explanation of Nature was to be found in the spirit. Ravaisson was poles apart from materialism and positivism; his doctrine was a form of spiritualistic realism which sought to establish the supreme method of knowledge, the intuitive love by which we feel ourselves united to God, our source. The attempt to analyse is anti-philosophical; what we should try to do is to apprehend spiritual activity at its fountainhead.

These ideas were to have a considerable influence on French philosophy, extending to Bergson and to René Le Senne and Louis Lavelle, with their philosophy of the spirit.

They were taken over first of all by Jules Lachelier (1832–1918), whose writings were comparable, for subtlety, polish and depth, to those of his master Ravaisson, who first singled him out. Like Ravaisson and like the Alexandrine philosophers, Lachelier was both a spiritualist and a natural philosopher. In his thesis, *Du fondement de l'induction* (1871) he describes orders of phenomena characterized by increasing reality and concentration—calling them sensible qualities, movements, and forces; the last are themselves based on 'the world of liberty'. Thus, 'Nature is a thought which does not think itself, suspended from a thought which does think itself.' In his *Psychologie et métaphysique* (1885), Lachelier sets forth the findings of a dialectic applied to the idea of being, declaring that this supremely universal concept is characterized by successive and progressive 'powers' which are causality, finality and liberty. The exercises of thought which posit these ideas are not mechanistically necessary, they are pervaded by a 'hyper-necessity'—the demand made by thought which is striving for absolute liberty. These different ideas are symbolized by elements of the universe—space, time, etc. As with Plotinus and Ravaisson, symbolic relations play a dominant part and link the finite with infinity.

Lachelier taught for several years at the Ecole Normale Supérieure, where he had some enthusiastic pupils, quite a number of whom later produced important philosophical writings. The first of these was Emile Boutroux (1845–1921), whose thesis, *De la contingence des lois de la nature*, appeared as early as 1874. This was a manifesto directed against *scientisme*, at the time when Spencer, Renan and Berthelot were enjoying their greatest success. Boutroux says that an analysis of the output of *scientisme* is enough in itself to demonstrate the absurdity of carrying determinism beyond a clearly defined order of reality—that of mechanical phenomena. But there are further levels of reality, emerging in sequence one above the other, the passage from one to another being always contingent. The levels higher than the mechanistic (physical phenomena, life, psychism) thus cannot be reduced to the principle of determinism, which prevails only on that lower plane. Here Boutroux returns to and justifies the principle of the classification of sciences which Comte had proposed. But there is one outstanding difference between Boutroux's metaphysics and Comte's philosophy: though Boutroux recognizes that the ascending sequence of the sciences and the degrees of being leads to a form

of morality, he declares it to be the study of the good, in other words it turns us towards God, whose creative action springs up in our hearts. This is theistic spiritualism, not a religion of humanity.

Another of Lachelier's pupils was Jules Lagneau (1851–94). He published practically nothing, but his 'celebrated lessons' were collected by admiring students, foremost of whom was Emile Chartier, known later by the pseudonym of 'Alain'. Lagneau took over from Lachelier the method of reflexive analysis by which a psychological phenomenon, such as perception, can be induced to reveal its basis and meaning—the power of the mind, which is itself a manifestation of God. To penetrate to the inner dynamism of human actions was the constant aim of Lagneau, as it had been of his master, Lachelier; and his disciples and followers preserved it unchanged. 'The spirit is the search for the spirit'—just as with Hegel, who defines the spirit as subject, life. These ideas were to be revived many times during the twentieth century, particularly by Léon Brunschvig (1869–1944), René Le Senne (1882–1954), Louis Lavelle (1883–1951) and Gaston Berger (1896–1960).

Parallel to this thread which runs from Ravaisson to the spiritual philosophy which continues to flourish in France, mention should be made of a scientific philosopher, whose influence was not proportionate to his intrinsic importance. This was Augustin Cournot (1801–77). His two principal works deal with the sequence and progress of ideas in science and history (1872, 1881). Like Boutroux, he makes an analysis of the successive levels of reality, to which correspond certain categories or 'fundamental ideas'. Again these levels are distinct and independent of one another. This discontinuity was the basis of probabilism, connected in its turn with transrationalism, the ultimate term of philosophy, the 'fundamental idea' which is already semi-religious.

This spiritualist and idealistic current, so strong in France, was by no means negligible in other countries. England had a succession of philosophers, outstanding among whom were T. H. Green, Bradley, and Bosanquet. Green (1836–82) was a follower of Hegel. He denied Kant's affirmation of the irreconcilability of sensibility and understanding, and with it, the thing-in-itself, agreeing with Lachelier that our concepts are symbolic, and that nature implies an absolute subject which is 'thought of thought', 'absolute liberty'. (The first of these terms comes from Aristotle and the second from Plotinus; they were also used by Lachelier.) Green, teaching at Oxford, criticized the inadequacies of English empirical and utilitarian philosophy, and advised his students to read Hegel. Bradley (1846–1924) also maintained the Hegelian tradition at Oxford; his *Appearance and Reality* was published in 1893. Bradley's study of the faculty of judgement led him to the concrete, universal reality of the Hegelian *Geist*. Like Hegel, he had a strong sense of practical reality and held that the absolute was to be found at the heart of sensation— the latter being saved by thought, which perceives reality beneath appearances and the eternal mood in the individual determination. B. Bosanquet (1848– 1923), the third of these Oxford professors, extends this idealism and

corroborates it by an analysis of social life, politics, logic, etc. For him, as for Hegel, the absolute is a universal subject. As with Hegel, the individual is only a moment of the whole; considered separately, he loses all reality, all meaning. Three themes dominate in the work of these philosophers—the liberty of the self, the subject–object relationship, and organic totality. All these are Hegelian in origin, as is the study of public morals (*Sittlichkeit* in Hegel's *Principles of the Philosophy of Law*, published in Berlin in 1821). In America, Josiah Royce (1855–1916) took these ideas as his starting-point and tried to link them up with the pragmatic viewpoint which was so popular in his country (where philosophical circles were enlivened for many years by a sharp though friendly controversy between Royce and William James).

In other countries, other philosophers also took idealism as their basis. Spir (1837–90), a Russian who took refuge in Germany and later in Switzerland, rejected Hegel's *Aufhebung* and returned to Parmenides' doctrine of identity. Being, he said, exists in immutability, appearance and opinion in ·becoming; there is no transition from the latter to the former; we must free ourselves from becoming, in order to participate in the eternity of truth. This idealism is even more anti-historic than Spinoza's. A related concept was that of Boström (1797–1866), the Swede, who also adjures philosophers to return to the level of divine eternity and who mistrusts German metaphysics (Schelling, Hegel) because of the prominence it gives to Nature.

Benedetto Croce, the Italian (1866–1952) was not widely known until the twentieth century. He was a Hegelian idealist, who first published his ideas in 1902, in his *Estetica*; the material is supplied by history and 'philosophy is the history of philosophy'. Hegel's influence was transmitted to Croce through Francesco de Sanctis (1817–83), a revolutionary who took command at a barricade in Naples in 1848 and, when the insurrection was temporarily crushed, spent four years in prison, studying Hegel and translating him. After Italy was freed and unified in 1871, De Sanctis taught at Naples University, where Croce was among his pupils.

There are thus two principal aspects to be discerned in this idealist current; one reflexive, Plotinian (Ravaisson, Lachelier, etc.) the other Hegelian (Green, Bradley, Bosanquet, De Sanctis, Croce). A Frenchman, Octave Hamelin (1856–1907) deserves credit for his originality in perceiving this divergence, confronting both trends with a third, the neo-criticism of his own master, Renouvier and propounding a dogmatic synthesis which made use of Hegel's method. Only a few weeks after the publication of his *Essai sur les éléments principaux de la représentation*, Hamelin was drowned while attempting to rescue a swimmer who had got into difficulties. For twenty-four years he had been preparing his book in which his aim was to deduce and link the succession of categories, building the eternal structure of the mind—absolute idealism. Being, he says, is indistinguishable from representation, whose widest and least fruitful category, relationship, requires number as its antithesis; this antithesis is not the negativity of Hegel, but simply a comple-

mentary factor, as is shown by their synthesis, time. Time is contrasted with space, and they create a new synthesis, movement. This gives the triad: movement, quality, alteration; and hence: lateration, specification, causality. Finally, as an ultimate synthesis, the classic contrast of causality and finality is assumed in personality, which closes the circle of categories, since it posits relationship. The spirit is itself a relationship, Hamelin thus reaches the conclusion of all metaphysics—the theandric relationship. The last hundred pages of his *Essai* deal with this problem, and he seeks in vain for a middle way between theism and pantheism. Finally he resigns himself to theism, but of a kind which makes God the conscience of the universe. He thus stresses the finiteness of man, a 'limited being'.

It has been pointed out that the title of Hamelin's thesis (*Essai sur les éléments principaux de la représentation*) is a word-by-word contrast to the one chosen by Bergson for his, twenty years earlier (*Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience*). Rejecting intuition, which he regards as anti-intellectual, Hamelin uses a rational dialectic; instead of 'the auscultation of the real', which he considers to be empiricist, he employs the method of systematic synthesis. Bergson himself was later to point out this duality of their inspiration.

The result of the conflict was simply to emphasize the inadequacy of an idealistic philosophy to achieve its tremendous ambition, that of constructing the universal system. Something was passed on nevertheless; but for several reasons a crisis arose. In the first place these deductive systems were mutually exclusive in method and result (Lachelier's dialectic, inspired by Plotinus and based on symbolism, was in opposition to Hamelin's, the latter being founded on a modified conception of antithesis); and, speaking more generally, Hegel's influence failed to produce a real totalization. Furthermore—and this is much more serious—these idealists all asserted a philosophy of liberty, as indeed the more theologically minded spiritualists were also doing at that time. A classic theme, it will be pointed out. But the historical position made this a very delicate problem. For this was soon after Taine had written, in 1863:

'at last science is drawing near, and drawing near to man; it has advanced beyond the visible or palpable world of stars, stones and plants, to which it had been disdainfully confined; now it is preparing an assault on the soul, armed with the precise and piercing instruments whose accuracy has been proved, and their range measured, in the course of three hundred years' experience'. (H. Gouhier, who quotes this passage, remarks that 'Liberty is the sign of that other order which, to science, is disorder' (ibid. p. 85).)

Between the years 1880 and 1900 it becomes obvious, even to the general public, that the philosophy of liberty had reached a crisis. Jacques et Raïssa Maritain make the admission (see *Les grandes amitiés*) and Péguy offers a forceful weighing-up of *scientisme*, determinism, and materialism in general.

In the face of this offensive, the spiritualist philosophers still did not gather the audience to which they would have been entitled.

This was also a crisis of rationalism, whether scientific or spiritualist. In this respect the years 1900–10 were to be of decisive importance.

3. CRISIS, AND NEED FOR A NEW PHILOSOPHY

Towards 1900, several intellectual symptoms indicated the gravity of the crisis, which is often compared with that which brought on the Renaissance and opened 'modern times'. Apart from the incompatibility between the two forms of rationalism, *scientiste* and spiritualist, pragmatism and the philosophy of social revolution were the most important of these symptoms in the philosophical sphere—though indeed they spread to the whole body of culture, which was thus stricken to its depths.[9] In every field, intellectual progress had been such that the mind was questioning all the ideas hitherto regarded as established for ever. Some people (e.g. Brunetière) were going so far as to speak of 'the bankruptcy of science' and to question the value of the intellectual faculties to which, nevertheless, all this upheaval was due. On all sides, man was speculating about the extent of his powers. Pragmatism and revolution, each along its own lines, sought in vain for a solution to the problem.

William James (1842–1910), the great theorist of American pragmatical philosophy, had a considerable influence outside his own country; he was in touch with every important philosopher of his day, particularly with those in Europe. At about this time it became apparent to a number of intellectuals that truth must be pursued through a process of verification. In France, Henri Poincaré (1854–1912), one of the greatest mathematicians of any epoch, declared that from among all available theories we select the most convenient —those which offer the simplest explanation of reality. Another Frenchman, his contemporary Frédéric Rauh (1861–1909), who was concerned with morality, drew up a theory of experience by which he established a link between science and ethics; in both cases, certitude is produced by the contact between idea and fact. At Oxford an Englishman, F. C. S. Schiller (1864–1917) was reaching against the Hegelianism which had been paramount there since Green's time. Schiller's reference was to Protagoras (he declared that man was the measure of everything); for a time at least his ideas were championed by a group of disciples, pragmatists like himself. Bertrand Russell (born in 1872), for his part, rejected idealism in all its forms and professed—as he did till he died—a resolute neo-realism according to which the evidence of our senses is our only source of knowledge.

All these philosophers were equally distrustful of spontaneous thought; they all urge us to rediscover the multitude of *factual conditions* which we are compelled to accept.

The idealist revolt therefore seems, paradoxically, to take refuge in social

speculations. The demand for justice involved in that revolt is common to a number of thinkers. It is necessary to go back and to refer to work which had a belated influence: namely that of Proudhon (1809–65) who, in 1858, published his work *De la justice dans la Révolution et dans l'Eglise*, where he declares himself to be an anti-philosopher ('to philosophize for the sake of philosophisizing is an idea which would never occur to anyone of sound mind') and says that certitude is to be sought through practical verification and that justice is a universal principle. Proudhon wishes to put an end to the division between Nature and man which has been caused by the transcendental systems (especially Christianity); but he is hostile to Marxist 'materialism'. Yet the social forecast established by Marx (1818–83), which is extremely complex, has an undeniable idealistic side to it; we saw how 1848 opened Marx's eyes and justified his call for the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a call prompted by a profoundly ethical demand—for the disalienation of man. *Das Kapital* (1867) is, of course, a systematic, scientific work, presenting an analysis of the capitalist system which reveals its injustice, the extent to which that injustice is manifest, and the 'natural necessity' which will bring it to self-destruction. But that analysis, being historical and sociological, can only attempt to force a determinist framework upon something which is recalcitrant to it—history. Marxism took shape in the political struggle, and for the sake of that struggle; the points it claims to 'demonstrate' are always controversial, never objectively deduced. As we have seen already, the *Communist Manifesto* of 1848 took the form of a declaration of war. Marx was strengthened in this attitude by the 1870–1 crisis in France, and even more by the Paris Commune; in other words he was definitely a historical philosopher. Naturalism was only a semblance, or rather a framework in which the Marxist philosophy of history discovers an optimism that Hegel had dismissed as too facile. Another revolutionary was the Russian Alexander Herzen, born in 1812, who died in Paris on 21 January 1870, from injuries received in a demonstration against Napoleon III. A worthy end for this herald of the social struggle, who at the age of only thirteen had been outraged by the Tsarist repressions of the 'Dekabristi' (December 1825). Herzen used the columns of his journal, *The Bell*, to issue his call for rebellion; he was a brave man, and enthralled by the idea of the 1789 Revolution. Victor Hugo and Michelet were among his friends, and Lenin praised him.

Herzen lived chiefly in London and Paris. One should also study the other Russian philosophers of the nineteenth century; they combined metaphysics with theology, seeking to construct a system in which the intellectual life and the religious life could both find a place. They included Soloviev, Archbishop Nikanov, Fedorov, Losski, Berdiaev, Chestov, Father Bulgakov, etc. Like Tolstoy, they took anthropocentrism for granted; but man's place in the system was essentially that of an ethical being, playing his part in a historical process whose end gives meaning to its event. Truth (*pravda*) is synonymous with justice. These were profound, bold speculations, which fascinated the Russian

intelligentsia and helped to turn them towards Marx and his historical dialectic. The reader is referred to another chapter of this volume for more ample particulars of developments in the Russian continent, which preserved its originality, especially in philosophy, no doubt thanks to the influence of Orthodox Christianity.[10]

Lastly, one of the most definite representatives of the turn-of-the-century crisis in historical philosophy was a German, Wilhelm Dilthey (1833–1911). He has, perhaps, something in common with the neo-Kantians; but he defies classification. Rejecting Hegelian metaphysics and its application to history conceived as the manifestation of the absolute, Dilthey attempted to establish a critique of historical reason based on facts, documents, etc., which could be used to define a *Weltanschauung* in religion, philosophy or poetry, each of which would comprise a variety of forms (for instance, in philosophy: materialism, objective idealism, and the idealism of liberty—strong currents which flow right through history and attract a succession of powerful minds). The power of the spirit is emphasized as prohibiting any contamination of the humanistic sciences by natural science—man being, as Spinoza put it, '*imperium in imperio*'. But this understanding of man lays stress on the relativity of the works of man's hands: 'everything is on the move, nothing stays still'. The history of philosophy and the philosophy of history were to be strongly influenced by these ideas in the nineteenth century (Spranger, Spengler, Toynbee, etc.) and Dilthey's theory of time anticipates Heidegger's.

The outstanding feature of the early 1900s was a general overhaul of problems and prospects, whether in science or in philosophy, in the West or in Russia, in metaphysical, historical, moral or social speculation. The old scales of values seem to have been overthrown once and for all. Tragic upheavals lay ahead in political life as well. France was divided by the Dreyfus case from 1897 to 1906, the split being widened in 1905 by the disestablishment of the churches: trade-union activities and strikes were intensified everywhere; there were forebodings of a world war of a new kind, in which whole nations would be aligned against one another; the social weakness of the Russian colossus was revealed by the Russo-Japanese war of 1904–5, in which the huge Empire of the Tsars, with its vast European and Asian territories, was forced to bow before a group of distant islands. The final tremors of revolution prior to the earthquake of 1917 were the result of the weakness thus rendered so glaringly apparent.

Crisis is a word we have used before and shall often have occasion to repeat, in order to explain the essence of this period. It stands for a turn of events highly favourable to philosophy; there would be no difficulty in demonstrating that all the great philosophies were generated by a *personal* crisis (Plato's by the unjust death of Socrates; Descartes' by what he regarded as the breakdown of philosophy and science; Hegel's, because he wished to think out the contingent, historical aspect of things and discover the link between the Greek city and the Christian revelation; Biran's by the shortcomings of Ideology;

Comte's by his desire to construct a social philosophy which should be at the same time a general philosophy, and then a religion). The awareness of crisis is in itself a philosophical awareness. With Descartes, doubt was the reverse of his *cogito*, the source, primary cause and model of all truth, and in the same way, a mind or group of minds which rises to an awareness that it is involved in a crisis already possesses—though not always fully conscious of the fact—the sense of a reply, a solution, without which no crisis could occur. Thus, the divisions that rend mankind are the sign of a deeply rooted longing for unity. In the same way, the critical opposition of the three currents (rationalism, romanticism and the philosophy of history) whose nineteenth-century meanderings we have been following in these pages, constitutes an appeal for synthesis, for a philosophical attitude as bold as Hegel's had been at the beginning of the century. By about 1900 the crisis had spread to society as a whole; it was calling in question every aspect of culture, and consequently its very foundations. Philosophy, that eternal meditation upon principles, aims and foundations, now sensed a kind of challenge; was it to surrender?

Two men took up the challenge, each with a 'new philosophy'—Edmund Husserl and Henri Bergson. Both were born in 1859. Both lived to see the Nazi barbarity spreading over Europe—Husserl died in 1938 and Bergson in 1941; both suffered personally from the anti-Semitism professed and practised by the Nazis. But before that unhappy period each of them, in the early 1900s, had constructed a system of philosophy which dealt with the problems posed by history—the crisis of science, the crisis of *scientisme*, the romantic crisis, the relativist crisis (from Kantism to Hamelin's theandric relativity) and above all the crisis of reason, this having been regarded as a faculty whose powers could be too easily defined; Blondel was an exception here, but his religious position seemed irrational and extrinsical, despite the charges of immanentism levelled against him by some theologians.

These two philosophies were novel, total, independent. They had an appearance of irrationality, because they urged a return to immediacy, to things themselves. Both replies were amazingly lavish, closely related in substance, as we shall see, but expressed in two very different styles—the profound obscurity of German, the polished clarity of French. Both authors were acutely aware of the problem of philosophy.

Edmund Husserl, by slow degrees, created phenomenology. The term had been used before, notably by Hegel, to designate the description of the life of the consciousness, its development; it was taken as the antithesis of speculative, purely logical knowledge. Husserl set himself to overcome this duality. He made his first attempt in a book entitled *Logische Untersuchungen* (vol. I, 1900; vol. II, 1901). Husserl's master, Brentano (1838–1917) had already established a differentiation between psychological genesis and logical validity. Husserl carried his analysis further and showed that while the psychic character of evidence forms part of the true judgement, it cannot form its foundation, since this must be independent of the variable conditions

experienced by consciousness. This was a rejection of psychologism—but one which-went beyond it and, in so doing, integrated it. Psychologism was not enough; nor was logicism, since it ignored *Erlebnisse* (manifestations of conscious experience). Here again, Husserl found guidance in Brentano, with the concept of intention which the latter had taken over from Thomism. Thanks to this concept, Husserl was able to shed light on the nature of consciousness, and thus settle the dispute between psychologism and logicism. It is an over-simplification to regard consciousness as a kind of organism or, on the contrary, as a creative power. In the former case, consciousness becomes a thing, in fact a receptacle; it receives and digests; in the latter case it is an activity. These are inadequate descriptions. Consciousness is spontaneous movement towards the world; its attention is always directed 'here below', towards things (a tree, a triangle, a picture, a law of physics, etc.); it has no interior, it is movement outside itself. But that is not activity. Intentionality is the absolutely original property which makes it impossible to confuse consciousness with any other form of reality; it is the power to attain to significance. Thus, by means of different psychological actions, by approaching it from different viewpoints, I may aim at (*meinen*) a certain object (*Gegenstand*) repeatedly, within a given space of time—it may be a tree in blossom, a house I walk round, a geometrical figure, a work of art, or a moral concept, such as justice; in each case there is a relationship between the aims experienced, the actions of consciousness (*noeses*) and the objects aimed at, or essences (*noema*). Truth lies in the equivalency *noesis–noemen*. The *noemen* being the meaning in a very general sense, truth is clearly to be defined as accession to the sphere of meanings, not as production (the meanings are there already); nor is it evidence or sentiment, these being merely aspects of the *noeses*, which are themselves inseparable from the noematic meanings.

Hegel had already shown that the world of man is the *Logos*, not its subjective states; Husserl reverts to this idea and uses it to dismiss anthropocentrism; man lives for meanings, not the reverse. By emerging from ourselves, forgetting ourselves, apparently losing our individual subjectivity, we escape from our bondage to the animal nature to which man is linked on one side, and can thus live in the truly human world, which is a universal, communicable and consequently unifying sphere—that of meanings. Here the spiritual action is intuition, or the vision of essences (*Wesensschau*) which, as with Bergson, constitutes an opening towards things themselves.

Thus, Husserl pointed the way, by means of the various productions of the spirit, to a fundamental sphere which is neither psychological or logical, in the strict sense of the words; a sphere with which psychological and logical moments are connected. In the years preceding the 1914–18 war, he analysed that sphere, to which he had been led by his *Logische Untersuchungen*. He also gave lectures on the consciousness of time (1904–5, published in 1928); and most important of all, he began to write down his *Ideen*, the first volume of which appeared in 1913—in its full title, *Ideen zu einer reinen Phänomenologie*

und phänomenologischen Philosophie. Here he intended to lay down the foundations of phenomenology, on which the other sciences were founded. So the sphere of meanings must be left in suspense, set aside or placed in parentheses; this is phenomenological reduction, several forms of which are distinguished by Husserl; and it reveals a residue which cannot be put between parentheses, because that is what is responsible for the reductions. This is the transcendental subject (or transcendental ego). There is nothing natural in it, for all properties or qualities must be set aside here. It is pure, trans-categorical subject. To this the whole life of the consciousness clings, un-folding itself in a variety of aims. The *cogito* of Descartes is thus revealed in its starkest aspect. A little time ago we were given an inkling that humanity consists in renunciation of the individual self; here, ascesis is explained and justified. In fact it is required, for phenomenological reduction is a spiritual method, a spiritual climb (in the sense in which St John of the Cross speaks of 'climbing the Carmel') effected not by a tense will but by a will that has cast off all extraneous considerations. This leads up to a concept of supreme importance, which is that the intuition of meanings—which, for the individual is tantamount to the understanding of them—is not a fabrication, much less a creation; all intuitions are now seen to be the outcome of a spiritual intuition that permeates them and makes them possible—the original donatory intuition. This is the thesis of the constitution of meanings; it goes beyond the bald, commonplace antithesis between activity and passivity just as, with Hegel, rationalism embraces the irrational; it demonstrates that every meaning unfolds from an initial confusion inherent in the primitive form of the existence of the ego.

Thus, the phenomenon is not to be sought in the direction of subjective appearances; in conformity with Greek etymology, it appears, it reveals itself in the light of the meaning.

This shows how Husserl brought fresh blood into philosophy in the years 1900-10—how, like all great philosophers, he propounded a doctrine and a discipline for living. But the synthesis was not yet completed when the First World War broke out. Husserl still had food for thought about intersubjectivity and about history. He continued to meditate upon these until he died, in 1938 —leaving boxes of manuscripts which are gradually being deciphered and published, and will long continue to provide matter for contemporary philo-sophy. A tremendous wealth of ideas.

Henri Bergson wrote in a very different style, but was equally productive, because his genius also applied itself to the problems of the day, its crises. He himself experienced the crisis of Spencer's *scientisme*; having adopted this, he had then suddenly discovered its inadequacy, which later obliged him to embark upon a new theory of evolution. But this unexpected discovery com-pelled him to choose another route than Spencer's, for the latter's theory of evolution is not evolutionary; it eliminates real time, and consciousness shows us that duration cannot be reduced to assembling ready-made, static fragments.

This view is put forward in Bergson's *Essai sur les données immédiates de la conscience* (1889) (*Time and Free Will*, 1910)—where, at a time when intellectualism and scientism were triumphant, he points out their shortcomings; claiming to be positive, they are only partial. In place of a form of intellectual labour which is unduly simple, he advocates, like Hegel when considering the enlightenment, a *scientific* method which is infinitely more strenuous. The aim must be 'to stretch the bounds of understanding further and further', even at the risk of 'shattering one or another of them'—'to dilate human thought indefinitely' (*La philosophie*, an article published in 1915). These are the 'inconceivable concepts' already advocated by Hegel. The German philosopher's aim had been to build up a *philosophical* knowledge even more rigorous than science; Bergson's was to work out a scientific metaphysic, the theses of which he published in turn, as he completed them. This was not so much an anti-scientism or anti-intellectualism as a hyper-scientism or hyper-intellectualism—as with Husserl, who also wished to build up a 'strictly scientific' philosophy (*philosophie als strenge Wissenschaft*, an article published in 1911). Instead of protecting spirituality against attack from the determinists, the aim was to show that philosophy, being scientific, had no reason to fear science.

This was the method adopted by Bergson for the study of liberty in his 1889 *Essai*. He picked no quarrel with the rationalists—for whom indeed, as we have already seen, the problem of liberty was at that time a crucial, critical question; nor did he abandon himself to the over-simplified, romantic reactions of men like Barrès, Léon Bloy and Georges Sorel. He saw no reason why a rejection of commonplace intellectualism should lead him to the opposite extreme. He would make the necessary effort to grasp reality. Reality consisted in states of consciousness; it was quality, not quantity, interpenetration, not juxtaposition, duration, not space. Duration being attained by a spiritual reflex movement, the problem of free will was solved; or rather the traditional terms, resulting from an incorrect presentation of the question, ceased to apply. One need no longer seek to determine the cause of the choice, which is tantamount to taking up a position in space, once one has grasped the essentially creative power of duration. Creation implies unpredictable novelty. An act is free when duration is involved —when the act springs from a personality to which it gives full expression. The 'deeper self' then breaks through the superficial crust of convention.

By the same method, Bergson goes on to solve the ancient problem of the relation between mind and matter (*Matter and Memory*, 1896). Here, he presents a scrupulously documented initial explanation which present-day psycho-physiologists still find satisfactory. He summed this up himself in 1901, as follows:

'In a given psychological state, the part of that state which can be *expressed by acting*—by an attitude on the body or by physical action—is represented in

the brain: the rest is independent of it and has no cerebral equivalent. So that many—but not any—different psychological states may correspond to a single cerebral state. These are the psychological states which share the same *motor mechanism*, i.e. an elevated, abstract, philosophical thought. We cannot conceive this without attaching to it a visual image which we place below it. Again, we cannot imagine this image without the help of a drawing which reproduces its main lines. Nor can we imagine this drawing without imagining and consequently performing, certain movements which imitate it. It is these few movements, and they alone, which are represented by the brain . . .'

The brain is a kind of telephone exchange which commands all bodily movements and frees us to attend to life.

Thus, in a few years, Bergson's method led to the construction of the first chapters of a philosophy which everyone at the time agreed to be novel. Bergson summed up, about the turn of the century, before going back to his original programme of drawing up a true system of evolution. He explained the nature and implications of his method. In his *Introduction à la métaphysique* (1903), he shows why that method may be called intuitive: it is 'the sympathy thanks to which one places oneself inside an object, to coincide with what, in it, is unique and therefore cannot be expressed'. Two terms are important here—the one Bergson himself underlines, which excludes what might seem too affective in the word 'sympathy'; this is not a state of communion, but an act of penetration. Thus, intuition is not anti-intellectual, but supra-intellectual; it rises superior to the labour of the intelligence, it is a twisting of the spirit, a conversion. The nature of intuition also accounts for its scope. This movement of coincidence was tested on the 'data of consciousness' and then on the relation between mind and body; Bergson put his method into operation before defining it in theory—which is the right way: movement is proved by walking, and a method is a path. Consciousness had been revealed as a product of the life whose evolution Bergson desired to study; now he could restore consciousness to its place in Nature, give general application to intuition; 'our consciousness of our own person, in its continual flux, introduces us within a reality after the pattern of which we have to form our idea of other people' (ibid. 1903). From psychology, Bergson thus went on to cosmology, with his *Evolution créatrice*, published in 1907. This cosmology, or natural philosophy, is rigorous and non-romantic; it places the intelligence in the living world, side by side with instinct, and discusses the basis of intuition —declaring that before intelligence (which rules over matter) and instinct (which is concerned with life) diverge and specialize, intuition comprises vital (or spiritual) movement in its entirety. Man now has to recover what he is in danger of losing through evolution; he must put an end to his intellectual dispersion, regain his sense of the creative duration of evolution. 'Vital or spiritual' we said a moment ago; for life is a tremendous effort, display of creative energy. The biological model has now replaced the mathematical

model favoured by the Platonists and the Cartesians. A sign of the times.

In *La perception du changement*, Bergson makes a comparison between the philosopher and the artist of genius. Both, he says, transform what they perceive.

'Might it not be the role of philosophy to lead us to a more complete perception of reality by a certain displacement of our attention ? The aim would be to *turn aside* our attention from the aspect of the universe which is of practical interest and *turn it towards* what, by practical standards, is useless. This conversion of attention would be the very essence of philosophy.'

It will be noted that the words underlined by Bergson are indications of spiritual movements, not of states: what Péguy, in his *Note Conjointe*, published in 1914, calls 'that which is making itself' as against the 'ready made'.)

Intuition leads us to the heart of reality; it amends the former terms of problems—better still, it solves them. *Seeing* and *willing* coincide—as in Husserl's intuition; 'things themselves' are grasped and understood, as with Hegel and Husserl—and with all great philosophers since Plato. The 'great philosophers' are great because they reject views that are over-simplified, too facile; because they are not afraid to confront the human tragedy in its greatest amplitude, in all its difficulty. Thus, Bergson's 'new philosophy' integrates what in the nineteenth century, since Hegel's death, had been three opposing currents—rationalsim, from which he takes over its insistence on positive, scientific accuracy, rejecting only the cramped formulae of *scientisme* (which is in fact a 'sub-science'): romanticism, the broad, unifying aims of which he adopts, and which gives him his subject—life—though he rejects its emotional violence; and historical reflection, which convinces him of the irreducible originality of creative duration, thus protecting him from the temptations of materialistic or historical determinism. This 'new philosophy' dealt with rare success, and before an exceptionally large audience, with the problem of free will, which has always existed but which had become particularly serious during the past half-century; the spiritualists had taken a right attitude towards it, but their meditations had not been carried far enough or been given sufficient publicity. Bergson's success, like Hegel's, came from his having attacked every aspect of the problem (psychological, biological, metaphysical and, later, in 1932, moral and religious—in *Les deux sources de la morale et de la religion**). It was a publicly acknowledged success; the 'new philosophy' enthralled not merely the specialists but scientists, writers, and the public in general; people flocked to Bergson's lectures at the Collège de France.

There is nothing surprising in that, for the philosopher was 'a man who looked at the world with open eyes, alert to the progress of science and to the intellectual, economic and social consequences interwoven in a history whose

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* Charles Péguy, with his prophetic genius, foresaw before the 1914 war that this would be the final culmination of a philosophy he admired. But Bergson's scientific discipline prevented him from leaping to any conclusion for which strict proof was not forthcoming.

different aspects are all related'. But his strictly philosophical action, 'the act of unveiling reality', required the 'conversion of attention' which partakes of impartiality and of contemplation. As in Greek and Christian Platonism.

Through this period, 1775–1905, we have traced the development of three great currents of ideas (romanticism, rationalism, and historical philosophy). Some writers make a clear differentiation between them, while others—though these are few in number—overcome the barriers that divide them, by an intellectual effort that is hard to imagine.

This is the philosophy of Nature, with an appreciable injection of poetry. Nature is personalized, particularly in the form of vegetation. Not the vegetation of winter (sleep and death), but the lavish growth of spring, the triumphant upsurge of sap. Nature is seen as life, as pure growth: the leaves have burgeoned, flowers are offered in profusion; an excess of richness, a young strength which it seems can never diminish, the world as a perpetual twenty-year-old. But this bubbling life has its nocturnal aspect; the forces of life have to triumph over dangers symbolized by storm, tempest, etc. The romantic philosophers constantly revert to this mother-image of passionate Nature in which they find their inspiration and justification; the sense of force is the acme, the supreme experience, all else is degradation, improverishment. Life must be lived heroically, feverishly and stormily.

'A rationalist? I am trying to become one', says a living writer (G. Bachelard). The rationalist current is the outcome of critical reflection in which the mind strengthens itself by withstanding the original allurements of Nature. Romanticism was a philosophy of acceptance; here we have a philosophy of rejection. Appearances are denounced, violence condemned. Analysis gives full prominence to criticism, a power of a different order from the disorderly profusion of Nature; criticism judges and discerns; the impulses of sentiment and passion are cooled down by rational consideration, which is a victory, not a surrender. Man confronts Nature and asserts his particular quality, that of thought. Kant, the utilitarians, Renouvier, Claude Bernard, Lachelier and many others bear witness to the constantly reasserted claims of the mind as a critical faculty.

The period from 1775–1905 was the age of revolutions. In 1776 England's American colonists rebelled; in 1789 came the French Revolution; in 1830, 1848, and 1870–1, the whole of Europe was shaken, and these shocks continued until the final outbreak of the Russian Revolution of 1917; the Russo-Japanese war of 1904–5 redoubled the revolutionary incidents in Russia itself (the famous mutiny of the battleship *Potemkin* took place on 27 June 1905). These were no palace plots, no court or harem intrigues; they were deep-seated movements in which the mass of the people began to stir, after the comparative stability of earlier periods. All social classes were in effervescence; the nobility were rapidly going downhill, the middle class was gaining ground and felt itself threatened; the proletariat was forming, spreading and uniting;

and the peasants were emigrating on a tremendous scale. This was an '*époque*' in Péguy's interpretation of the word (an epic phase).

Side by side with Nature, the eternal life-cycle, and reason, the analytical power awaiting its material, there was now a third current, uniting the fecundity of the former with the humanity of the latter. For during this century, history makes its appearance as an upsurge of novelty, a demonstration of the power of man. The great seventeenth-century Cartesians had been mathematical philosophers; in them, the mind revealed its capacity to bring order into chaos. All the nineteenth-century philosophers are concerned to a varying extent with history. But there was one stream in which this current flowed almost without admixture—that of the social reformers, those prophets who deduced from their historical meditations a revelation of what was to come, of what must come. In them, philosophy was what Hegel said it should be, the thought of its day. This family of thinkers, from the Sage (Hegel) to the Messiah (Saint-Simon, Comte), displays countless nuances, ranging from nihilism to conservatism, from reformation to revolution. But they all wish to bring about some decisive advance, liberating and unifying their fellow men.

The aim of all three currents was unification. But all they could achieve was division. Romantic ardour, prepared to shatter all resistance, shattered itself instead, as violence always does—lost from the moment it despised a demand it regarded as inadmissible; that it should justify itself, acknowledge the rights of truth. Blind violence, enthusiasm, passion, are merely explosive; there is no power in fireworks. As we have seen, Nietzsche overturned all values, shattered the universal into differences he held up for worship—and then tried in vain to restore some form of human unity. As for critical analysis, any unification it might attempt could be only theoretical, for its very essence is differentiation, separation, rejection; as with Kant, the common denominator always remains out of reach. At last comes history, revealing creations in the form of struggle and contrast; after a revolution, the old kind of life undergoes some degree of metamorphosis, it seems to vanish; but only to find expression as latent or evident reaction. Finally, these three currents, mutually exclusive in theory, take shape in opposition to one another. Each no doubt aspires to unity, the sign of truth, but can exist only in separation. That is why the greatest thinkers welcome all three sources (Hegel, Husserl, and Bergson, for instance, were *simultaneously* —not successively—romantics, rationalists and philosophers of time); their philosophy thus gives their measure as men, expressing the force that tears them apart and their will to unity, a dual force whose workings may be easily traced throughout the history of mankind.

How can this philosophical unification be brought to pass ? Some people maintain that philosophy is a tilting-ground for opposing systems. Philosophers, like other people, naturally have their individual 'vision of the universe'. One may be constitutionally inclined to optimism; another may

find difficulty in freeing himself from the view of society that results from his upbringing, etc. But need their visions be mutually exclusive?

In this respect the philosophical genius has a very clear message for us. With such men, thought rises to the philosophical plane when it aims at and embraces the universal. Discussion among philosophers is, in point of fact, a means of communicating with one another and with the Logos, that complete system of meanings, that homogeneous and inexhaustible system. Valéry tells us that that 'august voice' recognizes itself, 'when it rings, to be no longer the voice of any person, so much as of wave and forest' (*La Pythie*). An entry into a sphere where individual differences no longer arrest the movement of the mind, the sphere of thought expressed with precision, uttering things as they are. This requires stern self-discipline, self-renunciation, expressed by Hegel in the formula: 'die and become'. The New Testament, before him, had explained that 'the seed which thou sowest is not quickened, except it die'. Accessibility to others is access to the Logos; it is the spirit becoming, raising itself to be quickened.

Many thinkers have sensed this condition. The neo-Kantians, relativists and rationalists, meditated on the problem of the universal, which must be grasped in the contingent diversity of the particular. Comte wished to put an end to the rebellion of spirit against heart; the romantics sang the praises of a stress-torn hero and some of them, such as Kierkegaard and Lequier, experienced tragedy in their own lives. Nietzsche could never find the link between differences, the source of oppositions and the synthetic great man. Moreover, the nineteenth century was simultaneously aware of profound divisions, threatening or growing—the principle of nationality, wars gradually engulfing whole continents. Amid all this disruption, the longing for unity was keener than ever; revolutions became universal, and Marx's theory of revolution is based explicitly on union ('Workers of the world, unite!').

But man's aspiration for unity is not easy to satisfy. In social life, dictatorship is always a mutilation of the body politic, whether it be the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the bourgeoisie, of a military caste or of any other group. In that epic century, philosophy teaches us that any incomplete form of unity has a dehumanizing effect. Truth is the whole, said Hegel. True unity must be *total unity*. The great philosophers offer us strict formulas for this unity. They perceive the link between the three currents, which are also three dimensions of man (reason, heart, liberty), and therefore recognize the extreme profundity of each of them. Rationalism reaches its culminating point when it contains (*aufhebet*, as Hegel would say) the non-rational dimensions of romanticism and history; and the same applies to the other two. Like Hegel, Husserl maintains that subjectivity should transform itself by entering the universal sphere of meanings. The Bergsonian conversion is no less total; it is a science, a way of life, a history.

Thus, in this time of crisis, and indeed thanks to the crises, which have the

effect of the Socratic 'torpedo', philosophy shows man a method, a path, leading to true unification. Rising above social upheavals and the doubts relating to scientific, aesthetic, moral and political subjects, philosophy demonstrates the inadequacy of every human activity (economics, technology, national life, etc.); it reveals the poverty of those visions of the universe which merely reflect one aspect of our condition (utilitarianism, psychologism, sociologism, etc.); it prohibits commonplace anthropocentrism (*Aufklärung, scientisme*); it rejects both optimism and pessimism. It incites us to meditate on the human tragedy—that of the division of a being who longs for union; that of a power which is free, but upon which freedom is imposed; the tragedy that Blondel, following after Hegel, Husserl and Bergson, connects with man's religious dimension. And how are we to conceive the mere idea of absolute knowledge, the universal bond, the synthesis in which rationalism, romanticism and history rise to their full power, unless man, that tragic being, is related from within to the absolute ?

NOTES TO CHAPTER XVII

1. Yu. P. Mikhalenko, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences, writes: This section contains interesting factual material and observations about the historical and philosophical links between the various trends; but it is impossible to agree with the author's appraisals and conclusions, made from the standpoint of idealist philosophy. This section gives no account of the materialist dialectics of Marx and Engels and of the part it played in the development of world culture. It fails to give a sufficiently clear account of the contribution made by classical German philosophy to the elaboration of the dialectical method, and makes no mention at all of the problem of eliminating the metaphysical method; a great deal of space is allocated to the reactionary, idealist schools of philosophy. The whole account is based on the intermingling of themes.

These comments are fully endorsed by I. I. Cherkassov, Candidate of Philosophical Sciences, who notes, however, that the section has a number of useful features: considerable factual material about the philosophical attitude of Saint-Simon, Comte, Mill, Bergson, Husserl and many others; also about the progress of sciences and technology in the middle and the first half of the nineteenth century. Also, the material is well set out. On the other hand, the section as a whole has many serious shortcomings, the most serious of which is the failure to take account of the materialist trend in philosophy. There is no mention, for instance, of the eighteenth-century French materialists and their significance in laying the foundations for the bourgeois revolution, which had such a profound influence on the development of the political and ideological life of society in the nineteenth century. A distorted account is given of Marxist philosophy; and the reader is told nothing about the philosophy of revolutionary democrats, either in Russia or in the other countries of Europe. The names of Chernyshevsky, Belinsky, Dobrolyubov and the other revolutionary democrats, with the single exception of Herzen, are not even mentioned.

The whole section, from beginning to end, gives the impression that the main philosophical trends were romanticism, rationalism and 'historical philosophy' (i.e. the philosophy of history taken from an idealistic standpoint). It is crowded with large numbers of names of idealist philosophers (especially neo-Kantians). The whole of the history of philosophy is presented as the history of idealism, and its various trends viewed from the idealist position; so that the section constitutes an apologia of idealism and an indictment of materialism.

2. I. I. Cherkassov points out that the author, speaking of the significance of the *Encyclopédie* compiled under the supervision of Diderot, states that it contained a great deal of information about the progress of science and technology. That is no doubt true; but the author fails

to mention the main point—that this encyclopaedia dealt a serious blow to the reactionary, feudal ideology in politics. Moreover, Holbach, La Mettrie, Helvetius and other materialists in France in the second half of the eighteenth century were compelled, as it were, to observe a 'conspiracy of silence'.

It is essential, in the introduction, to add a short account of the historical significance of French materialism as an ideological prepaiation for the bourgeois revolution of the end of the eighteenth century.

The eighteenth-century French philosophy of enlightenment was not homogeneous, any more than the social milieu from which it sprang. Its first representatives were Montesquieu (1689–1755) and Voltaire (1694–1778). They expressed the aspirations of the top strata of the bourgeoisie of the period, and did not carry their criticism of feudal relations to the point of demanding the elimination of the feudal class system, but dreamed of a compromise between the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie, on the English pattern. This modeiate political line was accompanied by restraint in the criticism of religion, which went no further than preaching deism, stopping short of atheism. The first representative of eighteenth-century French materialism was Jean Meslier, (1664–1729) the ideologist of plebeian democratic circles, who carried criticism of feudalism to the point of demanding the eradication of private property and confirmation of the ideals of Utopian communism. Taking his stand on Spinoza but rejecting the theological overtones of Spinoza's theories, Meslier preached a materialistic, atheistic philosophy. Le Mettrie (1709–51), Helvetius (1715–71), Diderot (1713–84), and Holbach (1723–89) formed the basic materialistic nucleus of the French enlightenment. In their writings, materialistic thought was developed much further than in those of seventeenth-century Dutch and English thinkers. They were the first to draw from materialism frankly atheistic conclusions concerning religious, feudal philosophy, and the consecration by religion of the feudal system and absolutism. Eighteenth-century French materialism drew inspiration from progress in natural histoiy of that epoch, and in turn provided the methodological basis for the subsequent development of the natural sciences and, more particularly, of Lamarckism. The social and aesthetic views of Helvetius, Diderot and Holbach, and in particular their theories on the influence of the external milieu on the intellectual and moral character of man and the equality of intellectual capacities of all peoples and all nations, played an important part in the development of the Utopian socialism of the nineteenth century. French materialism likewise had an important influence on the development of realism in art.

French materialism in the eighteenth century was metaphysical and mechanistic in character. In their interpretation of social phenomena, the representatives of this trend continued to argue from an idealist standpoint. Their theory of knowledge was over-contemplative. But despite these historically inevitable shortcomings, French materialism played its part in the struggle against the clerico-feudal, idealist philosophy, and was to constitute one of the most important landmarks in the growth and development of dialectical materialism.

3. I. I. Cherkassov believes that the presentation of the problem in the above paragraph is not acceptable. In this connection the question arises as to why the author separates Kant (1724–1804) from the eighteenth century. By forcing the history of philosophy into an arbitrary chronological scheme, he attempts to prove that 'the century of the philosophers' 'came to an end between 1770 and 1780'. He writes that Condillac, Hume, Voltaire and Rousseau died in that period, but says nothing about the fact that the leader of the French materialists, Holbach, lived on nine years beyond the end of that period, dying in 1789, not long before the bourgeois revolution. All this is done in order to explain the existence of a 'philosophical vacuum' in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and give prominence to the philosophy of Kant, who is represented as filling this vacuum, and acting as a link between the philosophical ideas of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

4. I. I. Cherkassov comments that the ideas of Kant are presented in incomplete form, despite the fact that comparatively many pages are devoted to him. Nothing is said, for instance, about the materialist trends in his philosophy, which were manifested clearly during the 'democratic period' of his activities. An important part of his work at this period was devoted to problems of natural history and the philosophy of Nature. They were significant because they raised the question of development in Nature. Taking as his

starting-point the mechanistic philosophy of Newton, Kant endeavoured to apply the current principles of natural history in order to explain not only the existing structure of the solar system, but also its origins and development. In his *Universal Natural History and Theory of the Heavens* (1775), Kant expounded the theory that the solar system originated from a vast cloud of rarefied particles of matter in space, and developed into its present structure in accordance with the laws discovered by Newton. Kant also demonstrated that, as a result of the tides which, impelled by the attraction of the moon, sway the world oceans twice in twenty-four hours, the rate of the Earth's revolution round its axis is steadily decreasing. In the realm of physics Kant, elaborating the ideas of Descartes and Galileo, propounded a new theory on the relativity of motion and rest; in biology, he worked out a genealogical classification of the animal kingdom, based on their putative origins; in anthropology, he advanced the theory of the history of man as part of natural evolution. Kant's greatest service to science was to emphasize the importance of development in both inorganic and organic nature, thereby laying the foundations for the emergence of the idea of development in specific branches of natural history.

5. I. I. Cherkassov points out that, although the author mentions the most important events in the history of the time, he then proceeds to describe the theories of the philosophers and the development of trends in philosophy without reference to current social, economic and political conditions. For example, he attributes the disintegration of the Hegelian school mainly to the power of Hegel's dialectics. It is, of course, true that the contradiction between Hegel's dialectical method and his conservative metaphysical system did open the way for a split amongst Hegel's followers; but the main cause for that split is in any case to be found in the acute class conflict existing in Germany in the 1830s and 1840s.

6. I. I. Cherkassov writes: The author, while devoting sufficient attention to all the other main figures in German philosophy at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century, says practically nothing about the materialist philosopher Feuerbach, who is dismissed in four lines, and described merely as a humanist, an atheist and a 'leftist' Hegelian. About his materialism, not a word is said. In point of fact, the materialist philosophy of Feuerbach was a product of the pre-revolutionary period in the development of Germany. Feuerbach was the spokesman of the most radical elements of the democratic faction of the German bourgeoisie, interested in the development of the natural sciences, technology, education and humanism. In about 1839 Feuerbach broke away from the Hegelian philosophy and became a materialist (*Towards a Critique of Hegelian Philosophy* (1839), *The Essence of Christianity* (1841), *Preliminary Theses for the Reform of Philosophy* (1842), *Principles of the Philosophy of the Future* (1843) etc.). The basis of Feuerbach's materialism is anthropological; he sees man as a single whole, and denies the conflict between spirit and body. The true relation of thinking to being, wrote Feuerbach, may be expressed as follows: 'Being is the subject, thinking the predicate; thinking proceeds from being, and not the other way round.' But for Feuerbach, man was first and foremost a part of Nature; he did not understand the social character of man, his active, practical attitude to Nature; or that decisive factor in the development of man and his thinking is material production. Though Feuerbach was a disciple of Hegel, he rejected Hegel's dialectics and was unable to overcome the metaphysical approach of his predecessors.

Feuerbach adopted the materialist theory of knowledge. He criticized Kant bitterly for his agnosticism, and held that there are no insuperable barriers to human cognition. For Feuerbach, the starting-point of knowledge is sensation which, in turn, arises from the effect of the external world on the sense organs; the function of reason is to interrelate what the senses present as separate phenomena. Maintaining that practice resolves doubts that are not resolved by theory, Feuerbach nevertheless regarded practice as something passive rather than as practical, critical revolutionary activity. He pointed to a gnosiological connection between idealism and religion: both stem from separating thinking from being. Feuerbach's fight against religion was a major achievement of pre-Marxian philosophy, although Feuerbach himself failed to make a concrete historical analysis of religion and approached the question of sweeping away religion from a purely educational point of view. Moreover he strove, whilst rejecting religion in the traditional sense, to set up in its place, as it were, what might be termed a religion without a God. As against aesthetic, hypocritical religiosity, Feuerbach preached a moral system based on man's aspirations to fulfil his needs.

The materialism of Feuerbach exercised a strong influence on the work of Herzen, Belinsky, Dobrolyubov and Chernyshevsky, also on Marx and Engels in their youth. The classics of Marxism-Leninism drew on Feuerbach's conclusions in their struggle against idealist philosophy.

7. See the appendix to this section.

8. I. I. Cherkassov draws attention to the fact that the theories of I. P. Pavlov are dealt with here in extremely cursory form: the reader of these lines will learn very little about this scientist. The author writes twice as much about Freud and, moreover, makes not the slightest criticism of the idealistic basis of Freudism, or of the fact that it reduces all human requirements to biological ones, ignores the vital part played by social requirements, presents all forms of human activity, arbitrarily, as manifestations of man's instincts and takes no account at all of the deep significance of the material conditions of human society.

9. We need only refer here to the crisis in Newtonian physics and Laplacian determinism, caused by Michelson's experiments and the quantum theory; the crisis of logico-mathematical deduction which resulted from Cantor's publication of his theory of transfinite numbers; the crisis of Euclidean geometry; the crisis created in chemistry when Jean Perrin published *Les Atomes* (1913) and thus founded physical chemistry; the crisis in biology owing to divergent theories of evolution, etc.

10. I. I. Cherkassov remarks that the passage on Russian philosophy is unsatisfactory. There is no mention at all of Herzen's materialism. Moreover, the names of Chernyshevsky, Belinsky and Dobrolyubov do not appear at all. Although the reader is referred to the chapter on 'Russia', their names ought nevertheless to be mentioned in this section also, especially since, speaking of the other Russian philosophers of the nineteenth century, the author names only Soloviev, Archbishop Nikanov, Fedorov, Losski, Berdiaev, Bulgakov and other similar persons. We find very strange the statement that the 'profound speculations' of these philosophers 'helped them to turn (the Russian intelligentsia) towards Marx and his historical dialectic'.

APPENDIX: Materialism in the Nineteenth Century

University teaching and specialized literature, in the course of the nineteenth century, continued to be dominated by idealist philosophy, the conflict between the different trends of this philosophy and between it and materialism; the second half of the nineteenth century was marked by a steady decline of idealism, with independent philosophical reflection being replaced, to an increasing extent, by eclecticism. It was against this background that, in the middle of the nineteenth century, there emerged a new world outlook which, in the ensuing decades, came to be adopted by increasing numbers of progressive-minded people and, a century later, had gained the support of a vast proportion of the peoples of the world. This new philosophy was the dialectical materialism propounded by Marx and Engels.

Materialist philosophy has, in the course of its development, passed through a number of stages: the original, elemental, naïve materialism of the ancient philosophers; the predominantly metaphysical materialism of the philosophers between the sixteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth century; the materialism of the nineteenth-century revolutionary democrats, closely approaching dialectical materialism; and lastly—dialectical materialism, the highest form of contemporary materialism.

Dialectical materialism as a component part of Marxism emerged in the middle of the 1840s. It is true that it did not constitute a part of the official philosophy; but it was a natural, inevitable development of the existing situation of society, science and philosophy, which accounts for the profound influence it exercised on the subsequent development of the whole of human thinking and social life.

In the advanced countries of Europe, the 1830s and 1840s saw the beginning of open conflict between the two principal classes of bourgeois society: the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. In 1831 and 1834, there were risings amongst the weavers of Lyons, in France. It was in the years between 1838 and 1842 that the Chartist movement in England reached its climax. In 1844 the revolt of the Silesian weavers took place in Germany. The new rising class

—the proletariat—was aspiring to change the structure of society. This required a knowledge of the laws of social development, of complex phenomena, the study of which necessitated the application of the most highly perfected method of investigation—the dialectical method. The application of dialectics to the history of society led to acknowledgement of the fact that the basis of society is material production; that in society, as in nature, existence determines consciousness, and not the other way round. Thus, in the long run, objective historical development necessitated the development of a materialistic interpretation of history.

Progress in the field of natural science in the middle of the nineteenth century laid the scientific foundations for the rise of a dialectical interpretation of Nature. The decisive role in this connection was played by three important discoveries: the discovery of the organic cell (1838–9), the law of conservation and transformation of energy (1842), and the proclamation of Darwin's theory (1859). The unity of the vegetable and animal kingdom, the inter-transformability of all forms of energy, and the theory of evolution—all alike bore witness to the unity and dialectical development of Nature. The application of these facts of natural science resulted in the development of dialectical materialism.

Lastly, the logic of the development of philosophy itself made essential the merging of materialism and dialectics. The philosophy of Hegel and the dialectical theories contained therein constituted the main achievement of the first three decades of the nineteenth century. The subsequent decades marked the apotheosis of the Hegelian school, but also the beginning of its decline. The most eminent of Hegel's disciples, Feuerbach, destroyed the idealist foundations of Hegelianism and restored the materialistic point of view; but he rejected dialectics as well as idealism. In so doing, he blocked the way to the understanding of the laws of social development, and made it impossible for himself to get away from an idealistic interpretation of history. In the early 1840s the philosophy of Feuerbach represented a considerable advance on Hegelian idealism; but by the end of the decade it was already outdated, and belonged to history. Thus both Hegelian dialectics, resting on a purely idealistic basis, and Feuerbach's materialism, lacking dialectical method, failed to satisfy growing demands. This was the philosophical position, and this was the theoretical material, accumulated as a result of the previous development of philosophy, from which the theories of Marx and Engels evolved. Whilst their work in the sphere of political economy was influenced by the English classical bourgeois school of political economy, as represented by A. Smith and D. Ricardo, and in the sphere of socialist theory by Utopian socialism, English and, in particular, French (A. Saint-Simon, C. Fourier and R. Owen) in philosophy, it was to the German classical school, from Kant to Hegel and Feuerbach, that they turned.

The objective necessity of a philosophy such as dialectical materialism was either the possibility or the pre-condition for the emergence of new ideas. There was a need for people capable of rethinking accumulated historical and theoretical material, and formulating the basic ideas of a new world outlook. And such people appeared.

Marx and Engels were born in the Rhineland province of Prussia, the former in Trier in 1818, the latter in Barmen in 1820. This province was at that time the most developed part of Germany, economically, politically and culturally. Both Marx and Engels received a truly encyclopaedic education, in which philosophy played a predominant role. In 1841 Marx completed his university studies, obtaining his Doctor's degree for his thesis on 'The Difference Between the Natural Philosophy of Democritus and Epicurus'. Meanwhile Engels, in 1841 and the following year, demonstrated his brilliance in three brochures in criticism of Schelling. Both Marx and Engels in their extreme youth astounded their contemporaries by their depth of intellect and strength of character. Here is what a contemporary wrote about the young Marx: 'Marx is a person compounded of energy, will-power and unshakable convictions—and a person of remarkable appearance.' (P. Annenkov, *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*). 'He combines profound philosophical seriousness with sparkling wit; imagine Rousseau, Voltaire, Holbach, Lessing, Heine and Hegel combined in one person—I say *combined*, not mixed together—and you will have a picture of Doctor Marx' (M. Hess to B. Auerbach). Marx is the 'Aristotle of the nineteenth century' (G. Everbek to K. Marx).

Marx's and Engels' views underwent a similar evolution. Both profoundly comprehended the philosophy of Hegel, though neither of them was ever an orthodox Hegelian. Both for a time belonged to the leftist Hegelians from whom, however, they differed both in their intense interest in practical questions and in their revolutionary democratism. Both, coming up against the role of material factors in the life of the various classes of bourgeois society—

Marx whilst working as editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*, Engels during his sojourn in England —began, almost at the same moment, their change-over from idealism and revolutionary democratism to materialism and proletarian communism. It was at this period that Marx wrote his great work: *Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law* (1843). This period was concluded by the publication of their articles in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* of 1844. An important factor in causing both Marx and Engels to change over from idealism to materialism was the philosophy of Feuerbach, constituting a connecting link between the philosophy of Hegel and that of Marx and Engels. But it is clear already, both from Marx's articles in the *Jahrbücher* and also from his *Economic and philosophical manuscripts of 1844* containing a criticism of Hegelian dialectics and Hegelian philosophy as a whole, that he had far outstripped Feuerbach. Shortly after the *Jahrbücher* came out in Paris, the meeting between Marx and Engels, marking the beginning of their forty years of collaboration and legendary friendship, took place. The first fruit of this collaboration was their *The Holy Family*, directed against the philosophy of the Left Hegelians. It appeared in 1845; and was followed by *The German Ideology* (1845–7). In this work Marx and Engels, through criticism of Hegel, Feuerbach and the Left Hegelians B. Bauer and M. Stirner, 'true socialists', discarded their former philosophical ideas once and for all and evolved the materialist interpretation of history as the theoretical basis of scientific communism. The authors were not able, during their lifetime, to publish this work in full. The first published works of mature Marxism were Marx's *Poverty of Philosophy* (1847), in criticism of Proudhon, and the *Communist Manifesto* (1848), written jointly by Marx and Engels. In the latter, the new outlook, as developed by Marx and Engels, was proclaimed to all the world.

Marxism was created not by one man alone, though it was Marx who made the main contribution. Both Marx and Engels had an outstanding knowledge of philosophy, political economy and history; and also of world literature and art. But there were a number of special fields in which they were mutually complementary. Thus, for instance, Marx left a large volume of manuscripts on mathematics; whilst Engels, who spent many years on research into the basic problems of the natural sciences of his time, was the author of many works on military subjects. and an outstanding linguist. Despite all this, Engels, speaking of the role played by Marx, said without hesitation: 'Marx was a genius; we others were at best talented. Without him, the theory would not be what it is today. It therefore rightly bears his name' (*Collected Works*, volume II).

By 1848, the main lines of the Marxist philosophy had evolved with the most detailed attention being devoted to its application to the history of society—historical materialism, or the materialistic interpretation of history. In 1848–9, Marx and Engels took an active part in the revolution, publishing the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in Cologne. Marx was the chief editor of this paper, and Engels one of the assistant editors. It was the best proletarian newspaper of the nineteenth century. After the defeat of the revolution, both Marx and Engels went to live in England, where Marx composed his greatest work *Das Kapital*, and Engels wrote his principal philosophical works: *Anti-Dühring* (1877–8), *Dialectics of Nature* (1873–82), *Ludwig Feuerbach and the Outcome of Classical German Philosophy* (1886). Marx incorporated the fruits of forty years' labour in the four volumes of *Das Kapital*. Although it deals mainly with the economic relations in a capitalist society, this work is also of the greatest significance for the development of Marxist philosophy. Whilst working on *Das Kapital*, Marx concentrated mainly on the applications of dialectical materialism as a method of research and exposition. In the course of his political and economic studies, he reverted again to Hegelian dialectics, and stated that he intended, at some time, to write a summary of the substance of materialist dialectics. But unfortunately he never carried out this scheme. *Das Kapital*, however, does contain a supreme example of the application of the dialectical method to the field of political economy. 'Though Marx never wrote his *Logic*, he did leave us the *logic* of *Das Kapital* . . .' 'In *Das Kapital*, we have the logic, dialectics and theory of knowledge of materialism applied to science alone', wrote Lenin. Marx's views on method, and in particular the method for proceeding from the abstract to the concrete, are expounded more fully in the draft preface to his *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1857). Engels' works of the 1870s and 1880s contained a summary of progress made in the natural sciences up to that time, and a fuller exposition of dialectical materialism and the dialectical materialistic understanding of nature. By the end of the century Marxist philosophy was developed in all its essential features. After the death of Marx (1883) and Engels (1895), this philosophy was

taken up by their numerous disciples and successors. A new phase in the development of Marxism, including the philosophy of Marxism, is linked with the name of Lenin.

The emergence of dialectical materialism was a veritable turning-point in the history of philosophy: this was the first philosophy which directly reflected the interests of the proletariat. Marx declared, as early as 1844, in the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher:* 'Just as philosophy finds in the proletariat its *material* weapon, so the proletariat finds in philosophy its *spiritual* weapon' (Criticism of Hegel's *Philosophy of the Law*, Introduction, *Collected Works*, 2nd edn., vol. 1). Now for the first time materialism and dialectics were combined in dialectical materialism, leading to a radical transformation both of the idealistic dialectics of Hegel and of the metaphysical materialism of Feuerbach. Marx expressed his attitude to Hegelian dialectics in the following terms: 'My dialectical method is fundamentally not only different from the Hegelian, but its direct opposite. To Hegel, the process of thinking, which, under the name of "the Idea", he even transforms into an independent subject, is the demiurge (creator) of the real world, and the real world is only the external, phenomenal form of "the Idea". With me, on the contrary, the ideal is nothing else than the material world reflected by the human mind, and translated into forms of thought' (*Das Kapital*, vol. I, epilogue to 2nd edn.). The main characteristic of the materialism of Marx, unlike all preceding forms of materialism, was that it was carried to its logical conclusion and, for the first time, applied to the study of society. Engels, in his speech at the graveside of Karl Marx, described the materialistic interpretation of history and the theory of surplus value as the two main discoveries of Marx: 'Just as Darwin discovered the law of evolution in organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of evolution in human history; he discovered the simple fact, hitherto concealed by an overgrowth of ideology, that mankind must first of all eat and drink, have shelter and clothing, before it can pursue politics, science, religion, art etc.' (*Collected Works* vol. II). In contradistinction to all previous forms of materialism, which were contemplative, Marxian materialism was concrete and practical. This was stated clearly as early as 1845, in the *Theses on Feuerbach*, which Engels described as 'the first document containing the inspired seed of a new world outlook' (*Collected Works*, vol. II). In the concluding thesis, the eleventh, Marx wrote: 'Philosophers have merely *explained* the world in various ways, but the point is that the world has to be *changed*' (*Collected Works*, 2nd edn., vol. III). The combination of theory and practice is one of the main characteristics of Marxian philosophy; and this was reflected in the practical activities of the founders of dialectical materialism. They were not merely theoretical philosophers, but also leaders of the working class. They founded both the Communist League (1817–18) and the First International (1864–72), both of them international organizations of the revolutionary proletariat. For the first time in the history of philosophy, practical criteria were introduced into the theory of knowledge, and material production was recognized as the basis of society. Lastly, Marx and Engels gave a new definition of the very essence of philosophy: philosophy is not the science of sciences, but merely the science of the most general laws of development of Nature, society and thought.

Marx and Engels created a new philosophical map of the world. They maintained that the main problem of philosophy was that of the relation between being and consciousness. Marx and Engels stood for materialistic monism: it is materialism that gives the world its unity. Matter without motion is just as unthinkable as motion without matter. Motion is a form of the existence of matter. Motion, therefore, like matter, can neither be created nor destroyed. The world is eternal, both in space and in time. Space and time are the basic forms of all existence. The forms of the motion of matter develop from mechanical displacement to a higher form—reflection. Consciousness is the property of highly organized matter. Existence determines consciousness. Consciousness reflects existence. There is nothing that is incomprehensible, only some things which have not yet been comprehended. All the objects and phenomena in the world are constantly moving and developing in accordance with certain laws. The most general laws of the development of Nature, society and thought are the law of the transition from quantity to quality, the law of the unity and conflict of opposites and the law of the negation of negation. The main persons responsible for expounding the tenets of dialectical materialism after the death of Marx and Engels and, in particular, propagating these theories and defending them against bourgeois ideology, and the most eminent disciples and successors of Marx and Engels were: F. Mehring in Germany, P. Lafargue in France, Labriola in Italy and, in Russia, G. V. Plekhanov, who wrote a brilliant criticism of idealism and philosophical revisionism. Plekhanov's philosophical works of the end of the nineteenth

and beginning of the twentieth century were regarded by Lenin as the best in the whole world literature on Marxism. Lenin's role in the development of Marxist philosophy is an extremely important one.

The main characteristic of the new Leninist stage in the development of dialectical materialism is the generalization of the revolutionary action of the proletariat in the epoch of imperialism and socialist revolution. Dialectical materialism was further developed and strengthened in Lenin's works dating from the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, due to the generalization of the new advances made in the natural sciences.

The development of dialectical materialism, in Lenin's case, always went hand in hand with the application of the dialectical method to practical analysis of the progress of natural science. Lenin revealed the philosophical implications of the revolution in physics and, at the same time, developed Engels' theory that idealism and metaphysics acted as a brake on the development of natural sciences in general. Summing up the latest advances in the natural sciences from the point of view of dialectical materialism, Lenin explained the crisis in physics and indicated how it could be surmounted: 'The fundamental, materialistic spirit both of physics and also of all modern natural sciences will overcome all crises of every kind, but only on condition that metaphysical materialism is replaced by dialectical materialism' (*Collected Works*, 4th edn., vol. 14). Of important methodical significance is Lenin's postulate about the inexhaustibility of the atom and of the knowledge of matter, both in depth and in extent. Developing the application of dialectical materialsm in the struggle against the reactionary, idealistic trends of philosophical thought, Lenin attained a profounder understanding of the basic categories of materialistic dialectics: matter and its forms of motion, space and time, causality, freedom and necessity, possibility and actuality, form and content, etc.

Summing up the achievements of science, philosophy and social practice, Lenin formulated a definition of matter in the unity of its ontological and gnosiological aspects. He wrote that the sole property of matter on which philosophical materialism is based is its objective reality and ability to exist independently of our consciousness. 'Matter is a philosophical category designating the objective reality which is given to man by his sensations, and which is copied, photographed and reflected by our sensations, while existing independently of them.' This conception of matter is independent of the physical theory of the structure of matter and of its various types of motion and development, which is necessarily changing and developing constantly as a result of the increase of man's knowledge. At the same time, this conception of matter is closely linked with all its concrete manifestations and interpretations, including the social form of matter as motion. These definitions include both the opposition between matter and consciousness and, at the same time, their unity. Lenin's definition of matter sums up the materialistic standpoint on the principal problem of philosophy, and the dialectical conception of the development of matter and consciousness. Lenin emphasizes that matter existed before the development of consciousness, which basically consists merely of the capacity for reflection, resembling the capacity for sensation. It follows from this that no impassable gulf exists between inorganic and organic nature and that, therefore, the transition from the inanimate to the animate is not a miracle.

Lenin further developed Marx's theory about the part played by social practice in the theory of knowledge, emphasizing that the theory of knowledge should be concerned first and foremost with practical considerations of life.

Analysing the main stages of human knowledge and regarding (social) practice as the basis of the whole process of knowledge and the criterion of truth, Lenin demonstrated that knowledge proceeds from sensory experience to abstract thought, and thence to practice, and that human consciousness is active in that it not merely reflects the world, but also creates it, i.e. transforms it on the basis of practical experience. Lenin made an analysis of the dialectics of the singular, the particular and the general, both in the objective world and in cognition. He used the example of the development of capitalism in Russia to give a concerte demonstration of the Marxist method of proceeding from the abstract to the concrete. In expounding the theory of knowledge, Lenin paid special attention to the dialectics of the transition from insensate matter to matter possessing the property of sensation, from sensation to thought; also to the inter-transitions between conceptions and their flexibility, which is such as to allow the inclusion of opposites.

In his criticism of Machism, which is based on subjective idealism and absolute relativity, Lenin pronounced his theories on objective, relative and absolute truth, and demonstrated

the dialectical correlation between them. The main feature in Lenin's theory of truth is the problem of the concrete character of truth.

The dialectical approach to the process of knowledge consists first and foremost of a historical approach to it. Lenin, in his elaboration of the theory of knowledge, placed special emphasis on the fact that knowledge is a historically developing process, also on the need for considering the forms and the content of thought in combination; he formulated the basic tenets about the unity of the dialectics, logic and theory of knowledge; defined the main principles of dialectical logic; and laid the foundations for the study of the historical process of the development of categories of thought. Lenin gave a brief but exhaustive definition of the method to use for elaboration of the theory of knowledge and dialectics: the history of philosophy, the history of individual sciences, the history of the intellectual development of the child, the history of the intellectual development of animals, the history of language—these, plus psychology and the physiology of the sensory organs, are the bases on which the theory of knowledge and dialectics must be built up. Lenin emphasized the need for a critical, dialectical approach to the history of human thought, science and technology. The historical method constitutes the very kernel of dialectical materialism. Lenin stressed the importance of historical sequence and of studying each phenomenon in relation to its genesis, main stages of development and present form.

Dialectical materialism is the study of the general laws of development of the external world and of human consciousness. These laws are both reflected in and defined by the system of categories. Categories, or concepts, are the most general, fundamental principles and, at the same time, a definition of the concrete forms of existence and relations of things; categories are universal forms for the generalization of being and cognition. Just as all categories (concepts) are interlinked and constantly developing, their development being subject to the basic laws of dialectics, so the laws of dialectics, in their turn, reflect the relations between categories, both as to their general aspects and as to the relations of things. Thus for instance the relations between content and form, reality and appearance, necessity and chance constitute, in addition to their specific character, examples of the law of the unity and conflict of opposites. Categories are both the result of the knowledge of the external world and, at the same time, considered as a whole, constitute the necessary prerequisite to the general method of scientific investigation. Neither all concepts, nor all laws, play the same part in method. Such concepts as, for instance, causality, development, contradiction and regularity are not only universal forms of human thought, but also fundamental principles for knowledge of the world.

Categories both sum up the practice of the past and serve as instruments for the study of present and future practice. They develop with changing reality and the increase of man's knowledge of that reality. Categories, reflecting changing reality, undergo developments which enrich their content and make them more profoundly concrete.

Objectively speaking, taking the world as a whole, there can be no question of the gradual formation of categories or concepts as fundamental, general properties and connections. Quality, quantity, causality, law and so on have co-existed for all time—they do not arise from one another, or one after another. It is only idealistic logic which rests on the assumption that the emergence and development of logical concepts are at one and the same time the creation of thinking themselves and of the relations between them. Such was, for instance, the view held by Hegel, proceeding from the idealistic postulate of the identity of things and being, and the acceptance of intelligence as the basis of the world.

Dialectical materialism, as opposed to objective idealism, proceeds from the recognition of the unity of being and consciousness, which presupposes that the laws governing the objective world and consciousness are at once identical and different. At the same time, dialectical materialism repudiates the notion of 'a priorism' in the determination of categories, which claims that being and thought are different in substance and separated by an impassable gap. Concepts in dialectical materialism are based on the principles of the Marxist-Leninist theory of reflection and dialectics. The study and exposition of the categories and laws of dialectical materialism must proceed from a single logical and historical method which, in its turn, expresses the objective logic of the relations between things and their development, the evolution of these relations in the direction of greater definition with growing complication, in view of the fact that '. . . the advance of abstract thought, proceeding from the simple to the complex, corresponds to the actual historical process' (K. Marx and F. Engels, *Collected*

Works, 2nd edn., vol. 12). At the same time, the mutual relations and transitions between categories as to logical form reflect the historical process of the development of knowledge of objects and the logical succession of stages in the process of cognition, extremely relative of course, with inevitable limitations.

In the system of dialectical materialism, each category occupies a more or less clearly defined historical and logical place constituting, in a general way, the corresponding stage in the development of knowledge about the world. Lenin regarded categories as steps, or links in the process of the knowledge of the world.

The logical process of thought reproduces the historical process of cognition from direct perception of the properties of things to understanding, based on reflection about law-governed connections. The basis of the development of categories is the social practice acquired by man in the process of historical development. Even the most abstract categories of thought have 'roots on earth', grow out of the soil of social practice and are the product of man's practical relations with the real world through their relations with one another on the level of social production. The whole of the history of society throughout the world shows that categories which have arisen on the basis of social practice subsequently change, in the process of the development of society, are adjusted, enriched and corrected by practical experience. Hence the development of practice is followed by the development of categories, taken as an expression of practice.

At the basis of the system of materialistic dialectics, which is in the process of historical development, there must exist a category of a kind which needs no prerequisites and which itself forms the starting-point for investigation of all other categories. This category is matter. In Lenin's definition, 'matter is a philosophical category designating the objective reality which is given to man by his sensations, and which is copied, photographed and reflected by our sensations, whilst existing independently of them' (Lenin, *Collected Works*, vol. 18). Lenin's definition of matter includes not only its natural forms, studied by the natural sciences, but also its social forms: human society is the highest form of the motion of matter.

After the category of matter come the main forms of its existence: motion, space and time. Motion is a form of existence of matter. Being signifies movement and change. Motion, like matter, is eternal; it can neither be created nor destroyed. Motion of matter is its self-motion in that it has no need of a first impulse, the source of motion being contained in matter itself, the interconnections and interreactions of its various forms of existence. Motion is internally contradictory: both changing and stable, both in motion and at rest.

Motion occurs in space and time. Space is a form of co-ordination of existing objects, of states of matter. Time is a form of co-ordination of changing objects and states of matter.

This systematic consideration of certain categories in general terms corresponds both to history and to the logic of knowledge. It is only through motion that the many different states of matter are known. Motion is the most obvious fact which man encounters in his practical, conscious activity. Notions and conceptions of space and time arise from consciousness of the properties and forms of moving matter.

Matter exists objectively in the endless variety of forms in which it is manifested, and man has to deal with the things and phenomena which form the objects of his action and cognition. Investigation begins by marking the object, noting its existence; and proceeds to discover the properties of the object and its relations with other objects. When speaking of existence, we always mean the existence of something: without that in which existence is inherent, there is no existence. The most abstract definition of an object is something that exists, i.e. the statement of the simple fact that there is some objective reality independently of man's consciousness, though it is still unknown what this something is. As knowledge goes further and deeper, more and more sides, properties, links and relations of this 'something' are revealed to the subject. Every object presents to man, the active subject, its qualitative aspect the knowledge of which, at first extremely superficial, constitutes an important step towards knowledge of the object itself. The first stage in the knowledge of material things is directly through sensation, and inevitably includes quality. Quality is an integral characteristic of the functional unity of the existing properties on an object, of its internal and external definiteness, relative stability, and its differences from and resemblances with other objects. Hegel defined quality as definiteness identical with being. The definite being of a concrete object appears to the subject first and foremost as qualitative definiteness, enabling the said object to be distinguished from others and also compared with them. It is true that the quality of an object is

manifested only in the relation of that object to others, but in order to be manifested, it first must exist. Quality is connected with the being of the said object in such a way that, were the object to lose its quality, it would change into something different. Quality is indissolubly bound up with quantity. Quantity is the external, formal relation of objects or their components, also their properties and their connections.

The process of cognition is such that perception of quality precedes perception of quantity. As Lenin said, we first have fleeting impressions, then something emerges, and then there develops the perception of quality . . . and quantity. In order, for instance, to carry out a calculation, man first had to know that he was calculating. When quantity is established, the idea of quality is forgotten. This is possible because quality and quantity are up to a point independent of one another, so that a change of quantity does not up to a certain point cause any change of quality. But in the early stages of the development of man's knowledge, he did not understand the fact that quality and quantity are fundamentally interlinked and interdependent. Every object constitutes a unity of quantity and quality, i.e. quality defined quantitatively. This unity also governs size, the consciousness of which conditions the perception of quality and quantity.

Size is the zone within which a given quality is modified and varies according to changes of quantity and of specific inessential properties, whilst retaining its essential identity. Everything has its own specific size. In the process of discovering the qualitative and quantitative definiteness of things, man at the same time establishes their differences and samenesses, constituting one of the elementary stages of cognition.

All objects have external aspects, directly perceptible to the senses and perceptions, and internal aspects, knowledge of which is acquired indirectly, through abstract reflection. This difference in types of cognition is reflected by the existence of two sets of categories, external and internal. The first represents, first and foremost, that which characterizes an object in regard to its connections with objects belonging to the other system of relations.

The external aspect is an essential prerequisite for the existence and development of any object.

In contradistinction to this is the internal aspect—that which characterizes the inherent nature, content and distinctiveness of things. The inner essence determines the characteristic of the object as regards those properties and relations which constitute its basis, substance, law of motion and development. The formulation of these categories in man's consciousness precedes and prepares the way for the comprehension of causality or the relations between cause and effect, which were originally regarded as no more than a succession of phenomena.

When one phenomenon, subject to certain conditions, gives rise to and determines another phenomenon, the first constitutes the cause, the second the effect. Causality is a connection which always gives birth to something new, transforms possibility into actuality and constitutes the essential source of development. The chain of cause-and-effect relations is both objectively necessary and universal.

Cognition proceeds from coexistence to causality and from one form of connection and interdependence to another profounder, more general form. Without an elementary grasp of causal connections no purposeful, practical human activity is possible. At a further stage in the development process of reflection, man began to understand that cause not merely produces effect, but presupposes it as a counteraction. Though differing from one another, cause and effect do not constitute two different, independent forms of being: every action is also counteraction. Thus the relation of cause and effect is perceived by man as interaction, i.e. as a universal chain of things and events engendered by their interchange. At the same time, it is clear that the result of this reaction depends not only on the object that undergoes it: in such interaction resides the essence of cause and effect, which are only moments in the chain.

Cause and effect connections may be essential or haphazard. Everything in the world occurs in accordance with determined laws. But the particular form in which a specific event occurs is a matter of chance. The basic connections and trends are engendered by necessity, but the existence of every individual object is ruled both by necessary connections and trends and also by the influence of many others. Chance is not based on the essential properties and relations of an object; it is not something historically prepared for by the process of development of that particular object. Chance (accident) is that which, in the given conditions, can either be or not be, can happen in one way, but can also happen in another way. In the world, and also in the life of men, there occur inevitable events, and chance ones.

Necessity is that which, in the given conditions, cannot *not* be. Necessity is the inevitable development of certain phenomena stemming from innate, existing interrelations between those phenomena.

Whereas necessity contains in itself its own cause, chance has its cause elsewhere, in the intersection of the different cause–effect connections of the existing conditions. Necessity may be either external or internal, i.e. engendered by the nature of the object itself or by the concurrence of external circumstances. It may be characteristic of many objects, or of one object only. Necessity is an essential feature of law. Like law, necessity may be either dynamic or static.

The most important categories in dialectical materialism are possibility and actuality. Broadly speaking, actuality is the creative factor in the action of all the real forces in the world: Nature and universal history, man and his intelligence, material and spiritual culture, the unity of reality and appearance, the internal and the external, the essential and the accidental, the specific and the general, cause and effect—the world around us in all its colourful attire.

The concept of actuality is also used in a narrower sense, in the sense of actual, spontaneous being. In this sense, actuality is in opposition or in correlation to possibility, i.e. to something which exists only in the embryonic state.

The concept of actuality is also used in an even more restricted sense—in the sense of the full manifestation of some quality.

Actuality is a process and it depends on the realization, in existence, of a hidden possibility. Every change of an object is a transition from possibility to actuality. The realization of possibility involves change and development. Short of this there can be no potentiality, incipiency, aspiration, or tendency, which constitute the essence of possibility. Possibility is the future contained in the present; it is that which does not exist in the given qualitative definiteness but which can arise and exist, become actuality, under definite conditions. Actuality is that which has already arisen, taken form, that which lives and acts.

Possibility precedes actuality in time. But actuality is both the result of previous development and, at the same time, the starting-point for further development. Possibility is born of a given actuality and realized in a new actuality.

The formulation, in human consciousness, of categories of development constitutes the main feature of the dialectical method of thought, and represents an enormous advance in the history of knowledge.

Dialectical materialism had its beginnings in the nineteenth century, but was further developed in an important way in the twentieth century, through the general application of the experience of revolutionary events to the life of society and the achievements of science.

CHAPTER XVIII

RELIGION: THE WESTERN TRADITION

I. CATHOLICISM
BY PAUL DROULERS, S.J.

I N the last quarter of the eighteenth century, Catholicism was the religion
of most countries in western and southern Europe—Spain and Portugal;
France; Italy; the greater part of the imperial dominions in Austria, Bohemia,
Hungary, and what is now Belgium; western and southern Germany; Poland;
and Silesia. From Gibraltar to Norway and from Ireland to the Caucasus, the
principle *cujus regio illius religio*, recognized by the law or established by pre-
cedent, had consolidated the positions of the different creeds, to the advantage
of religious peace though not always to that of freedom of conscience. At the
end of the previous century there appear to have been sixty million Catholics
in Europe, together with twenty-two million Protestants and probably rather
less than twenty-five million followers of the 'orthodox' churches; and the
increase in the population since then had probably made no great alteration in
these proportions.* Catholicism was established throughout the Spanish,
Portuguese, and French territories in America, and in Maryland; the Catholic
missions had barely touched the African coastline, though they had made
slightly more headway with the huge population of the Asian monsoon lands.
The Catholics made up the largest Christian community and, with their head,
the Bishop of Rome, as their rallying point, the most united.

To all appearances the power and vitality of the Roman Church in Europe
were self-evident, manifested by its great host of clergy and of monks and nuns
in their convents, by the number and splendour of its religious edifices and the
grandeur of the ceremonies held in them, by its wide variety of charitable and
educational activities, the great estates bequeathed for such purposes by
generations of munificent benefactors, and the official consideration and
privileges extended to the religion and its priests in the cultural and civic life
of the different countries. Yet closer scrutiny reveals weaknesses exceeding the
degree of imperfection that is inevitable in any human institution. Catholic
governments were by no means blindly devoted to the Church and to the
pope, Christ's vicar on earth, for they were all to some extent answerable to
'enlightened' monarchs and statesmen too sceptical to regard the pope with
any greater respect than was still expedient for reasons of state. They did not
give a fig for the Christian virtues of justice and charity in their foreign policy,

* Jh. Grisar, 'Zur Religionsstatistik Europas gegen Ende des XVII. Jhdt.', in *Miscellanea
Giovanni Mercati*, vol. v, Vaticano, 1946, p. 520 (the Catholic total should be rectified). By
1902 there were approximately 270 million Catholics throughout the world. J. P. Kirsch and
L. A. Veit, *Kirchengeschichte* (Freiburg-Br., 1931–3), IV, 2, pp. 226 *et seq.*

diplomacy, wards, or annexations, but the concordats they signed usually transferred to them the right to make ecclesiastical appointments, and the men they appointed as bishops or priors, though rarely a cause of scandal, were in many cases self-seeking or little disposed to promote the faith with zeal. Clashes—slight or serious—with the canonical authority of the pope were endemic; the government and clergy of each individual country professed and attempted to put into practice the theory that their own national Church should enjoy a privileged relationship to the Holy See. France, the largest Catholic monarchy, took her stand on Gallicanism, a set of customs and theological tendencies according to which the ecumenical synod's decisions had precedence over those of the pope and the temporal power was completely independent in its own field. In Germany, the long-standing prejudices of the ecclesiastical princes found their theoretical expression in Hontheim (Febronius), who attacked the papal prerogatives even more vigorously than did the Gallicanism of that day, and in the provisions of the Ems agreement (1786). In Austria, Joseph II lent his name to a system of state interference in the minutest details of religious observance and religious teaching, coupled with opposition to the custom of appealing to Rome, and steps to reduce the number of convents. In Spain and Portugal, regalism (the doctrine that the monarch is the head of the national Church), while more restrained in its theories, was perhaps even more ruthless in its practice. And the Italian authorities, in the jurisdictionalism they applied to ecclesiastical questions, took over the Austrian, French, or Spanish methods, according to circumstances. The freedom of the local churches in spiritual matters was conditioned by the right of appeal to Rome; the papacy was rendered helpless by these measures; even its doctrinal denunciations of them were sometimes intercepted by governments in the name of their 'right of supervision'; it was not long since pressure from the Bourbon courts had forced the Pope to destroy the Jesuits (1773); Pius VI reluctantly visited Vienna (1782), but failed to obtain any concessions from the Emperor; the Grand Duke of Tuscany supported the Synod of Pistoia (1786), the conclusions of which were Jansenist and hostile to the Curia.

The religious atmosphere, while not corrupt, was lacking in real fervour, both on the part of the bishops, many of whom were politic rather than zealous, and among the humbler clergy, whose honesty and self-sacrifice were not incompatible with a great deal of ignorance. Generally speaking, the monks were more lukewarm than the nuns, as the ratio of apostasies in France was soon to show. But while the upper classes in most countries were imbued to a great extent with the philosophy of enlightenment, the mass of the population at all levels was still entirely Christian in thought and custom; religious observance had become almost universal as a result of the parish missions and the application of the decrees of the Council of Trent, the family virtues were still firmly established in most places, and faith was unshaken, though it had tended to sink into a routine owing to the lack of spiritual

instruction and the appeasement of stimulating conflicts. Where faith was still passionate it was even apt to be superstitious; and mixed marriages were a source of contamination in the Protestant countries. The throne of St Peter was itself occupied by men who, though worthy, were not outstanding personalities; nepotism, banned in theory since the rule of Innocent XI (1678), recurred in unobtrusive ways until the pontificate of Pius VI; the administrative organization of the Curia had been improved and its religious probity had increased, but it could do nothing without at least passive support from the secular governments, and found difficulty in imposing ecclesiastical discipline, a necessary step toward the promotion of fervour. The reforms enforced by the 'enlightened despots', though they may have put an end to real abuses, did nothing to revitalize the Church, for they were prompted more by political than by spiritual consideration. The *philosophes* were gaining ground everywhere, with their esteem for human reason and their disdain of any form of supernatural revelation or even of religion, their demand for unrestricted freedom of thought and action in the light of the virtue natural to man—and confirmed by the 'progress' they foretold and sometimes achieved in scientific and practical matters, for their ranks included men of undeniable literary and technical genius. Threatened by this tidal wave, the theologians were wasting their time and scholarship in disputes that originated in a decadent scholasticism, contaminated by rationalism from Cartesian or other sources—exhausting their powers in endless arguments between Jansenists and anti-Jansenists about the independence of the bishops and of the national churches vis-à-vis the Holy See. All this in the name of ecclesiastical reform, the preservation of ancient traditions, and the reversion to 'primitive' purity.

Distrust of mysticism—resulting from the various excesses of the quietists —combined with moral rigorism, turned piety into something rather cold, even uneasy; the reaction brought about by devotion to the Sacred Heart, the human love felt for sinners by Christ, God made man, had difficulty in making its way among opposition and further theological arguments. There were few holy personalities in evidence; the most eminent of those few was a Neapolitan, Alfonso de Liguori, whose moral doctrine was to liberate the coming century from 'French rigorism' and who wrote short works that did much to revive piety and make it more a matter of feeling, particularly for the Virgin Mary. Regalism and the enlightenment had no doubt infected religious life with this anaemia; but it would seem that, conversely, they were also caused by it, to some extent, by the egoism of a religion that, as then exercised, fell short of what people felt in their hearts that it should be.

The approaching revolution would strive to destroy this entire structure in a few swift stages, first in France, and later even in other countries. When the States-General first met, on 5 May 1789, its aim—and hardly any of its members regarded that aim as insufficient—was merely to reform the country's civil and political institutions. The great majority of the clergy was at first in favour of this—prepared to abandon their feudal privileges, their perquisites,

their tithes, and trust in the nation's generosity (4 August). On their behalf the Bishop of Autun, Talleyrand, offered the surrender of all benefices, foundations, and Church property to the nation, to extricate the national finances from their disastrous situation (2 November). But the legislators went on from the temporal property of the Church to its ecclesiastical institutions: a decree promulgated in 1790 forbade entry into the religious orders, beginning with the non-nursing and non-teaching orders, which were declared to be of no social utility, and the religious houses slowly emptied; no steps were taken to proclaim Catholicism as the state religion.

Despite a few anti-clerical demonstrations, the Constituent Assembly hoped to 'use religion as a lever for the benefit of the revolution' (A. Latreille). It was not its intention to destroy Catholicism by hypocritical measures, but it failed to understand the nature and underlying needs of the Church, and pursued a policy of subordinating it to the state which finally developed into an attempt to tear it up by the roots. The decisive clash came when the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was introduced (12 July 1790), for this trespassed on basic tenets. The new statute of the national Church did not stop at altering the established diocesan and parish boundaries; it declared that bishops would henceforth not be appointed by the king, but elected by popular suffrage, like other public officials, and that they would be inducted no longer by the pope, as stipulated in the Concordat of 1516, but by the metropolitan archbishop; vicars, too, would be elected instead of being appointed by the bishops. These changes were made unilaterally by the civil power, in a matter on which the agreement of the pope, as the supreme authority, should at least have been sought; their effect was to break off relations with the head of the Church. In spiritual terms, *schism* meant death, the death of a limb severed from the body. Therefore, when the oath of acceptance of the Civil Constitution became compulsory, almost all bishops refused to take it. The parish priests were divided, pastoral zeal in itself making some of them reluctant to desert their flocks; the majority refused, though the proportion differed considerably from one region to another, and this majority was increased by retractions after Rome condemned the measure.

There was thus a rupture between the Church and the revolution, and this was carried to its furthest consequences by extremists upon whom the course of events conferred administrative power, or at least freedom of action. In the first place an openly schismatic Church was established, 'constitutional' bishops were appointed, and the dearth of priests willing to take the oath was remedied by hasty ordinations. The fall of the monarchy was hastened by Louis XVI's flight to Varenne, to which he was prompted by scruples of conscience, and the law on suspects (19 November 1791), took effect against many 'refractory' members of the clergy, leading a large number of them to prison, as future victims of the September massacres after war broke out with the European nations. But a far greater number—nearly all the bishops and over 30,000 priests—escaped to foreign countries, principally to the papal States,

to Switzerland, and to England (10,000 priests and 31 bishops), where the dignity of their behaviour dealt a decisive blow to anti-Catholic prejudice, and to the United States, where their ministry bore good fruit. The Convention was obliged to allow free vent to a violent propaganda campaign, as a result of which the priests came to be regarded, at least as much as the 'aristocrats', as enemies and traitors to their revolutionary homeland; and the Vendée war served as a fresh pretext, particularly in the view of the army. Even the Constitutional Church lost favour, by refusing to accept the laws on the marriage of priests and on divorce. It was the chief victim of the 'de-Christianization' movement of 1793–4, which found practical expression during the Terror through the reform of the calendar, the Feast of Reason, and the cult of the Supreme Being as a substitute for Christianity. After Thermidor, a decree published on 3 ventôse of the Year III (21 February 1795) formally proclaimed the separation of Church and State; the Republic recognized no creed and paid no stipends, but guaranteed the free exercise of all forms of religion, subject to certain conditions for the maintenance of order. The Constitutional Church reconstructed itself; but the revival of Roman Catholicism, which had survived in full vigour in large sections of the population and been vitalized by the clandestine and sometimes heroic ministrations of 'refractory' priests, was particularly striking. It re-emerged into the light of day, the exiles returned to France, and the results were such that the coup d'état of Fructidor was aimed largely against religious 'fanaticism'; hence the attempt to set up decadal worship and the favour shown to the Theophilanthropists. In the former Low Countries, now wrested from Austria, the upsurge of religious freedom had been particularly vigorous, and a 'peasant war' broke out in Flanders. Bonaparte's invasion of Italy (1796) gave full scope to the opponents of Rome, but the General ordered his troops to leave the churches and priests unharmed, rejected the Directoire's order to march on Rome, and confined himself to forcing the onerous Treaty of Tolentino on the Pope. He had realized that the great mass of the French people were firmly attached to their traditional religion, and that he would need to have the authority of the Holy See on his side in his task of pacification and his consolidation of the Republican system. Pius VI, for his part, had always rejected the idea of a crusade against the French Revolution. But the assassination of the rash General Duphot led to the occupation of Rome by Berthier's army; the Curia was disbanded, the Eternal City plundered, and the aged pontiff carried prisoner to France, where he died in Dauphiné (29 August 1799). The Directoire seemed justified in assuming that Catholicism had been wiped out, although General Clarke had confided to Bonaparte as long as two years before, 'in the matter of religion, our revolution has failed'.

After becoming First Consul of the Republic and winning the battle of Marengo, Bonaparte immediately took the initiative in opening negotiations with the new Pope, Pius VII, who had been elected at the Conclave of Venice (14 March 1801). This pontiff who, like his predecessor, was quite ready to

conform to the established doctrine of the Church by advocating loyalty to any government worthy of the name, conceded as much as he could without repudiating the essential spirit of Catholicism, in order to secure the restoration of that creed as a French institution. In France itself the most reasonable of the churchmen were strongly in favour of an agreement—men, such as M. Emery, who out of solicitude for their flocks had constantly advised acceptance of any revolutionary oaths which did not do violence to the conscience of a Christian. Bonaparte was determined to assert the authority of State over Church to the maximum extent. The negotiations, which were extremely arduous, culminated in the Concordat of 15 July 1801. This confirmed the sequestration of Church property, the changed boundaries of the dioceses, and their attribution to new holders; but the bishops, though appointed by the First Consul, were to be inducted by the Pope, the local priests would be appointed by the bishops, the State would pay stipends to both groups, and Roman Catholicism was recognized as the religion of the greater part of the nation, including the consuls. The papacy hoped that its concessions would ensure freedom and protection for the faith, and get the Church on the road to revival. The spiritual sovereignty of the Pope was recognized by the Republic, which in return gained the advantage of being officially accepted by the sovereign Pontiff. The Constitutional Church dropped out of the picture. The surrender of all the former bishops to the Pope of Rome and the restoration of the Catholic religion after ten years during which the faithful had looked to it as the only mainstay of truth and unity constituted an unexpected and tremendous victory over the Gallican movement. This despite the fact that the consulate compensated itself dishonourably by the unilateral promulgation of the *Articles Organiques*, which contravened the terms of the concordat by placing correspondence with Rome, synods, etc., under the supervision of the State.

As head of the Cisalpine Republic. Bonaparte signed an Italian Concordat in September 1803. In this instance Rome was much less accommodating, for the course of events had not provoked religious disturbances in northern Italy on the same scale as in France, and it was essential to prevent a special case from being established as a universal precedent. But four months later the legislators in Milan issued the Melzi decrees, on the same lines as the *Articles organiques*. In Germany, Bonaparte had decided that all the ecclesiastic principalities, with their three million subjects, should be 'secularized' for the benefit of the other rulers. This was an unintentional death-blow to Febronianism, but here again it proved necessary to reorganize the religious structure in agreement with the papacy. Pius VII had thoughts of an alliance with Paris to counterbalance the Josephism of the imperial court at Vienna and the regalist claims of the German princes; but this illusory hope soon faded, and in spite of the zeal manifested by the prince primate Dalberg—who had his own ax to grind—the negotiations came to nothing. It was in the hope of securing the amendment of the *Articles organiques* and the Melzi

decrees that the Pope took the unprecedented step of visiting Paris, at the request of Napoleon, in order to crown him as Emperor (2 December 1804). This was in vain; but the veneration shown by the French and Italian peoples to the successor of St Peter throughout his journey demonstrated and at the same time strengthened their fidelity to him and to Catholic union, quite apart from any political considerations.

The Pontiff decided that the time had now come for resistance. Finding that the intention was to extend the Milan Concordat to the whole of Italy and even to imitate it in Germany, he suspended its application by refusing to induct bishops in vacant sees (October 1806). This, much more than his refusal to take part in the continental blockade, was the cause of the occupation of Rome and the annexation of the papal States to the Empire, the excommunication of Napoleon, and the captivity of Pius VII at Savona (1809).

Spain, defending both its religion and its national structure, held back the invader and threw out the liberal, anti-clerical constitution of 1812. In France the clergy, though grateful for the privileges they enjoyed, were growing increasingly uneasy as they saw the catechism exploited to gain recruits for the army, the institution of non-denominational teaching in the secondary schools, and the imprisonment of the Pope. The Emperor's 'divorce' (declaration of the nullity of the former marriage) and his Austrian marriage were sanctioned by an accommodating Parisian ecclesiastical court; but in 1811, when Napoleon brought pressure to bear upon the French and Italian bishops, meeting in a National Council, to agree that in case of need, bishops might be inducted without the intervention of the Pope, he was unable to induce them to do so without the proviso that their deliberations must be ratified by Pius VII. The prisoner, ailing and lonely, was on the point of consenting; his firmness was revived by the impediments the master of Europe placed in his way. Lebzeltern, sent somewhat earlier by the court of Vienna in a weary attempt to get around him, had very nearly succeeded. After being finally dragged to Fontainebleau—Napoleon, in his frenzied ambition, had even determined to move the Vatican to Paris!—and unworthily importuned for several days by the Emperor himself in a series of turbulent interviews, the unfortunate Pontiff signed a draft 'concordat' (January 1813); but a few weeks later he humbly and bravely withdrew the consent thus extorted from him.

While the public conscience was beginning to turn against the persecutor on all sides, the Allied armies were winning in the field. Austria had regretfully ratified Murat, the King of Naples, in his possession of the papal States, as a reward for his treachery. But the Pope, released by Napoleon, nevertheless returned to Rome on 24 May 1814. He had not yielded. As long ago as 1801 he had laid the foundations of a *modus vivendi* between the Church and the new society with its enthusiasm for revolutionary 'liberalism'. And at the same time his own prestige had risen to unanticipated heights.

In 1815, at the end of some twenty-five years of political, institutional, and

ideological upheavals, many people felt the need of 'a principle to substitute for the shattered principle of the revolution' (Ch. H. Pouthas); and the European governments felt this even more strongly. Events had led a number of those whose lives had been disrupted by the turmoil to turn their thoughts toward the religious ideals they had formerly decried; many aristocrats and bourgeois *philosophes* had reverted to them as the one foundation of morality and social order and to satisfy the need they felt, in their own hearts and minds, for some absolute and transcendental system of values. As early as 1802, one celebrated writer, Chateaubriand, impelled by aesthetic considerations, had recognized the rights of the old religion in the cultural sphere; de Bonald, a doctrinaire with a candidly geometrical turn of mind, had coupled Catholicism and monarchy together as the only conceivable bases of any 'properly constituted society'; Joseph de Maistre declared that the papacy must be the cornerstone of any religous and political restoration, and even a priest, Félicité de La Mennais, had won an extraordinary success with his *Essai sur l'indifférence en matière de religion*, published in 1817 and read all over Europe thanks to the universal familiarity with the French language. Germany was witnessing conversions to Catholicism, some of which—Stolberg, Schlegel, Werner—caused a sensation. Groups were being formed and extending their influence; that of Princess Galitzin at Münster (Westphalia), where Overberg was teaching on reformed lines; others at Cologne, Mainz, Würzburg, and in Austria at Vienna. At Landshut, in Bavaria, was Sailer—educationist, director of consciences, and mystic; and the Munich group was soon to form around Görres (1827), brought back to Catholicism by his studies on mysticism. Admiration for Gothic art was being focused on the cathedral of Cologne, and in Rome Overbeck was trying to bring about a new Catholic art movement. In France, England, Spain, and even more in Germany and Italy, the romantics were turning their eyes to Catholicism, with Tieck, Novalis and Manzoni, because it had been the soul of the medieval community to which the last-named countries could retrace the roots of their present aspiration to political unification and 'liberty'. In the Catholic countries the general public was still faithful, by habit, to their traditional religion, and even in France the preaching missions went far toward re-establishing these pious customs.

The Restoration governments tried to make allies out of the forces of religion, to unite the throne and the altar as a firm basis for their regained authority. But in conformity with the regalist, Gallican, Josephist, even Febronian and Jansenist patterns of the previous century, they displayed an unvarnished ambition to keep the national churches subservient to themselves while making use of them, whether in Austria, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, or Germany; while the 'liberals', invoking the ideas of the 'modern' philosophers, fought Catholicism on the pretext that it was a slave ideology. The Holy Alliance was the most spectacular attempt to use a 'religious' pact as a prop for the conservative policy of the Congress of Vienna. 'Liberal Catholicism' began as an effort to rescue the Church from the stranglehold of the State.

The moral prestige of the papacy had been amazingly increased as a result of recent events, during which it alone had steadfastly held out against the general atmosphere of drama and recantation, and on all sides those— whether clergy or laymen—who aspired to restore, extend, or consolidate religious life in their own countries, to defend the Church against interference by conservative or liberal governments, or to combat the doctrinal errors threatening the integrity of their faith, were turning their eyes toward Pius VII. This 'ultramontanist' movement, which began at the circumference and was promoted by the leading Catholics, impelled by the desire for greater purity and fervour, constituted a voluntary renunciation of local ecclesiastical particularism. It held up the Pope, the head and centre of the Church, as the visible source of Catholic vitality, while steadily consolidating his practical authority. The diplomacy of the court of Rome sometimes failed in its aims, but as the years went by it usually achieved the signature of concordats, or at least of restricted agreements. It was adapted to meet the varying circumstances of the individual countries, striving to obtain the fullest possible measure of civil liberty for the celebration of worship and the exercise of spiritual government. Care was taken, as a matter of principle, to avoid subjection to any one form of political system. The Bull *Sollicitudo Ecclesiarum*, of 7 August 1831, contains an explicit reminder that in the cause of religion the Holy See will negotiate with any duly constituted government, though this does not imply recognition of its legitimacy before the law. This old principle was applied, albeit with delay of a few years, in the recently emancipated Spanish American republics, in order to appoint bishops to the dioceses, most of which had fallen vacant; after the 1830 revolutions it was applied in France, Belgium, and Portugal, and continued to be observed toward the new systems of government established as the century proceeded—likewise, one might say, toward the non-Catholic governments. In this respect Pius VII and Consalvi showed a certain preliminary reticence. But for approximately fifty years, from the election of Leo XII (1823) to that of Leo XIII (1878), the difficulties facing Catholicism on all sides and in all spheres and the predominance, generally speaking, of conservatives (*zelanti*) among the Curia, had the effect of turning the latter in the direction of the Austria of Metternich, the France of Napoleon III, and the other relatively absolutist and conservative governments, which were regarded as the most trustworthy champions of the ecclesiastical institutions. In all countries the Catholics revealed increasing dynamism, though it developed at widely varying speeds and passed through highly individual vicissitudes. Rome, looked upon as their nucleus, encouraged them but usually strove to moderate their ardour, attempting in return to secure more equitable treatment for the Church from the individual courts.

In France, the country on which revolution had left its deepest marks, the restored 'legitimate' monarchy made it possible for Catholicism to reconstruct its institutional framework, its clergy, forms of worship, and religious teaching. Later on, in a campaign conducted among the public and in Parliament (La

Mennais, Montalembert, Veuillot), the Church won the right to liberty at all levels of the educational system, on an equal footing with the secular education provided by the State.

In Germany the status of the Church had been disturbed by the 'secularizations' effected in 1803, and many dioceses were without a bishop. Rome signed individual concordats or agreements with the individual states. When the Prussian Government arrested Droste-Vischering, Archbishop of Cologne (1837), because he refused to obey the laws on mixed marriages, Catholic opinion everywhere reacted with extraordinary force (Görres's *Athanasius*), giving an impetus that made itself progressively felt in organized religious activity among the mass of the faithful. When Bismarck, doubtful of the Church's loyalty to the new Empire, launched the *Kulturkampf* (1873) to promote modern German culture, he was compelled to give way in the end.

Austria, the least affected by revolution, remained strongly Josephist, despite the movement launched by Clement Hofbauer and his Redemptorists to stimulate fervour and strengthen links with Rome. Ecclesiastical freedom was granted by the constitution promulgated after the 1848 revolution. The efforts of Rauscher, Archbishop of Vienna, culminated in 1855 in the signature of a concordat so advantageous to Rome that the liberals stigmatized it as 'medieval'; but it was denounced in 1870, and the Austrian bishops were afraid to take the risk of a rupture with the government. This was a keen disappointment to Pius IX.

From the French invasion and the 1812 constitution until almost the end of the century, Spain experienced a succession of revolutions and *coups d'état*, marked by bitter conflicts between the anti-clerical liberals and the 'Carlists' the latter binding together Catholicism and absolutism. The convents, the Church properties, and the schools lost heavily by these struggles. A concordat was signed in 1851, but denounced in 1854. The constitution of 1876 brought peace. Portugal went through similar, though milder clashes between the political and religious authorities; in 1848 an agreement was signed with Rome; but the clergy and the flock showed a consistently lukewarm disposition.

Belgium rebelled against the Protestant Netherlands and won independence in 1830, thanks to a union between the Catholics and the liberals—in which the subsequent 'liberal Catholicism' of Europe first originated. The resultant constitution proclaimed the legal separation of Church and State, with freedom of worship, teaching and association, free appointment of bishops by the pope, and State maintenance of the clergy, according to the principle laid down in the Concordat of 1801. In his wisdom, the future Cardinal Sterckx overcame objections on the part of Rome by pointing out that in actual practice the Church had a definite position in the State (the population being almost entirely Catholic) and exercised considerable moral authority. Somewhat later, the liberals took a strongly anti-clerical attitude (against Catholic schools and charitable institutions). Disputes among Catholics as to the lawfulness of the constitution continued until Leo XIII pacified them (1879). In

the Netherlands, the revised constitution of 1848 granted equal status to all religious creeds; in 1853, after a lapse of three hundred years, the local episcopal hierarchy was restored, replacing the system of apostolic vicars as applied to mission countries.

At the beginning of the century, Great Britain had only very few Catholics, while those of Ireland were oppressed under the Protestant political and social yoke. O'Connell's non-seditious movement of agitation led to Catholic 'emancipation' in the United Kingdom (1829). The importance of the Catholics in England increased with the Oxford Movement, the notable conversions resulting from this after 1845 (Newman, Manning, etc.), and with the influx of Irish immigrants, largely in consequence of the famine of 1846. The hierarchy was re-established in 1850, Wiseman becoming Archbishop of Westminster, with Manning as his successor; in 1878 it was restored in Scotland.[1]

In Switzerland, another country of mixed creeds, the Catholic cantons formed a *Sonderbund* to resist the attempts at centralization pursued by the Protestant radicals, but they were defeated in battle (1845). Several bishops were imprisoned or exiled in the course of a Swiss *Kulturkampf* that took place at the same time as that of Prussia.

The ostracism of Catholics came to an end in Norway in 1845, in Denmark in 1849, and in Sweden in 1860; but at the death of Pius IX the Catholics in those countries numbered only 3,000 in all.

Among the Slavs, Russia had large numbers of Catholics, following either the Latin or the Uniate observances, particularly in the Polish and Baltic provinces. The Pope did his best to maintain contact with the Russian Government, even advising the Polish insurgents to submit (1832), while protesting strongly to the Czar himself against acts of tyranny. An agreement was signed in 1847, but with little practical effect. The preponderantly Uniate Slav communities in Galicia and Transylvania, and those of Slovenia and Croatia, which were in majority Latin, survived or developed thanks to the Austro-Hungarian Government; Bishop Strossmayer, a Croat, active in the field of national culture, paved the way for reunion with the 'orthodox' believers by promoting closer acquaintance with them.

Approximately one-third of the population of the Ottoman Empire were Christians, including a million Catholics of various observances. After the Crimean War, the Porte granted civil and religious rights to them all (1856). Austria in the Balkans and France in the Levant exercised a protection that, though not always disinterested, had the beneficial effect of enabling the missionaries sent out by the Holy See to pursue their task of raising the standards of culture, discipline, and Christian life; the Jesuits founded a university at Beirut (1875). Uneasiness, and even temporary schisms, resulted from the Roman attempts at reform, which were regarded as having Latinizing intentions (the Bull *Reversurus* of 1867, on the mode of election of bishops).

The problems facing Catholicism in the New World differed only in a few

respects from those in Europe. In Central and South America, the bishoprics had almost all fallen vacant, and the urgent need to provide them with incumbents led Rome, in disregard of the patronage rights held by the King of Spain, to negotiate with the emancipated republics of Spanish America (mission of the nuncio Muzi, as early as 1823), while the Emperor of Brazil had a resident nuncio who had come with him from Portugal. The religious situation in all these countries was far from satisfactory throughout the nineteenth century; the clergy fell short in number and in quality, the population was ignorant and superstitious, and after each of the many political revolutions the Church was exposed to chicanery or downright persecution from the liberals and Freemasons. A number of concordats were signed under Pius IX. As an extreme case, in Ecuador, President García Moreno, a fervent and autocratic Catholic, who combined a reactionary mentality with devotion to the commonweal, promulgated, in 1859, a constitution granting complete liberty to the Church and, indeed, restricting civic rights to Catholics—a piece of legislation that met all the demands of canon law. He is said to have been ultimately assassinated by the liberal bourgeoisie.

Religious liberty was accorded to Canada in 1774 and more completely by the Act of Union (1840). The Catholic population, at that time almost entirely French in origin, increased with amazing speed, owing to a high birth-rate and to immigration from Ireland. The clergy were the life and soul of social organization, cultural life, and even of forest clearance to encourage colonization and stop the drift of the population to the United States, where they would lose their language and culture and, it was to be feared, their faith.

At the beginning of the century the Catholic Church had very few followers in the United States (John Carroll was appointed in 1789 as the first Bishop of Baltimore), but their number rose prodigiously through immigration from Ireland, and from central, eastern, and southern Europe (there were 1·6 million Catholics in 1850; by 1900 there were 10 million, with 11,000 priests and 93 bishops), and owing to the realistic, vigorous policy of the bishops, who promoted the creation of new parishes and institutions. The Church was independent of the State (1789)—the Roman Curia was doubtless quite surprised when the American Government answered that it had nothing to say about the naming of a bishop—and the system was so satisfactory that it offered a tempting example to European Catholics. But here, as everywhere else, certain difficulties existed: there was a shortage of priests in the early period; a wide variety of races and languages created a complex situation with a tendency to particularism; laymen were ambitious to manage the parishes (trusteeism); there was an educational problem; there were periodical outbreaks of hostility on the Protestant side (native Americanism, or the fanatical Know-Nothingism of 1853-5); and the cultural level was mediocre for lack of outstanding figures in the community—although by the middle of the century the Oxford Movement had led to the conversion of some cultivated people in the northern states, such as Orestes Brownson.

European missionaries gradually made their way to all the indigenous peoples, from the Far North to Patagonia.

With rare exceptions, South and East Asia, the Indian Archipelago, Oceania, and Africa had nothing but 'missions', and the converts represented only a tiny fraction of the population, even at the end of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, the fact that these missions did exist in every country of the world is one of the most striking aspects of this period of Catholic history. Great numbers of missionaries went out, most of them during the initial period being French (who in 1900 still constituted 70 per cent of the total) but coming later from all the European lands. Some were members of the ancient orders or of the many communities founded at this time; others were secular priests going as members of some association or sometimes even on their own; and before long, nuns began to flock to the missions as well. All these were prepared to lead a life of self-sacrifice, adventure, and hardship, sometimes terminated by violent death, in order to carry to far countries an evangelical message intended for the entire human race—as the name of 'Catholicism' itself testifies. They were supported by the gifts and prayers of the faithful in all countries (*Oeuvre de la Propagation de la Foi*, established at Lyons in 1822, etc.), whose zeal was thus intensified and outlook broadened. The missionaries addressed themselves with equal enthusiasm to 'primitive' peoples and to the ancient empires of Asia, interested only in raising their spiritual standard. Following the example of Jesus Christ, they turned first to the poor, preaching the One God, Christ the Saviour, love of one's neighbour, the Christian virtues, while relieving wretchedness, teaching, fitting their charges for community life and manual work, opening their minds—whether humble or distinguished—to civilization, even irrespective of the prospects of religious conversion. In most cases they took advantage of the trails blazed by European merchants or conquerors; sometimes they formed an injudiciously close association with such people, not realizing the psychological drawbacks it might entail, either immediately or at some future date. A few of these missionaries, more impetuous or less experienced than the rest, were inclined to confuse Christianization with Westernization; but it would be an error (even with regard to the real significance of such misunderstandings) to question the general disinterestedness of their apostolic intentions. For it must be recognized that whether they acted with all desirable caution or with a certain clumsiness these men and women really did scatter to the four corners of the earth the seed that was later to blossom into autochthonous Christian communities, bringing Catholic spirituality to the civilization of every region—as their converts never failed to recognize. The Roman Congregation *De Propaganda Fide* reorganized by Pius VII (1817), took over the systematic administration of the missionary apostolate, and Gregory XVI, who had been its prefect, began to foster this activity with exceptional efficiency.

India had suffered cruelly from the suppression of the Jesuits, and subsequently from the persecutions inflicted by Tipoo Sahib. Further obstacles

to the Roman Catholic missions were the favour shown to the Protestant missions—which were also spreading to every country in the world—and the then frequently inferior quality of the clergy trained in Goa. Then came the 'Goanese schism' (1834), when Rome established certain apostolic vicariates in disregard of the Portuguese *patroado*. These questions were settled by an agreement concluded with the Lisbon Government in 1886. By 1900 there were two million Catholics. Ceylon had enjoyed greater freedom ever since 1806. Burma was re-entered in 1840 and Siam in 1832. The proscription of Catholicism was brought to an end in Dutch Indonesia by a decree issued by King Louis Bonaparte (1807), but the difficult attempts to establish missions (Java, 1831) were not properly organized until 1859. The missions in Annam and Cambodia, which had formerly flourished, were then revived, and though blood-thirsty persecutions broke out at intervals from 1804 to 1886, their progress was not interrupted. The long-established Spanish missions in the Philippines gradually recovered their fighting spirit, at a time rendered very difficult by revolution and American annexation (1898).

In China the few European and native priests and their Christian followers had been the victims of persecution since 1811, and this rose to a tragic climax in 1840. By the deplorable Opium War, followed by others, the powers opened up China to opium exports from India and to European trade; the one saving grace was that France successfully demanded freedom of worship for Christians (1844, 1858–60). At this, the Jesuits resumed their traditional activities, creating an observatory at Shanghai and establishing institutions to provide intermediate and higher education; Huc, the Lazarist, visited Tartary and Tibet. The number of apostolic vicariates steadily increased; in 1885, Leo XIII considered appointing a nuncio to Peking. But interference and cruel persecution were almost endemic, often accompanying fits of xenophobia, tolerated or even fomented by the local or central authorities and directed against the Europeans and against the Chinese Christians who were thought to be aiding and abetting them. The most bloody of these accompanied the Boxer Rising (1900).

Korea suffered particularly frequent and severe persecution, but fervent communities survived there, and the Japanese Protectorate (1895) at least brought appeasement with it.

The 1858 Treaty with Japan did little to secure an entry for the missionaries. A few humble groups of Christians that had maintained themselves in secrecy for the past three hundred years were harshly persecuted. The Meiji revolution (1868) introduced tolerance, the former edicts were annulled (1873), after the government had allowed itself to be convinced that the Catholic religion did not prohibit demonstrations of respect for the emperor, Progress was slow, especially in the towns; efforts were made to interest cultivated circles, and an ecclesiastical hierarchy was established in 1891.

The benefits of the English Catholic Emancipation Bill of 1829 extended equally to Australia, where Irish priests had gone to give spiritual comfort to

the deported convicts, to the political prisoners and to the emigrants who followed them. Australia was raised to the status of an ecclesiastical province in 1842; Pius IX created seven bishoprics there; provincial councils were held at Sydney; the Benedictines made approaches to the western Australian aborigines (1853).[2] From 1837 onward, the greater part of the archipelagos of Oceania and New Zealand were evangelized by the Marist Fathers; Pierre Chanel and several others met a martyr's death. The Pritchard case at Tahiti (1844) illustrates the competition for influence, in which Protestant and Catholic missions sometimes became the tools of the politicians. In Hawaii, Damien Deveuster, of the Picpus Order, tended the lepers with such devotion (1863–89) that he finally contracted the disease himself.

Africa, the 'dark continent', was approached from all sides by Catholic missionaries of every nationality and order, who in some cases preceded the explorers. De Jacobis entered Abyssinia (1839), where Mgr Massaia was helped by the friendship of Menelik II. Zanzibar was reached in 1860, and then came all East Africa and the Upper Nile. Uganda gloried in the martyrdom of the young royal pages (1886), and by 1902 the region of the Great Lakes had approximately 200,000 Catholics out of a total population of two million. The Madagascar mission made a fresh start in 1845. South Africa had its first apostolic vicar under Gregory XVI. Toward the end of the century there was a toilsome advance into Mozambique and along the Middle Zambesi, while Angola was detached from Brazil and restored to Portugal, whose government removed its ban on missionary work in 1873. The centre of the continent was permanently opened up as a result of the International Conference at Brussels and the Berlin Congress (1876–8); in the Congo basin a treaty of 1885 stipulated that the colonizing powers must protect the Christian missionaries in their work and ensure freedom of worship for their converts. Before the middle of the century an advance into the interior and along the Niger had started from the coasts of Guinea (dubbed 'the white man's grave' because of its climate) and Senegal. The population of North Africa, being Moslems, were practically impervious to Catholicism; but French colonists began to arrive there after 1830—in Algeria to begin with— and from 1867 to 1892 the dominant figure was that of Cardinal Lavigerie, the great sponsor of African missions and opponent of the slave trade.

The head of the Catholic Church is the Bishop of Rome, and for over a thousand years, since the reign of Charlemagne, his spiritual independence had been guaranteed by his sovereignty over the papal States, situated in the centre of Italy. Now, from the beginning of the century Italy, more perhaps than any other country, had been thrown into a ferment by the flood of new ideas issuing from the French Revolution—desire for political freedom and national unity, the liberal bourgeoisie's contempt for the ecclesiastical authorities, if not for all signs of religious feeling, and a consequent hostility to the Pope's temporal power, which was detested as much as the absolutist governments of the different states—or even more, since it constituted a religious

as well as a political impediment to Italian unity. In the psychological context of the period, the popes and their circle regarded the temporal power as an ineluctable necessity and declared in all good faith that it was beyond discussion.

Disturbances frequently broke out, co-ordinated by the secret societies and the Freemasons, by Mazzini and Garibaldi, by Cavour and the Piedmontese Government. After the attempts at modernization made by Consalvi had been abandoned (1823), irritation was caused by the narrow-mindedness of the Government of the Holy See and by its resorting to foreign (Austrian and French) armies. Gioberti's neo-Guelfian dream of setting up the pope as the sovereign of a unified Italy was a *prima facie* impossibility. The capture of Rome (1870) came as a ruthless solution of the problem, and the popes declared themselves prisoners in the Vatican.

For a long time these events in Italy—the Roman Question—overshadowed the whole history of Catholicism, not only at its centre but in all nations, by providing the popes and their faithful followers with what seemed to them a practical basis for the ideological reasons that led them to object to the whole body of 'modern' aspirations.

Assailed simultaneously on the political and on the spiritual and cultural level—the former case being really a secondary aspect of the latter—Catholicism was primarily concerned to defend its essential values, while gradually consolidating its internal structure. The Church was attacked, in the name of State supremacy, by old-style governments determined to keep it in subjection; but the sharpest attacks were launched in the name of 'modern liberties'—freedom of thought and education, freedom of the press, freedom of worship and conscience, freedom of association, and political independence (by democratic suffrage), or national independence; while in the name of reason all forms of religion were declared to be equally good or equally superfluous and oppressive. This led to direct or surreptitious attacks on the free practice of the Catholic religion, to the diffusion of ideas tending to undermine the fervour and orthodoxy of the Catholic conscience, combined with an attempt, in almost all countries, to secularize and nationalize the educational system, the health service and poor relief, to introduce divorce laws, and even to close convents and confiscate the property of the Church or the religious foundations.

The Catholic community reacted in two ways. On the one hand it demanded the freedom of action without which it could not exist (and did so in many instances by invoking the 'liberty' of the individual, that great ideal of the nineteenth century), explicitly reaffirming its dogmas and the fundamental rules of its discipline so that the faithful should not go astray. On the other hand it strove to discern and understand anything it could itself accept as legitimate in the new aspirations, so as to avoid divorcing such things from religion or turning against them itself by rejecting them outright. Such a radical dismissal, it was felt, would be unjust, injudicious, and clumsy; so far as possible the new aspirations should be assimilated.

The most universally characteristic feature of nineteenth-century Catholicism is, as was said above, its ultramontanism. The Vatican was accepted as the firm foundation and effective source of all protection and all religious progress. The persecution suffered by Pius VI and Pius VII, the fervour aroused in the public by their various journeys, the activity they showed in maintaining and renovating the faith, and the later misfortunes of Pius IX—all this had the effect of leading the people and the clergy in every country to look toward Rome with increasing veneration as the only power capable of resisting government pressure and upholding the truth amid so many bewildering upheavals, so much propaganda and confusion. The final result, attained despite mistrust and opposition, despite the hostility with which centralization was regarded in Austria and Germany, France and England, Spain and Portugal, was the Vatican Council's definition of papal infallability (1870), greeted with unexpectedly widespread joy by the generality of the faithful* after theological opposition had helped to pare down the doctrine and make it more specific. The personal charm of Pius IX was a further factor in developing spontaneous 'devotion' to the papacy, and hence to the Church, the source of life.

As for the attitude to 'modern liberties', a few open, but in many cases somewhat rash, minds considered they should be granted in political, civic, and intellectual life. Other men were strongly opposed to this, being impelled not merely by a sterile regard for orthodoxy or a personal attachment to past methods, but by a possibly unconscious apprehension of the real danger which overhasty modernization would constitute for the faith of the flock as a whole. In one way or another the contest between progressive and conservative Catholics was fought out in every country, the latter generally alluding to the former as 'liberals' and suspecting them, fairly often unjustly, of heterodoxy; journalists such as Veuillot and Ward 'fomented the passions of the Catholics'.

These divisions were aggravated by the comparative mediocrity of theological science and culture, which caused the best-intentioned minds to go further than was proper, either because they were too enthusiastic to perceive the dangers, or because they had not sufficient penetration and discernment to appreciate the need for compromise. Current theology, rationalistic and Cartesian in some degree, was weak from the standpoints of scholarship and speculation. In France, La Mennais thought that a 'traditionalist' theory of faith and certainty, based on universal consent, together with an officially recognized disestablishment of the Church, might lead to victory over rationalism and provide the key to a spiritual revival, and Bautain and Bonetty inclined toward traditionalism. In the German-speaking countries, where study was more thorough because teaching in the faculties of Theology and the seminars had been modernized, men with good brains—Moehler, Hefele, Scheeben, Kleutgen, etc.—were carefully studying the history of dogma and

* The only refusals came from Döllinger, and from a few tens of thousands of German and Swiss Catholics, who set up the 'Old Catholic' schismatic movement.

the meaning of its mysteries, bringing a fresh vitality into academic thought. Others, however, were later to incur blame: Hermès, praised for a time as 'the Kant of theology', but who, with Günther and Frohschammer, made too many concessions to reason and science divorced from faith; and Döllinger, an exceptionally erudite university professor, who did not attempt to conceal the contempt with which the *deutsche Theologen* regarded their Roman colleagues and academicism; in Belgium the University of Louvain reopened in 1834. England produced Newman, the most brilliant of all, who elucidated the theories relating to the faithful and harmonious development of dogma, as opposed to a merely relativistic evolution of it; but he was too far in advance of his time to be widely understood, and even Manning distrusted him. Spain had Balmés, the philosopher and sociologist, and Donoso Cortés. In Rome and the rest of Italy, where there were, nevertheless, a number of distinguished scholars and theologians—including Maï, De Rossi, Perrone, and Franzelin— the Thomist reform did not begin until the arrival on the scene of Sordi and Liberatore, followed by Kleutgen; Gioberti, Ventura, Passaglia, and sometimes even Rosmini were regarded with uneasiness.

These struggles and difficulties, coming both from outside and from within, together with fears for the future of the papacy itself, account for the predominantly defensive attitude long maintained by the Popes toward the 'modern world' whose principal features were believed to be rationalism and anti-Catholicism. With a perspicacity that called for courage, Pius VII and Consalvi made every possible concession to the requirements of the politico-religious situation. After the succession of Leo XII (1823) the leadership of the Curia passed to the contrary party, the *zelanti*. But as we have seen, the historian should not underestimate the grounds for apprehensions their timidity may perhaps have exaggerated, nor the dearth of men who could dispel those apprehensions by constructive action. Doctrinal action was unquestionably to the fore in these middle years of the century. Gregory XVI condemned politico-religious liberalism (encyclical *Mirari Vos*, 1832), and subsequently the whole system of thought put forward by La Mennais (*Singulari Nos*, 1834), on the grounds that the human community has inalienable duties toward God, that freedom must be restricted by divine law, that the act of faith has a rational value. At the same time he denounced the evils of indifference toward religion, and of philosophic naturalism. Other reproofs were dealt out to Hermès, Bautain, Bonetty, Günther, the ontologists, and Frohschammer, always in connection with the relationship between reason and faith. Pius IX in his first encyclical (1847) and still more vigorously in his *Quanta cura* (1864), to which was appended the *Syllabus* or inventory of the errors of the day, continued the denunciations issued by his predecessor, anathematizing the theories of the *philosophes*, and added others, levelled in particular against socialist and communist theories and those of capitalist liberalism, stigmatized as incompatible with justice in social relations and tending to sap the foundations of the family. The final provision of the *Syllabus*,

in particular, to the effect that the Pope could not and must not 'come to terms and compound with progress, liberalism, or modern civilization', tended to startle people by its categorical accent, especially as its excessive terseness left considerable scope for ambiguity. Dupanloup, the 'liberal' Bishop of Orléans, immediately proceeded to dissipate the ambiguities in a booklet that caused an international stir, and the principle of which was approved by Pius IX. The doctrinal authority of the pope had been asserted by the 'definition', on his initiative alone, of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary (1854). The Vatican Council (1869–70), attended by over seven hundred bishops and heads of religious orders from all parts of the world, pronounced the infallibility of statements made by the Pope *ex cathedra* on doctrinal or disciplinary questions, thus greatly strengthening the bonds between the members of the Church and their leader. It also gave a scrupulously careful definition of the relations between reason and faith, or rather, perhaps, between faith and science. This was the most topical of speculative questions, in confrontation with the current agnostic sentimentality and rationalism, or the tendency to an irrational *fideism*. But the proceedings of the council were interrupted by outside events when they had scarcely begun.

It should be noted that even allowing for the negative character of the anathemas, this whole doctrinal work has great positive value; for amid the surrounding controversies and hesitancies it reaffirms and clarifies the principles which animate Catholic spiritual life, thus providing a firm basis for its restoration and expansion, and for its more thorough investigation.

And the religious vitality of Catholicism, regarded as a community, was showing an appreciable increase, thanks to systematic, humble, and penetrating work which is by no means of negligible importance to the historian. This vitality was stimulated as much by the climate of struggle against the State—which increasingly tended to dominate and even to persecute—as by the upsurge of the ideals of freedom, tolerance and democracy. The diocesan clergy were now more disciplined; their status and forms of activity were more clearly determined by the diocesan and provincial synods; their piety grew more fervent; their zeal also intensified, stimulated by increasing signs of indifference among the flock—even if their 'pastoral imagination was limited' and did not suffice to cope with intellectual problems or with those created by the rapid growth of the large towns and the development of the industrial proletariat.[3] The religious orders revived, reassembled, and increased in numbers, producing monks, preachers, and overseas missionaries. One of the most remarkable developments was the extraordinary increase of nuns in all countries—teaching, nursing, taking up every kind of welfare work, going abroad as missionaries. The devoutness of the faithful grew less 'concentrated', more extrovert and human, and consequently more intimate and fervent at the same time, largely due to the influence of the writings of St Alfonso di Liguori and his English disciple of that day, Faber. The type of moralizing

deism that had been too common in the eighteenth century gave way to the rediscovered personal relationship between God and the individual believer (Lacordaire, Newman), Christ as God made Man; the worship of the Sacred Heart—in other words, of God's love for mankind—and the veneration of the Virgin contributed greatly to this. This devotion was fostered by what might be called the visible and constant presence of the supernatural in the form of demonstrations of saintliness which gained international renown, such as the life of the *Curé* of Ars (d. 1859), and that of Don Bosco (d. 1888), and the visions of the Virgin, particularly at Lourdes (1858), with the resultant pilgrimages and cures. There were signs of a liturgical revival (Dom Guéranger) and a revival of healthy mysticism (Görres, Mgr Gay). The new more active piety made itself outwardly felt by countless 'good works' of various kinds which provided education, training, and assistance, more especially for the young, the poor, and the unfortunate. Such work was taken up by laymen no less than priests, by monks, nuns, and society women, with an unselfish devotion which gradually led to the discovery of more suitable and logical methods. The St Vincent de Paul societies for visiting the poor in their homes (1833) deserve particular mention owing to the rapidity with which they spread to every country. Another proof of fervour was given by the missions to distant regions, already mentioned. All these phenomena impress the observer and give unmistakable evidence of a deep-seated revival of inner life—for there is no other way of accounting for them.

There were other signs of this vitality. Contemplating the social changes resulting from economic and moral liberalism coupled with the industrial revolution, individual Catholics—laymen, priests, bishops—in France, Germany, Belgium, Austria, England, Switzerland, and Italy began to point out that the new structures involved problems of justice and needed to be transformed according to the dictates of the Christian conscience. To mention only a few of the earliest of these observers, they included, as far back as 1822, La Mennais and a priest in the Rhineland; Coux in *L'Avenir* in 1830 and Ozanam in 1848; Buss and Villeneuve-Bargemont in the Baden and French parliaments respectively, in 1837 and 1840; the Archbishops of Lyons, Cambrai, Rouen, and Paris, in pastoral letters issued between 1837 and 1846; Ketteler as early as 1848, and later, after his appointment as Bishop of Mainz—in speeches and writings which determined the direction taken by the programme of social policy adopted by the *Zentrum*; Ducpétiaux, Vogelsang, Manning, Mermillod, and Sassoli-Tomba. A desire for reunion with other Christian groups was shown in England, and among the Russian converts in the circle formed around Madame Svechin in Paris, and likewise in Germany, Austria, Italy, and even in Rome (Cardinal Reisach and Dom Pitra). Mention should also be made of the avowed Catholics—few, but in some cases distinguished—who were beginning in all countries to meet again in secular literature and art, philosophy, and the natural sciences.*

* Among others, mention can be made of Cauchy in mathematics, of Mayer, Volta, Ampère

In the final passage of a critical study of the pontificate of Pius IX, the historian reaches the extremely important conclusion—which applies equally, in due proportion, to the first half of the nineteenth century—that 'the Church emerges in a more *religious* condition' (R. Aubert); by which we are to understand that it was less involved with the political world and that it had developed a more profound and purer spiritual life, making a stronger impact on society for that very reason.

Toward the end of his pontificate, Pius IX admitted to a confidant that everything around him had changed, new methods were needed, but he was too old to change and that would be the task of his successor. The new Pope, Leo XIII (1878), former papal nuncio to Brussels and later Archbishop of Perugia, was particularly fitted, by his subtlety and energy and by the keen mind he had long devoted to the problems of the day and to the question of bringing fresh vitality into Catholic philosophy, to give the necessary new turn to the 'religious policy' of the Holy See. His pastoral letters had shown that 'the Church is the efficacious promoter of true civilization and true progress', opposing only the vices and disorders wrongly propagated under cover of those great words. Under his leadership, with the benefit of the prestige, the centralizing trend and the spiritual enrichment slowly acquired in the earlier period, the papacy, while withdrawing none of the warnings previously issued, was to guide Catholics in their practical activities and intellectual labours in the direction of the 'modern' ideals and realities, helping them to absorb them, to fit in with them, and gradually to imbue them with the Christian spirit, thanks to their active and loyal participation.

In Italy, in view of the violence offered to the Holy See, the general state of mind, the anti-clerical and anti-Catholic attitude of the governments and the secret societies, the insults, acts of spoliation and persecution, Leo XIII felt that the rule of non-co-operation in the political sphere should be maintained in order to keep the people united in religion; but he encouraged activity of a civic and above all of a social character.

In Germany the *Kulturkampf* was dying down. The vigorous policy of the *Zentrum* party, the firm principles and skilful manoeuvring of Windthorst, who exacted a due return for his undertaking to co-operate in the social policy of Bismarck's Government, and the courteous diplomatic negotiations jointly pursued by Rome, culminated in the restoration of the bishops and ultimately in the revision of the May Laws. The Emperor's request to the Pope to arbitrate his dispute with Spain about the Caroline Islands (1883) was a testimony to the prestige of the papacy. Catholicism, fervent and powerfully organized in a great number of religious societies, was now making great strides

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in physics, of the Jesuit Secchi (astronomer to the Vatican) in astronomy, of the Augustinian Mendel (founder of genetics) in biology, of Laënnec in medicine, and also of Seguin, one of the inventors of the tubular boiler. Bishops bore witness that the Church approved of technical progress by solemnly blessing the first railways and steamships.

while its representatives were supporting the policy of their own countries like loyal subjects.

In Switzerland, too, negotiations, favoured by a referendum in which the voting went against religious neutrality, led to an easing of the situation and to the restoration of bishops.

Papal action in France was particularly necessary and at the same time particularly difficult. The Catholics, though numerous, were disorganized; the active elements were sharply, not to say passionately divided in their views; the sympathies of the majority were monarchist and conservative, and they opposed the Republic in the name of an almost theological system of 'counter-revolution'. Being so intractable, they regarded as traitors those of their fellow Catholics who were prepared—sometimes, it is true, uncon-. ditionally eager—to welcome democracy in the name of Christianity. Whereas the Republican Party, in power since 1877, lost no opportunity of assuring the nation that democratic progress went hand in hand with anti-clericalism. By 1880—with the support of Freemasonry, which was coming to the fore as a rival church—the Republicans had launched a campaign of persecution against the education provided by the religious orders. This led to the suppression of the orders themselves (1901), a complete break with Rome, the disestablishment of the churches (1905), and the confiscation of all ecclesiastical property. By direct intervention and by his encyclicals on points of doctrine, Leo XIII did his utmost, without much effect, to restore harmony among all parties— urging the Catholics to accept, in practice, the existing political system, which was not incompatible with their faith (*ralliement*), in order to be able to play an effective part in the political life of their country. He could not prevent these evils, but he did encourage a growing number of faithful Catholics to make a Christian approach to the political and social problems of their day; the most distinguished of these men was Albert de Mun.

The political and religious hostility between conservatives and liberals was still dragging on in Spain. Here again, the Pope defended the interests of religion by preaching agreement·to the Catholics—at daggers drawn among themselves—even censuring the 'intransigent' journalists, particularly Ramon Nocédal, because of their untimely plans for a pilgrimage to Rome. He gave similar advice to Portugal, where as the outcome of successful negotiations he was able to praise the government's behaviour over the question of the *patroado* and the Goan Church (1886).

In Belgium again, the Pontiff tried to quell the disputes about the constitution, in order to build up a firmer front to oppose the liberals' policy and later to put forward solutions for the problem of workers in industry. When it returned to power in 1884, the Catholic Party adopted a moderate policy, even in education.

Leo XIII established friendly relations with the English court. He did not approve the violence of the Irish disturbances (1881); he would have liked to establish a permanent legation in London, but Manning feared this would be

prejudicial to the Church, which derived its strength from its political inde-
pendence and the support of the lower classes. Might it not contribute to a
reunion between the Anglican Church and Rome if the 'validity of Anglican
ordination' could be admitted ? Distinguished minds on both sides were of
this opinion (meeting between Lord Halifax and Mr Portal, 1889), and the
Pope called for a historical investigation of the point. The conclusion was
negative, but the question of union had at least been aired in public, and with
the religious positions thus clarified, contact between individuals increased.

The Austro-Hungarian situation was causing uneasiness because of the
increasing influence of Protestant Germany, opposed only by the lingering
Josephist traditions and the too generally colourless personality of the clergy,
the religious orders, and the Catholic laity. Leo XIII tried to restore monastic
discipline, and to unite Catholics against the 'civil marriage' laws and in
support of the Christian social movement. He also gave special encourage-
ment to the Slav subjects of the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Encyclical of 1880
on Sts Cyril and Methodius), for he agreed with Strossmayer that they might
be able to mediate between Rome and the 'Orthodox Church'.

Indeed, the union of all Christian creeds was one of his great dreams, and
at that time the vast and powerful Empire of Russia was showing an interest
in the subject; while Soloviev asserted that the great majority of the population
was unaware that a 'schism' existed, the Pope strove to open negotiations with
the Czar.

With the same idea in mind, solemn assurances that their own institutions
would be regarded by the Roman Church as inviolable were given to the united
Eastern Christians who, as already mentioned, were uneasy (Encyclical
Orientalium, 1894); this appeased the Armenians and Chaldeans, and a few
small groups formed unions (Copts). But the patriarchal authorities continued
to keep their distance.

In Latin America, many new dioceses were created. In Mexico the dictator
Porfirio Diaz, without suppressing hostile laws, did in fact permit free activity
to the Church. Brazil—which had closed its convents and persecuted the
reformist bishops—became a republic (1889) and re-established diplomatic
relations with the Holy See, though the Church was disestablished. Agree-
ments were concluded with Colombia and Argentina. In other countries,
apostolic delegates were sent, to support Catholic life. A council of Latin
American bishops held in Rome in 1899 initiated a successful movement to
restore the Catholic institutions and reinvigorate religious life, while the Pope
exhorted the faithful to support their clergy by Catholic action.

In Canada the Church continued to expand, spreading westward. In the
East, dioceses were multiplied and also all kinds of institutions (schools,
hospitals), so that Canadian Catholics were a model of a traditional and pro-
gressive community.

In the United States, Catholicism was still making strides, led by the
dominating figure of Cardinal Gibbons. Here, again, Leo XIII established

contacts with the head of the government, Cleveland, who made him a present when the jubilee of his ordination was celebrated. The quatercentenary of Christopher Columbus's voyage was marked by celebrations (1892) to which the Pope sent a representative who afterward became the permanent apostolic delegate to Washington. On that occasion the Pope's solicitude for this young Church, still so remote in those days of slow ocean crossings, was expressed in the Encyclical *Longinqua oceani* (1895). Rome acted as peacemaker when the creation of new national parishes gave rise to disputes, and the question of the so-called 'Americanism' was settled by an Encyclical (1899), but indeed it seems there never was such a heresy, as Gibbons could sincerely write to the Pope. Gibbons also preserved the Knights of Labour from a Roman condemnation (1888) and then fostered a strong labour movement among the adult Catholic men.

The missions in Asia, Africa, and Oceania were still extending their range; a few stages in their progress have already been mentioned, including the attempt to install a nuncio at Peking. The number of apostolic vicars increased in proportion to that of the missionaries.

The activities of the papacy in the different parts of the world were indicative of Leo XIII's twofold desire—to maintain or establish confident diplomatic relations with all governments, in order to support their Catholic subjects, and to contribute to domestic peace in all countries by encouraging Catholics to be loyal to the existing political system. He continually urged the faithful —who in almost every land were at variance among themselves as to the attitude to be adopted when politics impinged upon religion—to drop their own disputes and unite to defend or promote the spiritual treasures they had in common; where necessary, he allowed interconfessional political or social movements to develop (Germany, the United States). His action was both pacifying and constructive. It had the further and rapid result of conferring a quite novel prestige upon the papacy throughout the world, thus providing a considerable and unexpected compensation for the loss of temporal power and the other inflictions suffered by the Church.

These activities were based on doctrinal teaching which covered every field. This too was eminently constructive, expressing a very lofty and penetrating vision which undoubtedly gave this pontificate its distinctive character and stamped Leo XIII as one of the very great popes.

In the politico-religious field, circumstances combined to produce serene, radiant encyclicals, calculated to guide the judgement of the flock as well as the theologians, and to dispel the prejudices of non-Catholics. They shirk none of the great problems by which the century was so passionately stirred. They champion the value and the spiritual freedom of the individual against all forms of State domination, and combat excessive individualism by requiring its enlistment in the community for the benefit of the rest of mankind. *Arcanum* (1880) deals with the family, the primary cell of the human community; *Diuturnum* (1881) shows that authority in the State comes from God, and that

the designation of that authority by democratic methods is in no way contrary to Christian dogma; *Immortale Dei* (1885) discusses the relations between Church and State, two communities each of which is sovereign in its own field, but which must reach agreement on questions of concern to both; *Libertas* (1888), which attracted wide attention and which treats of the 'modern freedoms'—of conscience, of worship, of the press, of education, etc.— differentiating between the aspects of those conceptions and aspirations which are in accordance with faith and reason and those which contravene either or both; and *Sapientiae christianae* (1890), which deals with the duties of the citizen.

In the sphere of social problems, the Encyclical *Rerum Novarum* (1891), which describes the doctrinal attitude of the Church, came as a veritable event.[4] This is, perhaps of all his encyclicals, the one which Leo XIII laboured longest, and to which he attached the most importance. In it, the Church, which was steadily losing ground in political matters, intervened 'with greater authority in the wider field of economic and social questions' (E. Soderini). Foreshadowed in the 1878 encyclicals on socialism, its way prepared by the nascent Catholic movements for social action and study which already existed in many countries,* it vigorously denounced the injustice of the inhuman toil and miserable circumstances imposed upon the industrial proletariat by liberal industrial capitalism. Rejecting the socialist system, it indicated as remedies the Christian spirit which brings charity and justice into social relations, the independent vocational associations, and the introduction of State legislation to supplement and legalize individual and corporative action in the service of the commonweal. This gave great impetus to social Catholicism in all countries, even as far afield as Australia and Chile. Later documents (*Graves de communi*, 1901) contributed further particulars, with the aim of smoothing out, here again, the differences which had arisen among Catholics on subjects such as State intervention and associations formed solely by workers, and of encouraging action.

Looking more deeply into the situation, the Pope had long perceived the necessity of promoting ecclesiastical science and raising the intellectual level of the clergy and the faithful, in order to enable them to think effectively, as Christians, about the speculative and practical topics of their own day, and to maintain agreement between their own faith and the progress of the different sciences. As early as the second year of his pontificate he issued the Encyclical *Aeterni Patris* (1879), showing that the philosophical and theological system of that great medieval scholar St Thomas Aquinas had comprised a 'realism' which allotted their due place to strict reason and to revelation, the best and most reliable instrument of work which he had not intended to be backward,

* Germany, Austria, France, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, England and the United States. Since 1884, Mgr Mermillod, in his bishopric of Freiburg, Switzerland, had been convoking representatives of six countries to meet as a committee for social studies, and had reported their findings annually to Leo XIII.

and had taken this as the basis of ecclesiastical studies which were to derive new vigour from it. *Providentissimus* (1893) indicated the direction to be followed by biblical studies. In 1881, the treasure house of the Vatican archives was thrown open for untrammelled historical research. This encouragement to science bore fruit in the publication of an increasing number of works of high quality, some by churchmen, others by laymen (mention should at least be made of the revival of scholasticism at Louvain, thanks to Mgr Mercier), and also deserves credit for the thorough documentation of the great doctrinal encyclicals themselves. Newman received the Cardinal's hat. The urgent need for such stimulus was shown by certain aberrant movements in the fields of sacred sciences and in social activity, which began to emerge in some circles toward the end of the pontificate. Germany, England, France, Italy, Austria, and Belgium put forward *modernism*, under the plea of criticism and of progressive thought, and under the influence of the biblical studies undertaken by Protestant liberals. The effect was to drain the content from the most essential tenets, leaving them little more than a subjective significance, or else to give sanction to radically democratic action: in point of fact it served chiefly to expose the absence of scientific knowledge and basic theological training among these enthusiastic advocates of renovation. It was later condemned by Pius X (1907).

In the sphere of piety itself, the soul of the Christian life and of its efficacy, Leo XIII served as a guide to progress in a number of authoritative encyclicals (devotion to the Eucharist, the Holy Ghost, the Virgin Mary, St Joseph), which declared the value of the virtues sometimes wrongly described as 'passive' as well as of the 'active' ones, of religious vows, and of the spiritual guidance provided by the Church (the letter *Testem benevolentiae*, 1899). He encouraged the development of the religious orders, training for the clergy, the great Catholic congresses held in various countries, and the international eucharistic congresses, the first of which was held in 1881.

At the close of a century of sometimes tragic vicissitudes, which did not offer the prospect of any such outcome, the Catholic religious community showed itself re-invigorated in spirit, enriched in the explanation of its doctrine, and fortified in its institutions, gather around a leader who was regarded with increasing respect even in non-Catholic circles, and beginning once again, in all fields, to carry the light of its founder's gospel to a world in process of transformation.

2. PROTESTANTISM
BY H. W. SCHNEIDER

THE course of Protestant life and thought during the nineteenth century cannot be interpreted without the background of the enlightenment as it developed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as it found forcible expression in the French Revolution, and as it lingered well into the

nineteenth century. It is, of course, still an important factor in the European heritage and is finding world-wide new life in the twentieth century, far beyond the centres of European culture. Under the impact of this movement Christians attempted to accommodate their faith to the ideology which during the enlightenment was called 'natural religion', and which, in retrospect, now appears much less natural but nevertheless a very significant theory and a civilized ideal. The dominant trends of Protestantism since the days of the French Revolution are either reactions to or reconstructions of this faith of the enlightenment in nature and reason.

Protestants like John Locke (1632–1704) and Pierre Bayle (1647–1706) were preoccupied with much more than the need for religious toleration, though they are well known as champions of this ideal. They thought that the Christian faith was essentially reasonable and they tried to explain why the history of civilization tended to conceal this reasonableness under a mass of superstitions. Locke thought that the source of the trouble lay in man's tendency to trust his imagination far beyond its rational limitations; and Bayle thought that the whole of human history is a record of man's efforts to overcome the infirmities of his own nature. If religion were to become thoroughly reasonable, both agreed, it could not be based on human nature nor on natural law but must be cultivated habitually as one pursues a fine and delicate art, using intelligence and moral discipline to 'purify it from age to age', to use a favourite Protestant phrase. The popular works of William Wollaston (*The Religion of Nature Delineated*, 1722), of Bishop Joseph Butler (*The Analogy of Nature*, 1736), and of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (*The Creed of a Savoyard Vicar*, 1762), proved to be too complacent. When David Hume awoke the would-be enlightened deists from their 'dogmatic slumbers', those of them who, like Immanuel Kant, were concerned to make their Christian faith reasonable, embarked on a major operation of theological and philosophical reform. The critical energies of this operation were especially significant for Protestantism, whose strength in those countries in which it was a religious minority came precisely from the middle classes that were taking the lead in preaching enlightenment. For it was Protestantism, much more than Catholicism, that was being pushed in the direction of 'natural religion' and that was in danger of losing its distinctive Christian features. Among Protestants Alexander Pope's famous lines were all too popular:

> 'Father of all! in ev'ry age
> In ev'ry clime adored,
> By saint, by savage, and by sage,
> Jehovah, Jove or Lord!'

During the nineteenth century this complacent faith was thoroughly undermined.

Foremost among the attempts to make Christianity reasonable among Protestants was the movement which began innocently enough as 'latitudi-

narianism' or broad-mindedness, but which was soon involved in the Socinian heresy, and later came to be known as Unitarianism. Locke himself was caught in the attempt to make the central mystery of the Trinity seem reasonable. But a generation later other English scientists took the lead in openly denying the doctrine of the Trinity. Prominent in both Great Britain and America were the scientist Joseph Priestley (1733–1804) and the essayist Richard Price (1723–92), the former a rationalist, the latter a Platonist, both persecuted in England for their dissent. Priestley's *Corruptions of Christianity* (1782) was a notable effort to defend a 'reasonable' form of Protestantism, and had a wide influence on both sides of the Atlantic. In Philadelphia, Priestley became one of the founders of the Unitarian Church,* a church which is still defending its right to be called Christian despite long Protestant opposition.

Still more in danger of being called un-Christian were humanists like Ludwig Feuerbach, whose *Essence of Christianity* (1841) was translated into English by George Eliot (1853), and Frederick Harrison, an English Protestant disciple of Auguste Comte. These eloquent writers and preachers urged Christians to rely on the power of their gospel when it was freed of supernatural interpretations and was taken frankly as a human appeal to man's basic sentiments. Similarly in New England during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, Theodore Parker was carrying his theology in this same direction, distinguishing between 'the permanent and the transient' in Christianity and leaving all too little of it as 'permanent'.

While the preachers were thus chipping away at the supposed essentials of Christianity, the textual criticism of the Bible was being carried much further than the earlier critics like Hobbes and Spinoza had thought possible. The 'higher' criticism of J. G. Eichhorn, Ferdinand Bauer, David Strauss, and Adolf von Harnack, to mention only the earlier historians, subjected the books of both the Old and the New Testaments to reinterpretation in terms of their various historical environments. Though much of this criticism turned out to be more rationalistic than scientific, it definitely threw reasonable doubt on many biblical stories that had been accepted as historical facts basic for the Christian faith.

For French Protestantism the Revolution marked the beginning of liberty. Rousseau (a Calvinist and citizen of Geneva), Voltaire and Montesquieu had prepared the ground for toleration. Montesquieu's famous lines: 'The chief strength of religion is its being believed; of human laws their being feared', aroused the persecuted Protestants to hope for a new era. They were granted civil rights in 1787, and on 7 June 1789 Pastor Marron celebrated the first public Reformed worship in Paris. In 1802 Napoleon recognized the Reformed and Lutheran Churches in France, and their ministers became state functionaries.

But the complete emancipation came with the Revolution of 1830 and the

* It was formally organized in Baltimore in 1819.

Orléans régime, when a Protestant, François Guizot, became Minister of Worship and Education. Thousands of Protestant schools were organized, Sunday schools flourished, and Home Mission societies grew rapidly. Several Protestant leaders, notably Alexandre Vinet, Edmond de Pressensé and Frédérick Monod, began agitating for the separation of Church and State, and in 1849 a Free Church was established in addition to the state churches. Under Napoleon III (1852–70) there were some efforts to repress Protestantism but they were ineffectual. By 1870, French Protestantism was well organized and prosperous.

The real inspiration, however, behind this rapid growth came less from the legal recognition and emancipation, more from an inner awakening known as the *Réveil*. This international movement had its French origin in Switzerland in 1816, with the impassioned preaching of a Scottish minister, Robert Haldane. The evangelical enthusiasm created by him led to numerous secessions from the official church of Geneva and to the formation of the Evangelical Society of Geneva, the chapel of the *Oratoire*, and a new School of Theology. The movement spread rapidly over France. In 1822 its leaders, P. A. Stapfer, Auguste de Staël and Pastor Lutteroth, created an active missionary society in Paris and promoted the founding of several theological faculties.

Outstanding among the fruits of the *Réveil* were the careers of several intellectual and social leaders, who made distinct contributions to French culture of the nineteenth century. First should be mentioned Alexandre Vinet (1797–1847), a Swiss theologian and literary critic whose thinking and writing set the style for nineteenth-century French Protestant thought and enjoyed an international influence, notably on Kierkegaard. He revolted against the rigid doctrinaire spirit of Calvinism and preached a conception of religion which emphasized human conscientiousness as the divine element in man. In place of the traditional contrast between divine grace and human morals, he asserted the polar relation between divine truth and human conscience. In short, the gospel he preached emphasized the human rather than the supernatural sources of religious faith. What Vinet accomplished as a writer, Adolph Monod (1802–56) achieved in the pulpit. He was a Protestant Bossuet, serving as pastor in Naples, Lyons and Paris, and preaching in the spirit of the *Réveil* while also maintaining the authority of Reformed tradition. A similar spirit dominated Edmond de Pressensé (1824–91) who applied the doctrines of Vinet to social problems. While pastor of the free congregation in Paris, he worked for the 'regeneration' of society, welcomed the revolution of 1848, stimulated interest among his bourgeois Protestants in the cause of organized labour, was elected deputy in 1871 and senator in 1883. De Pressensé was also a historian. He wrote a six-volume history of the Church during the first three centuries (1858–77), and his *L'Eglise et la Révolution Française* (1865) was translated into English and published (1869) under the title *Religion and the Reign of Terror*.

Under the stimulus of Napoleon's conquest of Germany, combined with the more general stimulus of the enlightenment, Johann Gottlieb Fichte delivered his rousing *Speeches to the German Nation*, which urged the Germans to unite under the banner of German culture. Flattered by Fichte's romantic appeal and by his conviction that German culture would readily reveal its superiority, Berlin was seething with excitement and ambition during the first decade of the nineteenth century. A university must be founded immediately! Classical studies, philology, criticism, philosophy, literature were flourishing brilliantly. Into the midst of this enthusiasm for secular culture fell a series of *Speeches on Religion to its Cultured Despisers* by the chaplain of the Berlin hospital. The quiet eloquence and confidence of this Protestant chaplain, to say nothing of his classical erudition, created a sensation in the literary world. This young chaplain, Friedrich Schleiermacher (1786–1834), had grown up in Moravian (pietist) schools, and had then gone to the University of Halle, which was famous as the headquarters of eighteenth-century pietism and reform among Lutherans. Though he had lived among pietists, whom he admired and imitated, he spent his time at Halle studying the Greek classics, especially Plato. He spoke as one who was a devoted disciple of Christ and also a highly educated classicist. Why should his 'enlightened' generation despise Christianity? Schleiermacher concluded that their disdain was for the Church, not for Christ. He preached to them a gospel of non-institutional religion. All men, he claimed, especially when enlightened, realized their absolute dependence on God. This dependence is *felt* even before it is known, and in this sentiment of dependence lies the heart of religion. He spoke impressively out of his own religious experience. and he appealed beyond theology and doctrine to religious experience. This appeal was the beginning of a new conception of religion which has taken hold increasingly since the days of Schleiermacher and which, especially in Germany, revolutionized Protestant theology. Schleiermacher turned away from biblical studies, he even scorned the Old Testament. He put the Christ of the New Testament into the context of modern secular culture, and represented an inner, pietistic devotion to Christ as an effective mediation between God and modern culture. There is a cultural need for religion, he claimed, quite apart from theological doctrine and institutional creeds. The dependence on God is an immediate human fact and feeling.

This conception of religious experience took hold rapidly among the intelligentsia of all nations. In France it was made impressive by Maine de Biran: in England by Samuel Taylor Coleridge; in New England by William Ellery Channing. As it developed in the nineteenth century, it was quite different from the great awakening of the eighteenth century and from the evangelical revivals of the nineteenth century; it was a highly educated Protestant pietism, a joint product of enlightenment, classicism and romanticism.

Following Schleiermacher, this Christian empiricism found its next important Protestant formulation in the theology of Albrecht Ritschl (1822–99).

His philosophy was moulded by Kant and he thought of religion 'within reason alone' as a devotion to 'the kingdom of ends', as Kant had defined the moral ideal. Under Schleiermacher's influence, however, Ritschl transformed his Kantian ethics into a theology of the kingdom of God through Christ. This kingdom is not to be interpreted as God's reign over nature ('the king of the universe') but as God's significance for human culture. God is to be experienced by man not in terms of 'natural religion' but in terms of absolute value or worth. God reigns as supreme over moral ideals; his kingdom is in human society. This idea of man's *social* need for God became basic in Protestant theology for a whole century. It came to be known popularly as 'value theology', and was usually affiliated with philosophical idealism and social reform. In his chief doctrinal work, *The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation*, Ritschl wrote: 'The Christian idea of the kingdom of God denotes the association of mankind—an association both extensively and intensively the most comprehensive possible—through the reciprocal moral action of its members.' Thus Ritschl shifts the locus of religious experience from the inner feeling of individual dependence on God, as Schleiermacher had conceived it, to the social need for God as it is exhibited in 'the historical community' of Christians, and this community is sharply distinguished from the historical Church. God must be understood through cultural history and he must be worshipped by community action for 'the advancing forces of human civilization'.

In Ritschl and his followers, especially Adolf von Harnack (1851–1930), this tendency to identify Christianity with the historical continuity of the 'Christian people' or community rather than with the Church as such, gradually modified the strong Christocentric interpretation which Schleier-macher had given to German Protestantism. The 'real' Christ became the 'historical' Christ, the spirit of the Christian community and of its culture; there was less emphasis on the transcendent personality pictured in the Gospels, more emphasis on the 'love ethic' or concept of human brotherhood, to which the members of the Christian community were devoted. This change was heralded among Protestant leaders generally as a transformation of theology from an apologetic system of doctrine into a 'positive theology' for Christian culture.

The general effect of such philosophy was to subordinate the negative aspect of Protestantism, its revolt against Roman Catholicism, to a general subordination of all ritual and sacramental institutions, whether Catholic or Protestant, to the 'Christian ethics' of love. There were vague hints now and then, which became stronger in the twentieth century, that the churches might even be called upon to 'sacrifice themselves' for the sake of the kingdom of God. These ideas gained strength gradually with the growth of 'the social gospel' and of Christian socialism. But there was one incident which threw the Prussian Protestants back into a bitter struggle with the Roman Catholic Church. When Bismarck in the 1870s launched his political attack on the

German Catholic hierarchy for its attempts to gain political power through the Centrist Party, the Protestants, notably the Lutheran State Church of Prussia, came to Bismarck's support. However, it is significant of the trends in Protestant theology which have been outlined here, that this struggle was labelled a *Kulturkampf*, the Protestant churches claiming to be on the side of 'culture' against the authoritarian pretensions of the Roman Church.

In Germany socialism and democratic reform took on an increasingly secular, half-Marxian form and what German religious socialism there was during the nineteenth century was Catholic rather than Protestant. But in England and the United States the German idealistic theology from Kant to Ritschl had a profound effect in Anglican and Protestant circles. This influence served to sanction both theological and political liberalism and reinforced secular attempts like those of the Fabian socialists in England and of Edward Bellamy in the United States to preach the reform of social institutions on the basis of 'brotherhood' or 'Christian love' rather than on the theory of class conflict.

The revolutions of the eighteenth century, political, industrial, and intellectual, created crises for the Church of England during the nineteenth century. The attacks from the Evangelical or Free Churches within Protestantism, from the Wesleyans, the Congregationalists, and other dissenting or nonconformist bodies, were familiar and raised no new issues. But the growth of secular liberalism, especially among the middle classes during the enlightenment and the political victory of these liberals in the passing of the Reform Bill of 1832 created a crisis for the Established Church which roused it to defensive action.

The first movement of defence, the Tractarian movement, turned out to be the most serious danger, for it raised the basic issue whether the Church of England should be Protestant. The challenge to the Liberals was taken up in 1827–31 by John Keble and Hugh James Rose, joined by the young James A. Froude, who later abandoned the movement (in 1848). The aim of these 'medievalists' was to prove historically that the Anglican Church was more Catholic than the Roman, that is, that it was closer to the primitive church of the first three centuries. Such a historical theory might have passed with relatively little notice, but this group advocated a revival of medieval ecclesiasticism: elaborate rituals, celibacy of the clergy, fasts, relics of saints, and monasteries. Keble's sermon of 1833 on 'National Apostasy', with its appeal for a definite renunciation of Protestantism, led to the Hadleigh Conference of 1833, where these three were joined by John Henry Newman, Edward B. Pusey, and several others. The tracts which this group published during 1833–41 caused their movement to be known as Tractarianism. The evangelicals attacked it as more than a 'high-church' tendency, believing it to be a conspiracy to return to the Roman Church. Whereupon Newman in Tracts 38–41, entitled *Via Media*, denied the charge and represented the Church of

England as an independent mediating communion between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism. But by 1841 so much opposition had been aroused within the ranks of the Anglicans that Newman was led to compose his famous Tract No. 90 on *Certain Passages in the Thirty-nine Articles*, in which he gave an explicitly Catholic interpretation of the Anglican communion. The storm aroused by this tract led to a parting of the ways. Those who were firmly resolved to stay within the Church of England as an Anglo-Catholic party banded together under the leadership of Pusey and Keble. But by 1851 Newman, Faber, and Manning had gone over to Rome and by 1853 about 400 Anglican clergymen had followed them into the Roman Church.

The Anglo-Catholic or high-church party, meanwhile, was being attacked vigorously by a broad-church party under the leadership of Thomas Arnold (1795–1842), learned headmaster of Rugby School. His theories were supported in 1830 by Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834) in his last work, *Church and State*. This party was significant not merely for its theological liberalism, but also for its nationalism. It developed for Protestants a theory similar to the one Gioberti expounded for Italian nationalists. This theory, derived from Richard Hooker, maintains that the Anglican Church is the church of the people of England or of the English state and nation, responsible for expressing and promoting the spiritual aspects of English culture. It is primarily the institutionalization of the 'clerisy' of the people, the élite, the spiritual teachers and leaders of the nation of whom the clergy are only a small part. It is the national responsibility of the state church to adapt Christian ideas and traditions to modern and especially to English culture, and in doing this the Established Church is obligated to support the 'visible Church' which includes the dissenters. In developing this theory, Arnold was more influenced by what his son, Matthew Arnold, called 'hellenism', and by classical history; whereas Coleridge was under the influence of German idealism and romanticism, especially Schelling. This broad conception of the spiritual life proved to be a growing power not only in Anglican circles but also in New England, where it promoted the Transcendentalist movement.

The broad-church tendencies in the Church of England became more conspicuous toward the close of the century, when the modernist movement in the Catholic Church became critical. In 1860 seven Oxford professors, who were versed in recent biblical and historical criticism. published *Essays and Reviews* in which they reported the results of this criticism. A few years later, Bishop Colenso of Natal defended liberalism in the South African mission field and wrote a seven-volume work against the authenticity and literal credibility of the books of Moses and Joshua. These and similar publications were widely denounced by the clergy and bishops in England, but the State came to the rescue; the Privy Council, which had supreme jurisdiction in ecclesiastical matters, cleared their authors of the charge of heresy. The annual Hibbert Lectures, beginning with the lecture by Max Müller in 1878, kept scholarly criticism in the public eye. And in 1890 there appeared a

volume of essays entitled *Lux Mundi*, by a group of Oxford modernists. Though this volume received a much more respectful hearing than *Essays and Reviews* did 30 years earlier, it still created a sensation. Theological liberalism was at last firmly within the Church of England.

Combining such historical liberalism with social liberalism, Frederick Denison Maurice and Charles Kingsley founded a reform movement which culminated in a vigorous Christian socialism, which was supported also by high churchmen. Maurice (1805–72) was the son of a Unitarian minister and grew up as a theological liberal. He came under the influence of S. T. Coleridge and Thomas Erskine, was ordained in the Church of England in 1828, and in 1838 published his first work, *The Kingdom of Christ*, in which he contrasted his views on social problems with those of the Society of Friends (Quakers). Then came an extraordinary volume on *The Religions of the World* (1847), followed by more or less unorthodox biblical studies. In his humanitarian enthusiasm he went so far as to embrace Universalism, that is, the belief in the ultimate redemption of all human beings.

In 1854 Maurice left his post and scholarly researches at the University of London and founded the first working-man's college. In 1866 he was appointed to a chair of philosophy at Cambridge, where he carried on a stormy campaign for social reform and the 'social gospel' of the kingdom of Christ. He opposed both the Tractarians and the Evangelicals. In fact, he denounced all sects as infidelity. He taught that men are by nature comrades under Christ their Lord and that all their institutions must be transformed in view of the 'actual kingdom of Christ'. 'The Kingdom of God begins within, but it is to penetrate our whole social existence' (*The Lord's Prayer*, p. 49).

Maurice preached a gospel which was devoted primarily to the reform of English institutions, but in theory it was universal. In his American disciple, however, the Rev. Elisha Mulford of the American Episcopal Church, this gospel became more nationalist, and served as an ideology for a Christian social nationalism. Mulford, more than Maurice, came under the influence of Hegel and other German nationalists, including Stahl and Bluntschli, and he tried to make explicit what it means to nations and states to live 'under God'. In 1870 he published a sensational work of religious social theory entitled *The Nation* and in 1881 came its sequel, *The Republic of God*.

'The nation is a moral organism . . . The organic will of the people is sovereign . . . The nation is formed in the realization of personality . . . The nation can meet the forces with which it has to contend only as it realizes its own moral being, and recognizes its origin and end in God . . . It is to fulfil a divine calling . . . with faith in the redemption of humanity . . . Christ is the centre of history . . . He was "King of the Jews", and the words to which history was to bear witness are that all the nations move toward him . . . and toward his coming . . . Self and society are twin-born, and the notion of a separate and independent ego is an illusion.' (*The Nation*, pp. 16–23, 381–411 *passim*.)

Such preaching, coming as it did after the Civil War and the defence by the South of a federal theory of union among states, was received as a Christian justification of national solidarity. But it was intended by the author to enforce the idea of collectivism and to make the nation as a whole aware of its duty before God to provide for the self-realization of each member of the 'moral organism'.

In these various ways the idea of 'the kingdom of God' has been developed by Protestants to supplement, if not to supplant, the idea of the holy Catholic Church as the 'spiritual body of Christ'. It would be wrong to interpret this development as a secularization of Christian ideas of authority, for the aim was rather to give spiritual content to supposedly secular institutions and in this way to break down the traditional dualism and opposition between 'the city of God' and 'the cities of this world', and to lay the foundations for a theory of Christian culture, within which the various churches could serve according to their several capacities. This philosophy of the 'redemption of society' was largely a theoretical development during the nineteenth century, but it paved the way for the practical experiments in Christian socialism of the twentieth century.

There were significant rejections of this whole enterprise of remaking the world on a Christian model. The popular evangelical churches were scarcely touched by this critical theology and socialistic ideology. They developed along the lines laid down by the pietistic awakening of the eighteenth century and took for granted that salvation was impossible on earth. For them, the religious life was a brief pilgrimage in an alien world, and among the labouring classes this gospel seemed more realistic than the social gospel. Proletarian religion and frontier religion remained, on the whole, other-worldly. And they regarded the 'economy of redemption' or the salvation of souls as a distinct process from the morality of daily life and the 'economy of competition'.

Here and there, however, there arose members of the intelligentsia who had grasped the meaning of the new, moralistic cultural gospel. They too had experienced the enlightenment, they too had understood the theoretical programme of christianizing the social order, they too were Protestants. But they revolted openly and conscientiously against this whole version of a new Christendom. There were, of course, many Catholics too who rebelled against it, and many radical critics outside the Christian churches who ridiculed the whole idea; but these are beyond the scope of this chapter. Here, we must take note of important Protestants who rebelled critically and whose rebellion came near to driving them out of the Protestant ranks. It may suffice to call attention to two Protestant rebels, in addition to those who turned Catholic: one, Søren Kierkegaard, remained obscure until the twentieth century immortalized him; the other, Ralph Waldo Emerson, was a great leader during the nineteenth century and is now almost forgotten.

Søren Kierkegaard (1813–55) lived and died in Copenhagen dedicating himself to the task of living alone with Christ. He grew up in the Danish Lutheran State Church, to which he could not reconcile himself. He then attacked institutinalized Christendom, also institutions in general, and any public union. For, concluded he, the religious life is the life-in-truth, and truth is always a personal relation between an individual and God; any significant crowd or public is distracting and deceiving. His own words, posthumously in 1859, throw some light on his grounds for rejecting social Christianity:

'I had real Christian satisfaction in the thought that, if there were no other, there was definitely one man in Copenhagen whom every poor man could freely accost and converse within the street; that, if there were no other, there was one man who, whatever the society he more commonly frequented, did not shun contact with the poor, but greeted every maidservant he was acquainted with, every manservant, every common labourer. I felt a real Christian satisfaction in the fact that, if there were no other, there was one man who made a practical effort on a small scale to learn the lesson of loving one's neighbour and, alas! got at the same time a frightful insight into what an illusion Christendom is' (from *The Point of View*).

'He, the great Examiner, says that only one attains the goal. That means, everyone can and everyone should be this one—but only one attains the goal. Hence where there is a multitude, a crowd, or where decisive significance is attached to the fact that there is a multitude, there it is sure that no one is working, living, striving for the highest aim, but only for one or another earthly aim; since to work for the eternal decisive aim is possible only where there is one, and to be this one which all can be is to let God be the helper— the "crowd" is the untruth.

'To honour every man, absolutely every man, is the truth, and this is what it is to fear God and love one's neighbour. But from an ethico-religious point of view, to recognize the "crowd" as the court of last resort is to deny God, and it cannot exactly mean to love the "neighbour". And the "neighbour" is the absolutely true expression for human equality. In case everyone were in truth to love his neighbour as himself, complete human equality would be attained. Never have I read in Holy Scripture the commandment, Thou shalt love the crowd—and still less, Thou shalt recognize, ethico-religiously, in the crowd the supreme authority in matters of "truth". But the thing is simple enough: this thing of loving one's neighbour is self-denial; that of loving the crowd, or of pretending to love it, of making it the authority in matters of truth, is the way to material power, the way to temporal and earthly advantages of all sorts—at the same time it is the untruth' (from *That Individual*).

His first literary effort, a diffuse work entitled *Whether—Or?* (usually translated *Either/Or*) was published in 1843 under a pseudonym. It raised the question whether life is at bottom an aesthetic or a moral concern. At the

same time he published a collection of sermons over his own name in which he explained that the authentic life is neither aesthetic nor moral but religious. His Protestantism is most evident in his *Training for Christianity, Deeds of Charity*, and his more famous attack *On Christendom*. These works inspired a similar religious individualism in the Spanish Catholic writer Unamuno. But Kierkegaard was little known and less regarded until the twentieth century.

Another important rebel against institutional Christianity was the New England Congregationalist, Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803–82), who quickly became himself an American institution and who preached to a world-wide congregation from his own lecture-pulpit. He came from a long line of Puritan ministers and he himself began to preach at the age of 23. He soon developed a deep antipathy to formal public prayer and to the use of bread and wine in the sacrament of communion; the former, he thought, led to insincerity and the latter to materialism. As a consequence he renounced his pastoral duties in 1832 and pursued his spiritual life privately on a pattern inspired by Coleridge and Carlyle. Invited in 1838 to address the graduating class of the Harvard Divinity School, he lectured boldly on 'the defects of historical Christianity'. After glorifying 'the visions of moral sentiment', he continued:

'The moral sentiment cannot be received at second hand. Truly speaking, it is not instruction but provocation, that I receive from another soul. What he announces, I must find true in me, or reject . . .

'By this eastern monarchy of a Christianity, which indolence and fear have built, the friend of man is made the injurer of man. The manner in which his name is surrounded with expressions which were once sallies of admiration and love, but are now petrified into official titles, kills all generous sympathy and liking. All who hear me, feel that the language that describes Christ to Europe and America is not the style of friendship and enthusiasm to a good and noble heart, but is appropriated and formal.

'To aim to convert a man by miracles, is a profanation of the soul. A true conversion, a true Christ, is now, as always, to be made by the reception of beautiful sentiments . . . The time is coming when all men will see that the gift of God to the soul is not a vaunting, overpowering, excluding sanctity, but a sweet, natural goodness, a goodness like thine and mine, and that so invites thine and mine to be and to grow. The injustice of the vulgar tone of preaching is not less flagrant to Jesus than to the souls which it profanes.

'Men have come to speak of the revelation as somewhat long ago given and done, as if God were dead. The injury to faith throttles the preacher; and the goodliest of institutions becomes an uncertain and inarticulate voice.

'Let me admonish you, first of all, to go alone; to refuse the good models, even those which are sacred in the imagination of men, and dare to love God without mediator or veil. Friends enough you shall find who will hold up to your emulation Wesleys and Oberlins, saints and prophets. Thank God for these good men, but say, "I also am a man". Imitation cannot go above its

model. The imitator dooms himself to hopeless mediocrity. The inventor did it because it was natural to him and so in him it has a charm. In the imitator something else is natural, and he bereaves himself of his own beauty, to come short of another man's. Yourself a newborn bard of the Holy Ghost, cast behind you all conformity, and acquaint men at first hand with Deity.'

World-wide mission

The aspect of Protestantism during the nineteenth century, which was by far the most significant for cultural history, was the amazing expansion of the missionary enterprise, both geographically and culturally. No single cause fired the imaginations and efforts of Protestants as did the cause of foreign missions; in it Christian romanticism as well as Christian self-sacrifice reached a culminating expression. During this period Christianity became 'naturalized' (to use the common expression) or acculturated among all the peoples of the earth; it became a world religion, accommodating itself to all kinds of cultures and promoting, often without intending it, the process of cultural diffusion.

The earlier movements and organizations for the 'propagation of the gospel' were an aspect of colonial expansion; this new wave of Christian expansion was associated with imperialism externally and, to a lesser extent, instrinsically. It was probably no accident that the great missionary organizations, for the most part private ventures, took shape while Napoleon was trying to blockade Europe, even though the motives were clearly religious, not commercial. There was a general turning to the East during the Napoleonic wars as new trade routes were sought and found. Ancient cultures were newly revealed and the 'nature peoples' of the South Pacific were an endless source of romantic inspiration.

In 1705 the Danish King Frederick IV with the co-operation of the great German pietist leader August Hermann Francke (who in turn had been inspired by Leibniz) sent two pietist students as missionaries to Tranquebar, South India, where the first Protestant mission in India was established. Under the direction of three pietists, Ziegenbalg, Plütschau, and Schwartz, this mission became firmly established and created a local Christian community of 40,000 persons.

In 1792 a Baptist cobbler, botanist, zoologist, and linguist named William Carey, of Northampton, England, wrote *An Enquiry into the Obligations of Christians to use Means for the Conversion of the Heathens*. The response to its appeal was phenomenal. Within a few months after publication, a group of 12 ministers organized the *Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Heathen*, and within a year Carey himself left for India. There he purchased a small indigo plantation, but was forced by the Indian Government to move to the Danish settlement of Serampore in Bengal. There he built a printing-press and began, with a few associates, translating and publishing the Bible in 24 Indian languages. Then he was made professor of Oriental languages at

Calcutta, where he taught the Sanskrit, Bengali, and Mahratta languages. He became a member of the Royal Asiatic Society and wrote scientific articles on botany and natural history. He also wrote several grammars and dictionaries. Within a few decades there were dozens of great missionaries, coming from all the churches, whose careers resembled that of the great pioneer Carey.

On the continent of Europe, the missionary spirit was first kindled by the Moravians (or Bohemian Brethren). Persecuted from place to place in central Europe, they finally found peace and prosperity in Pennsylvania among the Quakers. But they did not settle down like other settlers, for they had conceived the theory that they were appointed collectively to be a 'pilgrim congregation'. Within 20 years the Moravians created more missions than all the Protestants had created in the previous 200 years. During the century 1730 to 1830, true to this theory, they established mission stations in the West Indies, Greenland, Lapland, Labrador, the North American Indians, Guinea, Ceylon, Surinam, South-West Africa, Algiers, Iran, Egypt, East Indies, Tobago and South-East Africa. By 1849 they were in Australia and by 1853 in the Western Himalayas. The Moravians distinguished themselves not only by the world-wide extent of their missions but also by their peaceful trading and their friendly religious relations wherever they went. Whereas many early missionaries accepted and welcomed armed protection by their home governments, the Moravians went everywhere unprotected and peaceably.

The other Protestant churches followed quickly and eagerly in the paths of the pioneers. In 1795 the English Evangelicals organized the London Missionary Society. In 1797 the Dutch organized a Missionary Society for work in the Dutch East Indies. In 1799 the Anglicans founded the Church Missionary Society. In 1806 three students at Williams College in Massachusetts pledged themselves to become missionaries and this little band led directly to the founding of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, an international organization. In 1814 the American Baptists organized and in the same year the British Wesleyans organized, followed in 1819 by the American Methodists, whose Mission Board and missionaries became the largest denominational missionary body in the world. The Presbyterians followed in 1837. In 1853 the famous English China Inland Mission was founded by J. Hudson Taylor, and a few years later the similar African Congo Inland Mission, which Dr Livingstone made famous. Then came a series of medical missionary organizations, especially in Moslem areas, followed in 1886 by the American Student Volunteer Movement and in 1892 by a similar Student Volunteer organization in Great Britain. Meanwhile the YMCA was carrying on a distinctive and energetic missionary activity. Then came a federation of the American mission boards, and finally in 1910 the formation of the International Missionary Council in which almost all the Protestant churches participated.

It is impossible to give a general history of the way in which missionary

work expanded during the century, for there were significant variations in different fields. In the Moslem areas Christian missions had very little success, except for medical missions and a few colleges. The major successes were among polytheists: there seems to have been a general agreement among the early missionaries to polytheist cultures in reporting that the doctrine of one supreme deity and the consequent centralized, simplified worship was the most appealing feature of the Christian gospel.

For the major mission fields—India, China, Japan and Africa—it is possible to make a few rough generalizations concerning the cultural impacts of the Protestant missions. At first, for almost 30 years, progress was very slow. Individual preachers attempted to convert individuals among the lower classes and castes. Often it happened that the practical examples of Christian living and of Western standards of decency, cleanliness and personal dignity which the missionaries themselves exhibited, were more powerful agents of conversion than the evangelistic preaching of the gospel. But such personal influences were slow and scattered.

Very soon, however, organized mission stations began to conduct schools and hospitals and to perform various other social services. These missionary institutions became the most effective wedge for a broader cultural exchange and diffusion. About them Christian communities gradually formed and these communities soon displayed a group of distinctive traits, religious, moral, educational, and later on, industrial. The so-called 'social gospel', or rather, the general cultural context of Christianity as it was introduced into the cultures of Asia and Africa served to stimulate more general cultural reforms and reconstructions beyond the limits of the Christian communities themselves.

A general transformation then followed in the method and aims of missions. In theory 'evangelization' still was the primary aim, but the whole idea of the content of the Christian message was revolutionized: saving souls involved building communities and institutions which would demonstrate that salvation is not merely for another world but for the transfiguration of society and morals on this earth. With pardonable exaggeration the missionaries preached 'Christian civilization'. This change in emphasis, which conservatives interpreted as a 'secularization' of the Christian message, began to show its effectiveness not only among the lower classes but among the political leaders. As Christian universities, medical schools, hospitals, public health centres, orphanages, technological institutes, publishing houses, agricultural science services, etc., began to take their places around the churches, it became evident to all that a new culture was being introduced. In the Orient especially, it was part of the tradition to interpret a religion as a way of life. Confucianism, Buddhism, Islam were types of culture as well as types of doctrine, and their practical bearings were their very mission in life. When Christianity could be seen as an element of European and American culture, it began to be understood as a transforming agency. The governments began to take on Christian advisers and to send the youth abroad for Western higher and professional

education. Thus the process of cultural diffusion was speeded up enormously and long before the end of the century, the missions were being accepted as no longer 'foreign'.

As soon as Christian ideas and ways became 'naturalized' in the various cultures, that is, accepted as having indigenous roots and native leadership, the way was clear for rapid growth.

Japan was the first mission field to achieve an independent Christian church. After the Meiji Restoration in 1868, the samurai military aristocracy, now out of power, turned in large numbers to Christianity and to Western culture generally. Religious freedom was proclaimed in 1873 and Protestant churches immediately prospered. By the end of the century the native Japanese Christian leaders outnumbered the foreign missionaries and early in the twentieth century a National Christian Council was established which practically made the Japanese churches independent institutions.

In other mission fields the cultural and religious transformation was less dramatic and sudden, but a similar development took place. Native leadership early in the twentieth century established National Christian Councils or Church Unions in China, Korea, and India, and Christian churches and other institutions were accepted as no longer foreign, except in times of political nationalist excitement such as the Boxer Rebellion in China and the struggle for independence in India. In Africa, of course, the developments came later, so that during the period we are considering, the Protestant missions were still struggling and foreign.

While these cultural transformations were taking place in the mission fields, the missions were having important consequences for the churches in the home lands. The innumerable local missionary societies, usually organized by church women, were themselves agencies of cultural diffusion. Their study classes, missionary magazines, lectures and fund-raising campaigns were stimulating an interest in and even a rudimentary acquaintance with Asian and African cultures. This kind of instruction and propaganda was usually one-sided and sentimental, but it served nevertheless to change gradually the traditional stereotype of 'heathendom' into something approaching a sympathetic study of other cultures and different religions. The training courses for missionaries in Western seminaries and universities became increasingly informative. Anthropological and historical studies, the learning of Oriental languages, and the acquaintance with Oriental traditions, literatures, and arts gradually opened the eyes of the mission boards, the clergy, and the laity to the complexities of the missionary enterprise and to the need for better inter-cultural understanding. Returned missionaries, many of whom had become accomplished Orientalists, were the leaders in urging a more liberal and informed attitude toward other religions and different cultures. The full significance of this opening up of the West to the East did not become apparent until later in the twentieth century when world wars brought new and less fortunate contacts. But the kind of interest stimulated by missionary societies,

an interest which in the early days generally accepted imperialism as a necessary adjunct of spiritual conquest, was an important factor in awakening European and American peoples to the dangers and evils of imperialist aggression. The increasing protests from missionaries toward the close of the century are striking to anyone who reads the reports and appeals from the fields to the mission boards back home; they are eloquent testimony of the efforts of the missionaries to arouse the home governments to different policies and strategies.

On the other hand, the habit of church agencies and missionary mentalities to exaggerate the evils prevalent in the mission fields, tended to create an unfavourable popular opinion of the 'benighted and backward' areas, and of the inability of those peoples to manage their own affairs. In a corresponding manner, as Oriental students returned home from their European or American studies, they were apt to enlighten their peoples concerning the evils in Western cultures, and to contrast the missionary message with Christian performance at home. Thus, a prominent and scholarly missionary reported from Japan, before the First World War: 'Those who do not fear Christianity doubt its efficacy, for they know that in the West, where Christianity has had its home for centuries, the social and even the moral conditions are perhaps worse in some respects than those in Japan' (Edward Warren Capen, *Sociological Progress in Mission Lands*, New York, 1914, p. 266). And the same observer reports of attitudes in India toward Christians: 'If only Christ would not be so exclusive in his claims and would consent merely to occupy a niche in the pantheons of the nations, he would be enthroned everywhere' (ibid. p. 271).

The tendency to 'enthrone Christ in the pantheons' was indeed a strong one at the end of the nineteenth century, especially in India, where syncretistic organizations like the Brahmo Samaj assimilated Christian teachings and ideals to their own movements for reform. The monotheistic elements in Hindu tradition became increasingly evident under Christian and Moslem influence. Buddhism, too, adopted many Christian institutions and practices: in Japan especially, Buddhist temples began to look like churches; there were Sunday sermons, YMBA schools, charity hospitals, and historical criticism of the scriptures. In short, there are various ways in which religions affected each other as they came into active competition on a world-wide scale, and these modifications and accommodations of religions among each other and of all to modern culture, will probably emerge in world history as the most enduring and significant contribution of the 'expansion of Christianity' in the nineteenth century.

The mission fields were also significant in promoting in the home lands two movements which began to take hold late in the nineteenth century and then became dominant in the twentieth. The first was the growth of 'the social gospel' to which we have referred repeatedly. The awareness of the churches' cultural responsibilities was keenest at first in the mission fields, but gradually

found recognition in the West. The second, the movement towards co-operation and co-ordination of effort among the Protestant churches in their missionary work, paved the way for what has now become known as the ecumenical movement for church unity. The early rivalries and sectarian differences among the Protestant missions proved so bewildering to those who were to be converted to Christianity and did so much damage to the missionaries themselves, that the various denominational mission boards were compelled to consult each other and respect each other regardless of the rivalries and theological differences among them in Europe and America. Consequently mission areas were by agreement allotted to the various churches in such a way as to minimize conflicts in the mission field. Sectarian doctrines had to be subordinated in the evangelistic appeals in order to prevent general confusion as to the essentials of Christianity. Gradually the circumstances which compelled the Protestant churches to get together in the mission fields created a desire at home for greater unity, and this unity had a more positive content than did the traditional common opposition of Protestants to Catholicism. In fact, during the nineteenth century, for various reasons which we have outlined, Protestantism became less anti-Catholic than it is now that new conflicts arising in the twentieth century have added new fuel to the old flames.

Two nineteenth-century evidences of the desire to promote better co-operation among the Protestant churches should be mentioned as harbingers of an ecumenical spirit. In 1846 eight hundred ministers and laymen from the chief denominations assembled in London and formed the Evangelical Alliance. A minimum of doctrinal unity was agreed upon, the emphasis of the Alliance being put on practical co-operation. Branches were organized throughout Europe and America and more or less regular international sessions were held, which brought together eminent leaders from many countries speaking in several languages.

About the same time, 1851, in Montreal, Canada, and then in Boston, Massachusetts, there was organized the Young Men's Christian Association which has accomplished much, not only in the main objective of youth work but also in bringing together many churches for benevolent purposes and missions.

3. JEWRY AND JUDAISM
BY J. KATZ

Socio-historical survey

THE beginning of the nineteenth century ushered in a new epoch in Jewish history. Up to the last third of the eighteenth century, Jewry was always recognizable as a clearly defined social unit, distinctly set apart from the community at large in whose midst they had settled. Their religious traditions, with the attending institutions, rites and symbolic expressions, created for the adherent an exclusive sphere. The social segregation which resulted

from the adherence to their own religion was brought into even sharper relief by the fact that this religious tradition bore elements as well as forms of expression of a national culture. Some holidays and religious symbols were not only designed to manifest transcendental concepts of the creed; they also served to observant Jews as reminders of their national past and of the messianic future which would bring redemption to the world and a reunion of Israel in the land of the ancestors. The records of tradition, viz. Bible and Talmud, were always taught in the national tongue of yore, i.e. Hebrew, or the cognate Aramaic, which had been adopted early in ancient times. Elements of this language, including the concepts, mental pictures and modes of thinking induced by it, penetrated, particularly through the medium of study at all ages, into the respective vernacular of the Jews, in consequence of which the Jewish community developed a particular brand of dialect which was apt to accentuate their segregation linguistically; in some cases this deviation from the locally customary mode of speech created a jargon.

The preservation of this religio-cultural singularity was, of course, dependent on the political restriction of the Jews, which for centuries had been in force as the accepted policy in all Christian and Mohammedan countries. This attitude towards the Jews, which had become an unchallenged tradition, rendered them direct subjects to the respective political power. The discrimination, from which Jewry during all these centuries suffered more than other unprivileged groups of the community, consisted of their being deprived of any claim or right to stay at their place of birth or residence. Residential and commercial permits had to be petitioned from and paid for to the potentates. Nowhere did they participate in all branches of local economic life. Only commerce and finance, sometimes a few of the trades, and of the professions only medicine at the best, were accessible to them.

The description sketched above of the tradition-bound Jewish community and its adjustment to the life of the respective national hosts has to be borne in mind primarily as historical background upon which the development of Jewry took place in the course of the nineteenth century. Yet actually this description holds true for a large part of this minority even throughout the century. According to the accepted demographic estimate, there were about two and a half million Jews at the end of the eighteenth century. At the end of the nineteenth century, there were about ten and a half million—a rate of increase which in percentage exceeds for this period all other European peoples. This rapid multiplication of Jewry was not equally distributed among all its parts. Of the two and a half million at the end of the eighteenth century, one million, or 40 per cent, were made up of Jews in the Orient (in the large Turkish Empire and North Africa). Of the remainder, a million and a half lived in east and central Europe. The number of Jews in overseas countries was insignificant. This picture, however, is entirely changed by the end of the century. Whereas the number of Oriental Jews remained about the same,

European Jewry constituted about 80 per cent as the result of their rapid natural increase. The remaining million, or 10 per cent, lived in America, to which country during the second half of the century, particularly since 1880, the first waves of Jewish mass immigration were directed.

The distribution of the Jewish population in the various European countries has to be taken into consideration for a true appreciation of these demographic facts from the socio-historical aspect. Special attention is to be paid to the fact that out of eight million Jews in Europe, five million lived in Russia. In this empire the great events of the century caused some political and social repercussions, but no new social order emerged from them. The major part of European Jewry remained in the religio-cultural and socio-cultural segregation described above. The change at the beginning of the century affected only the position of the Jews in Western Europe and in the United States of America.

The change that occurred with the position of the Jews in Western countries may be briefly summed up: the heretofore conditionally admitted residents, in most cases also locally restricted to Jewish quarters, became full-fledged citizens of the respective states. At the latest in the second or third generation, these new citizens became extensively adjusted to the customs of the respective bourgeois society, thus creating a new type of the German, French or English Jew. This metamorphosis is in no way the result of an inner Jewish development, but rather the effect of political and social changes which took place in these countries. The first signs of relaxation in the relationship of the Jews towards their surroundings appeared at the latest in the last third of the eighteenth century, as a result of the acutely growing criticism levelled against the prevailing rigid class structure of the state and the class stratification of society, in which the segregation of the Jews was pointed out as an anomaly and therefore condemned. The proponents of this criticism were the bourgeois intellectuals in France and Germany. These circles also witnessed the first acquaintance of Jew and non-Jew, at which direct personal contact in the form of unreserved fraternization and fellow-feeling for common interest in the promotion of cultural values prevailed. The meeting and resultant life-long friendship between Moses Mendelssohn (1729–86) and G. E. Lessing (1729–81), which produced so much mutual inspiration, may serve as its best example. In these critical-minded circles of intellectuals, the concept of integrating the Jews into the community at large were moulded. These concepts were then associated with the claim for Jewish equality within the framework of the prospective federal union of states. Here, finally, the wish for Jewish assimilation in culture and customs found its expression. Just as in other areas of social transformation, here also the anticipating ideology proved a driving force, although it could not serve as a guide for developments to follow; for the actual change did not, as in the concept of the intellectuals, take place as a victory of rationality over traditional prejudice. The absorption of the Jews rather came in the wake of the general political and social changes which

resulted from the French Revolution, the aftermath of which lasted until the middle of the nineteenth century. The new order, based on the direct relationship of the citizen to the State, could not possibly suffer in its midst autonomous Jewish communities with their singular rights and restrictions. Thus the delegates to the French National Convention were entirely consistent when pointing out that the State faced the dilemma either to recognize the Jews as equal citizens, or to expel them from French territory. Since for humanitarian reasons the expulsion of the Jews had been hardly acceptable, the only alternative that remained was to confer equality upon the Jews as citizens. The logical consistency of the argument had to combat bias and prejudice which had been cherished and nurtured for centuries. Hence the National Assembly, which had proved so change-happy throughout, had to postpone until shortly before its dissolution the official announcement of granting equal citizenship to the Jewish subjects of France (27 September 1791).

The same spectacle was repeated in the course of the century by the various legislatures of the European states. The most important date pegs in the ups and downs of the development are: the Prussian Edict of Emancipation (1812); the revocation of rights obtained in German lands in the wake of the Vienna Congress (1815); and the removal of the Christian faith clause from the oath for public officials in England by an act of Parliament (1858). With the achievement of citizenship rights in the Austro-Hungarian Empire (1867), in the newly founded German Empire (1870), and in Switzerland (1877), the historical process of Jewish emancipation came to a successful conclusion in Western Europe. Citizenship rights had been implicitly guaranteed to Jews in the United States of America by the American Constitution (1790).

The new historical situation, which, in spite of the intellectuals' ideological anticipation, took the majority of Jews by surprise, confronted the Jewish community with unprecedented tasks. The practice of the newly attained political rights required of them cultural and social adjustment. This situation made it incumbent upon them to completely master the language of the community at large and to modify their traditional mode of living. The ancient tradition-bound institutions had to be changed, tempered, or forgone entirely. The history of Jewish education and its institutions may well serve here as a characteristic example. The Talmudic schools and academies (Yeshivoth) which up to now had fulfilled the educational functions, disappeared within two generations. In their stead emerged either Jewish schools which emulated in almost every respect the schools of their surroundings, or the idea of a separate Jewish school was dismissed in favour of entrusting the education of Jewish youth to the public schools. This step led to the exclusion of the specifically Jewish elements of tradition which for many centuries had moulded the spirit and character of the people. We shall see in the second part of our survey what attempts were made to ensure for the Jewish community a kind of conscious self-identification and to uphold their historical moorings without

impeding their blending with the present non-Jewish environment. In any case, one may speak of a process of disintegration at the beginning of the nineteenth century, as far as the Jewish community is concerned. Many contemporaries welcomed this process and gladly promoted it. For the sake of historical justice we are bound to say that this affirmation was not merely motivated by utilitarian reasons.

The assimilation-happy Jews, as one might call them, always found an idealistic rationalization for the amalgamation with their environment. Mendelssohn already felt that his friendship with non-Jews constituted a triumph of pure humaneness. The admission of many other Jews to the circle of men of letters was hailed by enlightened Europeans as a humanistic accomplishment. Later on, particularly under the influence of prevailing ideas to which the average citizen was prone, nationalism in the respective country became an assimilatory element. The simultaneous appearance of modern nationalism with the emancipation of the Jews is no historical coincidence. The precipitation of the modern state and modern society gave rise to both trends in Jewry at about the same time. The newly emancipated Jews joined these nationalistic movements enthusiastically. Joyously they rallied to the banner of fighting for national liberation and nationalist revolutions in France, Germany, Poland and Hungary. In retrospect we may see today that their ready and easy joining of the nationalist ranks was to them a means of legitimating their newly granted political rights. However, subjectively, the nationalistic idea of their respective country of adoption was genuinely cherished, and their sacrifices for it were joyously offered.

Similarly fared the third element, which served for many as the ideological and social medium for assimilation: socialism. The socialist movements of the nineteenth century attracted many Jews and imbued them with sympathy and readiness to struggle alongside the socially disabled. In this case, too, we have to distinguish between the objective historical forces at play and the subjectively expressed rationalizations. The Jewish socialists shared the faith of their non-Jewish comrades to serve in the cause of bringing social salvation to the world.

The social disabilities under which he had suffered for generations, and from which he had just been unexpectedly rehabilitated, did not put the Jew at ease to naïvely enjoy the newly granted rights. Complete inner and outer adjustment could hardly be achieved within a short span. Even Jewish freethinkers preserved certain typical traits in their thinking and bearing, often even in their appearance. He who did not entirely sever his relations with the religious congregation remained in his Jewish consciousness moored to certain sentiment-charged symbols. The self-consciousness of a minority facing a majority which urges constant self-justification never did disappear entirely. The majority could only be expected to demonstrate its good will in showing consideration for the existing differences, without overlooking them. The concept of typically Jewish traits was never ignored even in circles which

showed a most sympathetic and favourably inclined attitude. Radical assimilation, a utopian dream which envisaged Jewry's complete absorption by their environment, thus solving the 'Jewish problem' for all time, never stood a real historical chance. In reality, the nineteenth century solved the political aspect of the problem by granting emancipation to the Jews, thus substituting the social aspect of the problem for the political one.

The inefficiency of complete assimilation became even more disillusioning by the historical data. On the basis of the new political situation, Jewish and non-Jewish advocates of the emancipation came to expect and even to prophesy a vocational renascence of the Jews. They believed in particular that the newly granted right to acquire and hold real estate would induce a part of the Jews to engage in agriculture, to become peasants and farmers. Such plans, however, lacked the sociological prerequisites. The general urbanization, characteristic of the nineteenth century in general, made no exception of the Jews. As a matter of fact, more than in any previous times did the Jews become now metropolitans and megapolitans, a signal feature of demographic changes during this era. Nor did the concentration of Jews upon certain vocations, trades, and professions disappear. The economic freedom of choice which as a matter of principle took effect in the countries of emancipation, broadened the vocational distribution of the Jews in so far as it afforded them a wider choice in the various branches of industry and commerce, particularly, however, in the professions. It has to be borne in mind that many such new opportunities only developed in the course of the emancipation period as a result of the general social and economic evolution. However, agriculture, mining, or soldiering represent occupations which were held traditionally by certain social strata, and therefore, barring rare exceptions, offered little attraction to the Jews. In fact, these occupations were not even made available to them. Hence, the vocational redistribution of Jews in all the respective countries shows little change during the age of their emancipation. This stability, in turn, facilitated their identification and promoted their cohesion to a large extent.

Perhaps an even weightier obstacle in the way of complete assimilation was the fact that the emancipation affected Jewry only in some of their respective countries of settlement. Russia's five million Jews, a quarter of a million Jews in Romania, and a million Jews in Oriental countries of the nineteenth century, were not engaged in a struggle for their political rights, but in defence of their personal security and economic existence. According to the theories of their radical assimilation, the cohesive bonds with Jews in other countries should have become severed as soon as the Jews of certain countries enjoyed political equality. In fact, however, Jewish solidarity proved itself also during the nineteenth century beyond all national and territorial boundaries as a real social force. On the occasion of the Damascus Blood Libel (1840), when confessions were extorted from Jews by means of torture, the notables of French and English Jewry, A. Cremieux and M. Montefiore,

personally intervened and were acclaimed by Jewry all over the world and highly commended by liberal public opinion throughout the civilized countries; they were received in audience by the Sultan and gained acquittal and rehabilitation of the innocently accused. Since then, the mutual interest of Jewry in the several countries for the fate of their brethren anywhere in the world has become an accepted responsibility. This feeling of solidarity found its organizational expression in the founding of the Alliance Israélite Universelle (Paris, 1860). This and many similar organizations had been active throughout the century to obtain political rights for the Jews in countries which had not yet granted them full citizenship (e.g. at the Berlin Congress, 1878), and also to raise the social and cultural level of retarded communities in eastern Europe and Oriental areas.

From the ideological aspect, the sentiment of Jewish cohesion transcending boundaries of state and territory did not imply any Jewish national basis or aspiration. Actually, their readiness to come to the assistance of any Jewish community in another country which was in need or suffering, went hand in hand with their readiness to adjust themselves to their respective environment, with their devotion to the duties of their state, and their passionate participation in the political and cultural life of their adopted country. The problem which presented itself in this attitude of dual loyalty was vaguely felt, yet rarely subject to conceptual analysis. Only here and there voices were heard which demanded for the solidarity of world Jewry a firmer basis in the form of a nationalistically tinted ideology with politically oriented objectives. Up to the eighth decade of the century, such ideas were sounded mainly by traditionalist thinkers, who regretted the disintegration of the time-honoured pattern of life and, with reference to their messianic faith, championed the cause of a Jewish national revival on the historic soil of the ancestral homeland. The possibility of the dialectical development which leads from large-scale assimilation to Jewish nationalism has been demonstrated by the leading socialist Moses Hess. In his *Rome and Jerusalem* (1862), he expressed his surprising endorsement of Jewish nationalism, advocating the resettlement of Palestine like one of the traditionalists. Such opinions, however, were hardly favoured with any attention up to the sixties, and if at all considered were ridiculed, and if taken seriously, bitterly combated. These nationalistic aspirations were denounced as jeopardizing the prospects for emancipation during the entire period of struggling for it. When the struggle reached its successful conclusion in the West, the time for a synthesis seemed to have arrived. After 1860, organizations were already actively engaged in colonizing Palestine. In 1870, the executive of the Alliance Israélite Universelle in Paris blessed a resolution to establish an agricultural school in Palestine. These precursors of the nationalist movement could hardly have accomplished anything significant had it not been for the onset of anti-Semitism as a social reaction in the eighties. The anti-Semitic wave of 1880 in Germany, the Dreyfus affair of 1894–9 in France, and similar phenomena in Austria and Hungary, are largely to be

explained as a result of domestic developments in the respective countries, resulting from political differences and social tension. However, all these anti-Semitic movements took their point of departure from the fact of the Jews' incomplete assimilatory process. The existence of singular Jewish traits, the narrow vocational distribution of the Jews, and their feeling for solidarity, provided material for the demagogue to justify Jew-baiting and hate-mongering, and to prove that Jewry constituted an over-alien and insoluble element within the respective national body. The radical anti-Semites were not merely satisfied to present these theses as a moral defamation, but drove the matter to a programmatic conclusion: the emancipation of the Jews had been a historical mistake and must be rectified by revocation. Anti-Semitism manifested itself in social tensions in the West, whereas in the East, for example Russia and Romania, where emancipation had at best merely reached the paper stage, the anti-Semitic wave brought on economic restrictions, expulsions and pogroms.

The anti-Semitism of the eighties took the Jews in the West by surprise. Signs of social exclusiveness towards the Jews, which had not been wanting in former days, were now relegated as passing relics of outmoded prejudices. However, the expressions of brutal hate and vile defamation called for a profounder interpretation of the phenomenon. The Jewish public opinion in the West found, by and large, its comfort in the illusion of progress, which anyhow had been an integral part of the liberal-bourgeois ideology. These circles attempted now to combat anti-Semitism by means of rational enlightenment of the opponents. Not so in Russia and Romania, where the very existence of the Jewish masses was endangered by the anti-Semitic threats: the Jews of the East resorted to emigration. Since this part of Europe contained large Jewish masses, the consciousness of national cohesion was felt here much more acutely than in the West, which provided for their disposition for interpreting the events from a nationalist aspect. As a matter of fact, since the 1880s an outspoken nationalist movement took shape, which set as its objective the reintegration and regeneration of national Jewish life upon the historical soil of its homeland, Palestine. With this era coincided the first wave of emigration to Palestine. It was characteristic of Western Jewry that, although it did not emulate this act, it lent its moral and financial support to it. In any case, the Jews of Western Europe had, after all, also gained some historical experience during the last phase of their metamorphosis which called their attention to grave problems of Jewish existence in the immediate environment. Nationalist tendencies also revealed themselves here and there in the founding of several organizations and associations. When Theodore Herzl, on the occasion of the Dreyfus affair, arrived at the conclusion—which even to his own consciousness came as a surprise—that the Jewish problem could only find its solution in the establishment of a Jewish state, he found a responsive, if not radically consistent and aggressive, following in every country where Jews were settled. The function of convoking the first Zionist Congress

at Basle in 1897 was to consolidate the already active national forces. Just as
the convocation, at Napoleon's behest, of the Sanhedrin at Paris in 1808,
which felt as its task to bestow its official blessing and religious sanction on the
assimilationists, may be seen as the opening event of this epoch, so the Zionist
Congress of 1897 may be considered and evaluated as its conclusion. The
historian who chooses as his perspective the actual restoration of the Jewish
state fifty years later, will primarily see the Zionist Congress of 1897 as a
point of departure for the subsequent materialization of the idea which emerged
as a resolution and political programme from these deliberations. Yet from
the aspect of direct and organic historical concatenation, its significance lies
rather in the solemn declaration manifesting the vital urgency of national self-
affirmation in the face of a century which had witnessed Jewish degeneration
and disintegration. This declaration was made by the consolidation of their
nation-conscious forces, appearing publicly before the world, arousing and
challenging the Jewish people wherever they were scattered.

Religion and philosophy

The historical events, described in the first part of this survey, which
brought about such a radical change in the position of Jewry at the turn of the
eighteenth century, found their precipitation also in the realm of the spirit, as
in the field of religious philosophy and theology, in the results of historical
research, and in the social and national ideologies. Heretofore, as long as the
Jew was segregated from the surrounding world, being Jewish posed no prob-
lem to him. Hence all religious traditions were accepted naïvely and unchal-
lenged. Aside from a few rare exceptions like Spinoza, (1632–77), even the most
distinguished minds found in the study and observance of this tradition their
intellectual satisfaction, presenting as it did a world of faith and thought
which corresponded to their own perception of reality.

When, however, the contact with the larger environment, particularly in
the intellectual circles, became the rule of the day, the horizon broadened,
and spiritual orientation was sought with the help of philosophy and scientific
methods. The Jewish identity grew into a problem. The former naïve accept-
ance was now replaced by self-conscious reflection about the religious tradi-
tion, its historical truth, its intrinsic value, and its meaning for the present and
the future. In this process of intellectual reorientation it was also Moses
Mendelssohn (1729–86) who loomed as the leading figure. The historical
situation challenged him with its problem and forced him to take his stand
however reluctantly. In the beginning Mendelssohn thought it possible to
evade the issue. However, when he was asked again and again to state and
show cause for his identification with traditional Judaism, he finally felt
compelled to present and demonstrate publicly his concept of Judaism and
its relationship to other systems of faith and thought. This he did in his book
Jerusalem, published in 1783, in which he upheld the divine revelation on
Mount Sinai as the source of the Jewish religion. The novel and surprising

feature of his concept of Judaism lay in the fact that he limited the content of the Sinaitic revelation to a definite part of the religious tradition, viz. the ceremonial laws. The purpose of the Sinaitic revelation was the enactment of the ceremonial laws. This enactment remained in force for the Jewish people for all times to come. The doctrinal part of the tradition, however, the system of ethics and the tenets of faith, was rationally accessible to all mankind. This dichotomy corresponded to the prevailing philosophy of *Aufklärung*, according to which man could rely on reason as a guide to arrive at a true creed and valid ethical norms. This doctrine, which became associated in the course of the eighteenth century with the concept of 'natural religion', constituted also for Mendelssohn a self-evident truth. Therefore, he could not credit the Jewish religion with the revelation of metaphysical doctrines, and only the ceremonial laws were left as the characteristic feature of Judaism. Mendelssohn created with this system a religious platform well suited for his personal position. His loyalty to the traditional way of Jewish life safeguarded his Jewishness. At the same time, however, he had justified his spiritual kinship with the non-Jewish intellectuals of his day. Was it not in the spiritual, non-ceremonial realm that all rational religions met on common ground, admitting no differences and granting no priority to the adherents to the Jewish religion? The particular feature of Judaism, the law and the commandments, was destined only for the Jewish race. Although historically unjustifiable, Mendelssohn identified Judaism with the idea of religious non-missionary tolerance. He contended that Judaism had never tried to win any converts to Judaism, nor had it disclaimed salvation for those adhering to other religions. Judaism merely enjoined the Jews to keep the ceremonial laws, which in turn would lead to the pure preservation of the creed rationally accessible to all mankind.

Mendelssohn's concept of Judaism could hardly satisfy the next generation. His theory had equal effect upon Jew and non-Jew by identifying Judaism as a rationally demonstrable faith. Following in his footsteps, the theorists of Judaism in the nineteenth century took their guidance from the rationalist philosophers of the Middle Ages. The mystical trends of the past and present, Cabbalism and Hassidism—the latter flourished in eastern Europe from the middle of the eighteenth century as a great religious movement—were either disregarded or declared as aberrations which may be traced to alien influences. However, in contrast to Mendelssohn's denial of any revealed doctrines in Judaism, these theorists pressed for the creation of a Jewish system of theology and ethics. The necessity for such a doctrinal system was made stringent by a significant change in the position of the generation succeeding Mendelssohn. To Mendelssohn the unifying bond of the Jewish people was guaranteed by their observance of the ceremonial law, and he could, therefore, dispense with a doctrinal system. The next generation found itself in a situation in which the observance of the ceremonial tradition could no longer play this function. Most of Mendelssohn's disciples had already renounced their loyalty to the

ceremonial Jewish traditions. The steady contact, even socially, with the non-Jews had made the observance of many Jewish customs most cumbersome. The absorption of Jews into the professional life of the environment and their being drafted into the armed forces, put practical obstacles into their way of keeping the laws of their religious tradition. In fact, Mendelssohn's theory provided too weak a basis for the validity of the laws. For if the laws were to serve but as a preservative and educational force for the religious truths common to all mankind, it appeared as too cumbersome for reaching a goal which others could attain by far simpler means. Mendelssohn's exposition of Judaism could easily be used as a vindication for conversion to Christianity; for if the rational basis of all creeds were fundamentally the same, then apostasy lost its undignified character which had stigmatized the renegade in the traditional view. Many, among them children and disciples of Mendelssohn, undertook this step after his death. They were certainly not motivated by merely rational considerations. The disintegration of the traditional mode of life and the collapse of segregating barriers rendered effete their ties with the Jewish sphere of faith and with the Jewish clannishness.

This step, however, could not be undertaken by all those who renounced the old Judaism. Many, among them those of independent thought and creativity, abandoned their belief in the traditional tenets and the unconditional observance of the ceremonial law, yet felt strongly about their being a part of Jewish society and acknowledged the influence of Jewish tradition upon them. This group was groping for a new meaning of their Jewish identity, which resulted in the foundation of a new system of Jewish theology and ethics.

As far as the frame of reference was concerned, these theological and historico-philosophical attempts of Jewish thinkers in the first half of the nineteenth century were indebted to German post-Kantian idealism. This does not only hold true for the works written in Germany and in German, such as those of Samuel Hirsch (1815–89), Salomon Formstecher (1808–89), and Salomon Ludwig Steinheim (1789–1866), but also of the Hebrew writings of Nahman Krochmal (1785–1840) in Galicia. In spite of the differences in the structure of their systems, all these thinkers operate on the same premises. They all share the expressed or tacit dispensation with the traditional concept of the historically unique revelation of law or doctrine. For them, Judaism, like any other religion, presents the result of a historical process. Thus the history of the Jewish religion became a free domain for historical research. For Krochmal as for the historian Heinrich Graetz (1817–91), who prefaced the study of the historical realia with a historico-philosophical sketch, the philosophical concepts served, in fact, as a kind of introduction and guiding principle for periodic divisions and more or less independent presentation of Jewish history. However, the ultimate goal of research and meditation for both the historian and the theologian remained the philosophical vindication of Judaism. The central concept which played an important function in all these systems was the concept of the spirit. The unfolding of the conscious self-

realization of the spirit constitutes the theological destiny of history. The Jewish thinkers set themselves the task of determining the role which Judaism played in the past and was designed to play in the future in the course of this development. As may be easily understood, they showed marked deviations from the Christian thinkers of their age. The German philosophers, led by Christian doctrines, had assigned to Judaism the function of a stage transitory to Christianity. Even the secularizing historical philosophers maintained this doctrine in their systems, which actually goes back to patristic concepts. According to these theories, there are several stages and phases in the course of the spirit's unfolding and conscious self-realization. In this process, Judaism was assigned a preparatory function. With the emergence of Christianity, Judaism is treated as a kind of anachronistic feature which has forfeited its historical function. A Jewish theology which was dedicated to the vindication of the *raison d'être* of Judaism even for the present time, had to reject such an interpretation. Moreover, the new Jewish theology, basing itself upon the concepts of the idealist philosophers, reached opposite results. In the historical process of the spirit's self-realization, the decisive role is assigned to Judaism. Judaism contributes the true faith to the world. Although Christianity is recognized as a missionary force for the true faith—herein these Jewish theologians and historical philosophers follow the great medieval thinkers, particularly Maimonides—it is criticized for having made concessions to pagan customs and elements of thought. Thus only Judaism remains to bear the torch of the true faith. As the ultimate end of this process an era was envisaged which would see the triumph of its truth and the breakdown of separating barriers between the religions. However, this ultimate merger was made dependent upon the self-reflection of Judaism and recognition of its mission in the world, as also upon the self-criticism and purification of Christianity. For the present, the separate existence and continuation of the Jewish confessional congregation was regarded as justified, in spite of political emancipation and social assimilation and integration.

From the point of view of Jewish history one may sum up the achievement of these philosophical systems, whose validity nobody would want to defend nowadays, as follows: at a time when all other ties of the individual to the Jewish community disintegrated, these systems taught and promoted the consciousness of the peculiar value and meaning of the Jewish identity.

Although this new theology of Judaism proved to be a curb to the centrifugal trends, yet within Jewry it became the expression of a religious schism: for these theories assumed implicitly or explicitly that the observance of the ceremonial law, which even Mendelssohn recognized as the criterion of Jewish identity, had lost its validity entirely or at least in the heretofore absolute sense. These new theologians ascribed to the ritual and ceremonial observances the function of mere symbolic expressions of the faith. The time-honoured concept, according to which the observance of the Law in all its minutiae is the *sine qua non* for the religious justification of the Jew, was considered effete.

This theology thus deprived the Jewish religion of its historical basis. Previously the rabbi's religious authority had derived from his erudition in the Law, his proficiency in the 'halachic' literature. By virtue of his scholarship and wisdom the rabbi was capable of solving cases of doubt and the problems of the religiously conscientious. With the suspension of any obligation towards the Law in the traditional sense, the 'halachic' literature could no longer serve as a standard in questions of ritual and law. In fact, the theologians were not only divided on the question of how far the ceremonial law was still applicable to certain details, their embarrassment was of a more fundamental nature. Their break with the Halachah deprived them of the source which invests the rabbi with religious authority. In the course of their discussions about ritual and ceremonial questions they continued studiously to cite from 'halachic' literature. These quotations, however, were mostly designed to serve as demonstration for the yet tradition-bound Jew that these newfangled concepts also could be corroborated from the ancient source material. As far as the conscience of the new theologians was concerned, it felt no longer responsible to the authority of the Halachah.

In the foregoing account, we have not only circumscribed the embarrassment of the theologians themselves and the source of their differences, but most of all the contrasts between them and the traditionalists. To the latter group belonged foremost the masses of the eastern European pale. Also in certain areas in Germany, the traditional mode of living and basis of faith remained in force. Smaller and larger groups of loyalists survived the age of enlightenment and the new religious trends. And from the second third of the nineteenth century onward, the maintenance of religious observance as a matter of principle was not only defended by tradition-bound loyalists, but even found its literary exponents in modern-trained rabbis, led by S. R. Hirsch (1808–88). Hirsch may with justice be considered as the founder of modern Jewish orthodoxy. His mind, no less than the minds of his adversaries, had also been nurtured on German idealism. The foundation of his faith remained, however, untouched by the new tendencies. For Hirsch the observance of the laws, of whose divine origin he was deeply convinced, remained the vindication of Jewish identity. The elements of speculative philosophy which he had absorbed served him for the symbolic interpretation of the details of the commandments and for the propagation of their observance. Hirsch was not only a deeply religious and, despite his militant nature, integrated personality. He was also a highly gifted pamphleteer. By virtue of these gifts he became the leader of circles which either still persevered in the old faith or had been newly converted to it.

In the middle of the nineteenth century Jewry presented a religously divided community, a situation which seemed to defy reintegration. Both sides pressed for a regular schism. Yet there were attempts to mediate. In 1844 a Rabbinical Congress was convoked in Brunswick, which was succeeded by many of its kind in the following years. As a matter of principle, the rep-

resentatives of all trends were asked to participate in these consultations. There were some who cherished hopes that these congresses would not only teach authoritative decisions on the issues in doubt, but would even succeed in resolving the conflicts. These hopes remained unfulfilled. Orthodox spokesmen stayed away. Even the non-orthodox groups did not reach any agreement among themselves. This led finally to a situation in which it was left to the respective communities or individuals to resolve how much of the tradition should be kept, which part was to be deleted and how religion was to be adjusted to the *Zeitgeist*. Only the state laws in central European countries which required membership in a religious body prevented the complete disintegration of the Jewish communities. Despite this compulsion, the development led to a downright separation in two countries, in Germany and in Hungary. Fearing the infringement of their way of life by the majority rule of the reform group, the orthodox sector succeeded in securing for itself the right to establish separatist congregations and state organizations. By all indications it appeared as if the religious conflict had divided Jewry into two hostile camps.

The scene of the struggle was, as mentioned, central Europe. In France, England, Holland and the United States of America, although there was no lack of tension and conflict, the schism was glossed over in terms of a compromise (France and England), or resulted without much struggle in the establishment of various differing congregations on the basis of their right for free religious assembly (U.S.A.). Chronologically speaking, these movements were limited to the half-century between 1830 and 1880, the age of liberalism, when it looked as if the external, social and political pressure upon the Jewish community was about to disappear entirely. The religious traditions seemed to constitute the sole cohesive force within the Jewish community; therefore anywhere that the religious conflict over those traditions grew acute, the unity of communal life became disrupted. In Russia, where millions of Jewish masses still lived under the political pressure of the Czarist régime, these religious conflicts, some of them imported from the West, became evident in the forties. Although the advocates of reform represented here only a small minority, their clash with the traditionalists found vehement enough expression in social and literary form. However, the cohesive force of external pressure and the criteria of identifiability like a common language (Yiddish), folkways, etc., which safeguarded a mutual participation, made them so community-minded that thoughts of separatist divisions hardly arose. Alongside the traditionalists there arose a group of secularists within the Jewish society, and beside the religious literature, works of secular enlightenment appeared. This social and literary development resulted in the modern nationalism which emerged after the seventies. A movement dedicated to purely religious or theological problems, groping for new foundations without reference to the traditions, did not evolve on the Russian scene. At best we may recognize the Musar movement, founded in Lithuania by Rabbi Israel

Lipkin of Salant (1810–83) as an original religious creation of the age. Rabbi Israel Lipkin, firmly rooted in the traditional creed, was much concerned over the disintegration of the religious community, which heretofore had provided the individual with a reliable frame of reference and vouchsafed his traditional mode of life. The new development left the individual, as far as religious backing was concerned, standing on his own. Rabbi Israel Lipkin tried to promote conscious training in self-discipline and religious awareness for the individual, according a preferential place to ethics. The Musar movement saw in the laxity and mechanism of the traditionalists the cause for the secularists' defection. Therefore Musar demands constant awareness of all religious values and responsibilities, and a keen sense of the scale of preferences in trivial and important matters alike. Rabbi Israel tried to win disciples in the West, in Germany and France. His influence, however, left its mark mainly in Lithuania, and even there only in those institutions of learning (schools and Yeshivoth) which had been established or affected by his movement.

The second half of the nineteenth century did hardly present any new development in the religious realm. Both the reform and the neo-orthodox trend merely consolidated their positions as established earlier in the century. In Judaism, just as in the Christian environment, interest shifted from the religious to the ethical. In Judaism, however, there was a particular reason for this emphasis. With the resurgence of anti-Semitism, Judaism became exposed to defamations on account of its alleged particularistic moral doctrine. Quotations from ancient Jewish literature were cited to prove the validity of moral obligation only among Jews; in their relations with 'aliens' the Jews were said to be absolved from many or all obligations. This issue was known to Jewish theologians and educators at the beginning of the nineteenth century. They recognized in the double standard of morality the obverse of Jewish solidarity, to which they had been forced under duress of ghetto segregation. Much effort had been spent at the time of emancipation to eradicate the traces of such opinions, and to educate the Jewish community to a conduct of universal ethics. At the time of anti-Semitic resuscitation in the eighties, when the issue was raised again, this process of education had already been brought to a successful conclusion. Hence the Jewish theologians and educators became, justifiably, highly indignant about the renewed charges. A new literary movement set in, which dedicated itself to the demonstration of the purity of Jewish ethics, in order to combat the unfounded charges, and to strengthen Jewish self-respect and morale. These efforts achieved more or less comprehensive works on the system of Jewish ethics. The most definite and richly documented compendium of its sort is probably the two-volume work of M. Lazarus (1829–1905) *Die Ethik des Judentums* (translated by Henrietta Szold in 1891: *Ethics of Judaism*). However, these books were written under the pressure of social defamation, and by their apologetic tendencies often inflicted injustice upon the historic truth. Thus they did not only defend the universal character

of Jewish ethics in the distant past, the Talmudic period and the Middle Ages, but often projected into their source material interpretations of the essence of Jewish ethics which clearly stemmed from the particular climate of their own age.

The century's greatest Jewish thinker, Hermann Cohen (1842–1918), did much to carry the discussion a stage further. Cohen was the founder and leading proponent of the Marburg school of neo-Kantianism and his ethical system and religious philosophy derive from that source.

In his systematic presentation of the Jewish religion, Cohen insisted upon the inclusion of selected historical source material from Jewish literature. Thus he drew abundantly on the prophets, the psalms, Talmudical passages, and on the writings of Maimonides, the classical representative of medieval religious philosophy. Cohen believed he had thus circumscribed the essential and perennial elements of the Jewish religion. His presentation, therefore, served not only as a systematic statement of his position within the trends of the Jewish camp, but also simultaneously as a means of combating intellectual and political anti-Semitism. This philosophical outline of Judaism rendered a considerable service to the Jewish intelligentsia as a means for rebuffing the repeated attempts at their conversion, particularly pursued by Protestants. According to Cohen's espousal, Judaism was not only consonant with the requirements of the modern mind; for him and his followers Judaism constituted the most valid religion as far as modern science, contemporary culture, and the teleological prospects for progress were concerned. Nor did Cohen feel any conflict between his Jewish allegiance and his deep-rooted attachment to German culture and his loyal, though not uncritical, devotion to the German state. Hence he remained an opponent to any national Jewish tendency. Political Zionism meant to him treason committed against the primary message of Jewish religion, particularly against its essential messianic idea which implied a universal eschatology for all mankind. It is characteristic of this interpretation that Jewish identity is not predicated of the mere fact of Jewish birth, but of the acceptance of definite doctrinal content.

The move towards Jewish nationalism, which occurred in Cohen's days, aimed at the reversal of the latter concept. For the champions of nationalism, the doctrinal content of Judaism was at best of secondary importance. Their native identity with Jewry was an indisputable fact, regardless of their personal attitude towards the historical or traditional elements in Judaism. This platform was often advocated by the nationalist ideologists, as by the essayist, Bin Gorion (Micah Joseph Berdyczowsky, 1865–1921), and the Hebrew poet Saul Tschernichowski (1875–1943), at a certain phase of his development, who rejected any attachment to Judaism not only in the religious but even in the ideological sense, attempting to substitute for it a kind of Nietzschean cult of power or pro-biblical paganism. Theoretically less-pronounced nationalists have declared that the identification with the Jewish nationalist movement would be independent of any kind of religious commitment. In this vein,

Ahad Haam (Asher Ginzberg, 1865–1927), ideologist of cultural Zionism, preferred the agnostic who regarded the Jewish concept of God as the creation of the Jewish national genius to the traditionalist who accepted the Jewish nation as a divine creation. Except for its orthodox wing which cherished hopes for the national renaissance of the traditional way of life, the Jewish nationalist movement strove mainly for the creation and revitalization of the formal elements of national existence, such as Hebrew as a living tongue, secular literature, national history, and the return to the historical homeland. Yet, even with regard to spiritual interpretations of Judaism, the nationalist movement made valuable contributions. It was Ahad Haam who, on the one hand, regarded the Jewish religion as effete, yet upheld his belief in Jewish ethics, which he sought to identify with the aspiration for absolute justice. In fact, there were several attempts to formulate concepts and traits which distinctly mark off Judaism, or rather the Jewish national character, from similar phenomena in other ethnic or cultural groups. Like many other nationalist movements, Jewish nationalism based its political claims on traditions of its national culture; thus even the political orientation effected a strong creative impetus to cultural expression. The problem of Judaism from the religious and ethical aspects, which had been the focus of Jewish movements heretofore, became a rather confused issue with the nationalists' approach to it, as they raised merely formal national elements to represent absolute values. On the other hand, this orientation inspired a national self-confidence which provided the Jew with a fresh and promising approach towards his own identity problem, for nationalism emanciapted the Jewish theorists from the compulsion for apologetics. Taking his Jewish identity as self-evident instead of presenting a moot problem to himself, he regained his inner balance and freedom. Now it was possible for him to face and take all that had been handed down to him by former generations without running the danger of either losing his ties with the past, or of having personally to accept the traditional mode of living.

As a spiritual force, however, the national idea only became effective at a time which lies beyond the scope of this survey. As a matter of fact, the nationalistic forces have only recently come fully into play. In their present process of passing into history, they are still beyond the historian's ken.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XVIII

1. I. M. Kichanova, Candidate of Historical Sciences, feels that the spiritual atmosphere of England in the second half of the nineteenth century was also typified by the appearance of a secularist society including anti-clericals, scientists, rationalists and positivist philosophers.
2. In Professor Asa Briggs' opinion, this paragraph on Australia fails to make clear the fact that an enormous Catholic population grew up in Australia and that rivalry between Catholics and non-Catholics had a considerable social and political importance.

3. Professor Briggs believes that the reference to the problem created by urbanization and the growth of the industrial proletariat is too brief. It should surely be one of the most important points in this chapter in relation to the historical sociology of religion.

4. I. M. Kichanova emphasizes that this Encyclical was drawn up at a time when the workers' movement was gaining in strength and when the First International—the International Working Men's Association—was formed (1864).

CHAPTER XIX

THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE

BY A. S. NIFONTOV, A. V. FADEEV, S. M. LEVIN,
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(a summary of E. M. Zhukov, ed., *A Universal History*, Moscow, 1959–60)

I. SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

AT the beginning of the nineteenth century, Russia was one of the major powers of Europe. During the eighteenth century its territory had grown by a third, and its population had increased by two and a half times to reach 36 million at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

During the first half of the century, the process of gradual decay of serfdom and development of capitalist elements in the economy of the country continued. There was particularly noticeable progress in industry. Small undertakings were developing into industrial workshops owned by merchants and rich peasants. These used hired labour and served a wide market. There were about a thousand such workshops in Russia in 1804, excluding ironworks, and they employed 95,000 workers, of whom about half were hired. The first experiments with the use of mechanized equipment in the textile industry date back to the beginning of the nineteenth century.

New features also developed in agriculture. In the first years of the nineteenth century new branches of agriculture with industrial importance grew up: sugar beet was planted for the first time, the breeding of fine-fleeced sheep began, etc.

The feudal relationships connected with the serf-owning system prevented, however, any radical reorganization of the economy being carried out. The mass of the landowning nobility continued to practice the usual forms of exploitation of the peasantry, increasing their income by imposing more serf labour and higher serf dues on the peasants, thus keeping agricultural labour at a very low level of productivity.

Industrial output too was on a very low level. Even the biggest enterprises were only workshops, employing manual equipment and with a low productivity. Manufactured articles were expensive and were unable to meet competition from foreign goods. As the home market developed only slowly, the demand for them was very limited.

Another factor which slowed down the development of the Russian economy was the war against Napoleon at the beginning of the century. As a result of

THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

from 1801 till 1815

from 1816 till 1856

from 1857 till 1878

from 1868 till 1873

from 1879 till 1900

Cartography Hallwag Berne

ARCTIC OCEAN

BARENTS SEA

KARA SEA

SEA OF OKHOTSK

KAMCHATKA

Kurile Is.

JAPAN

KOREA

Peking

CHINA

MONGOLIA

MANCHURIA

Sakhalin

Khabarovsk

Vladiwostok

Amur R.

Verkhoyansk

Lena R.

Yakutsk

Irkutsk

Angara R.

Krasnoyarsk

Tomsk

Turukhansk

Yenisel R.

Berezov

Omsk

Kulja

Talim R

Tashkend

UZBEKISTAN

KAZAKHSTAN

Akt,yubinsk

Bukhara

Khiva

TURKMENIA

AFGHANISTAN

INDIA

Kabul

IRAN

Teheran

Baku

ARMENIA

Erivan

CASPIAN SEA

Novaya Zemlya

NORWAY

Christiania

SWEDEN

Stockholm

FINLAND

Kola

BALTIC SEA

St. Petersburg

Copenhagen

GERMANY

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

POLAND

Kiev

Odessa

Sevastopol

BLACK SEA

Moscow

Kazan

Volga

TURK EMPIRE

this war, many of the western and central provinces were laid waste and great harm was done to the productive forces of Russia. Hundreds of thousands of peasants were ruined, industry suffered badly, since it was in the areas most affected by the war that industry was most highly developed. Russian industry was, however, fairly rapidly re-established after the war, and in the late 1820s there were already some 1,800 workshops, employing about 340,000 workers. Agriculture was re-established at the cost of increased exploitation of the serfs. In consequence of the sharp increase of the prices of corn and agricultural raw materials in post-war Europe, landowners increased serf dues and serf labour.

Growing European demand for Russian industrial raw materials and foodstuffs encouraged the growth of commercial crop and livestock farming in Russia. Competition from cheap foreign-manufactured articles obliged the owners of Russian workshop-type enterprises to introduce a factory type of production.

The number of workshops in Russia increased during the second quarter of the nineteenth century to 2,800, and the number of employees to 860,000 of whom 530,000 were hired workers. These enterprises became larger, most of them used hired labour and were linked with the market. Keener competition gave owners an incentive to mechanize production. Although there had been isolated attempts to introduce mechanical equipment as early as the end of the eighteenth century, it was only in the 1830s to 1850s that a number of branches of Russian industry began to make systematic use of it. This development was most successful in the new cotton industry which grew up in Russia only during the latter half of the eighteenth century and immediately began to make wide use of hired labour. During the 1830s large spinning-mills with completely mechanized production were built. From the 1840s onwards, the Russian cotton industry began to work mainly with home-produced yarn.

In the older forms of Russian textile production, the production of broad-cloth and linen, the development of new equipment was somewhat slower. This was because the majority of the enterprises were owned by the State or by landowners or were *posessionnye manufaktury* (privately owned workshops using the labour of State peasants), all of which used the forced labour of peasants and usually fulfilled State orders. From the 1840s onwards, however, mechanization began to be introduced with success in the new enterprises belonging to merchants and rich peasants, which produced woollen cloth and linen goods for the home market and, to some extent, for export.

The iron industry also began to use new equipment. In the 1820s rolling mills were introduced into Russian ironworks. In the middle of the 1830s experiments were carried out at ironworks in the Urals with hot-air blowing in blast-furnace practice, and puddling was successfully introduced.

As long as serfdom persisted, however, mechanization of heavy industry could not make much headway. Factory industry could only exist on the basis of the higher productivity of hired labour, but the development of non-

agricultural employment of the peasantry continued to be hampered by the despotism of the serf-owners, whilst the enterprises owned by the State or by landowners mainly used forced labour. The mechanization of industry created a great demand for mechanical equipment, but progress in Russian engineering was slow until the 1850s and the lion's share of the market for the engines and equipment needed by Russian factories went to foreign firms. Lastly, factory production was hampered by the initial inadequacy and extremely slow growth of the demand for manufactured goods.

The building of steamboats and railways began in Russia at the very beginning of the steam age. The first steamboat appeared on the Neva in 1815 and in the early 1820s steamboats appeared on the Kama and the Volga. In the late 1830s an 'experimental' railway line was laid between St Petersburg and its suburb of Pavlovsk. Further projects for railway construction, however, ran into fierce opposition from the serf-owners and were not carried out. It was only towards the end of the 1840s that steam navigation on commercial lines began on the Volga and work started on the construction of the three major railways, St Petersburg–Moscow, Warsaw–Austrian frontier (for Vienna) and St Petersburg–Warsaw. In the mid-nineteenth century only the first two of these lines were completed and the total length of track in Russia was no more than 1,000 versts. Serf-owning Russia was far behind the capitalist countries in steam transport.

As the home market slowly developed, so did foreign trade. In the first half of the nineteenth century, exports increased from 75 million to 133 million roubles, and imports from 53 million to 130 million roubles. The main items of export were agricultural raw materials, primarily flax, hemp, linseed, wool, animal fat and hides. Corn exports increased substantially—from 30 to 35 per cent of the total value of Russian exports—but only after the late 1840s when the Corn Laws were repealed in England and harvests had failed in western Europe. Industrial goods, mainly cloth and metal goods, were exported in limited quantities only (3 to 4 per cent of total value) and almost exclusively to China, central Asia, Iran and Turkey. Up to 50 per cent of Russian imports were in the form of industrial raw materials and finished products.

Serf-owning Russia was thus one of the main suppliers of foodstuffs and raw materials for the industrialized countries of Europe, particularly England, which absorbed more than 40 per cent of all Russian exports.

The domestic market was, nevertheless, of primary importance to economic development. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, its volume was already of the order of 1,000 million roubles and it was many times greater than the turnover of Russia's foreign trade. Moreover, home demand was more stable, whilst the volume of foreign trade fluctuated sharply with changes in the military and political situation, the tariff policy of foreign states, etc.

The population of Russia almost doubled in the first half of the nineteenth century. In 1851, at the time of the ninth poll-tax revision census, it stood at

68 million. The social stratification in Russia at the time reflected the class contradictions of feudal society: all the categories of peasants in feudal bondage together comprised more than 80 per cent of the population, whilst the landowning nobility comprised less than 1 per cent.

A characteristic feature of the 1830s and 1840s was the impoverishment of large numbers of peasants and the appearance of a stratum of rich peasants. Some of these members of the rich peasantry—the 'peasant bourgeoise'—made fortunes up into the tens and hundreds of thousands of roubles. Savva Morozov, the founder of a subsequently famous dynasty of industrialists, bought himself out of serfdom in the 1820s for 17,000 roubles. In the 1820s to 1840s fifty families of small-scale peasant industrialists in Ivanovo made enough money to buy themselves out of serfdom, paying a total of one million roubles to the landowner Sheremetev.

Big changes also took place in the situation of members in another class of feudal society, that of the landowning nobility. The crisis of serfdom led to the bankruptcy of a considerable number of landowners, particularly smaller ones. In the fifteen years, 1835 to 1851, alone the number of noble estates with more than twenty peasants declined by more than 9,000. There were already tens of thousands of landless nobles in Russia by the middle of the nineteenth century.

The decay of the feudal strata-classes was accompanied by the appearance of the new classes of bourgeois society. The comparatively rapid growth of Russian manufacturing industry and the transition to a factory type of production speeded up the formation of a working class. By the middle of the century, more than a million workers were employed in large-scale industry alone, many of them being hired workers. These hired workers were not as yet proletarians. They had their peasant small-holdings in the country, where families usually lived, they worked in the industrial enterprises only from the autumn until the beginning of the spring field-work and were completely dependent on the landowners. This section of the serfs was forming a more or less permanent body of Russian proletariat. Working in workshops and factories from year to year and often from generation to generation, they acquired valuable technical skills and at the first opportunity broke away from the village.

The bourgeois class was being rapidly formed. In the second quarter of the century, its ranks were filled mainly by merchants and owners of industrial enterprises from the milieu of the rich peasantry. Russian industrialists such as the Prokhorov, Guchkov, Garelin, Konovalov and many other families emerged from this 'serf bourgeoisie'.

Intellectuals in government service became a significant element in society, since the clumsy bureaucratic apparatus of autocracy required a large number of civil servants. Industry, trade and agriculture increased the demand for specialists. The number of secondary and higher educational establishments increased and their pupils numbered many thousands. The press developed,

periodicals in particular, providing a regular income for literary work which gave opportunities to the *raznochintsy*, liberal intellectuals drawn from various classes, including the nobility. Many of the scholars, writers, journalists, actors and artists of Russia in the second quarter of the nineteenth century belonged to the *raznochintsy*.

The economic development of Russia in the first half of the nineteenth century was thus a complex and contradictory process. The steady growth of the capitalist mode of production was further and further undermining the feudal social system, but the domination of the serf system was holding back Russia's transition to a more progressive capitalist order of society.

The inevitability of the repeal of serf law in Russia had become evident to the ruling noble landowners by the middle of the 1850s. The ineluctable progress of economic development towards capitalism was undermining the feudal system, which had already in the 1830s entered an increasingly critical stage. The peasant movement was growing with every decade and threatening a revolutionary overthrow of the serf-owning system. The defeat of Tsarist Russia in the Crimean War, 1853–6, compelled the ruling circles to decide to prepare bourgeois reforms.

The late 1850s and early 1860s were a critical transitional stage, which determined the historical development of Russia for several decades to come. It was at this time that the question of how serfdom was to be abolished—by revolution or by reform—was being decided. The peasant masses were fighting for a revolutionary destruction of landed estates. The Tsarist Government, however, representing the interests of the landowners, was trying to prevent revolution and carry out the emancipation of the serfs gradually, by reforms, whilst keeping not only political power but land as well in the hands of the nobility.

Under the influence of the growing peasant movement, the Tsarist Government decided to allow the serfs to buy their freedom from the land. A resolute struggle by the peasantry compelled the government to abandon the main point in its plan, that of depriving the peasants of land. The decrees of 19 February 1861 concerning the emancipation of the peasants from serfdom applied to landowners' serfs in the provinces of Great Russia, the Ukraine, Byelorussia and Lithuania and provided for emancipation spread out over ten years. The personal liberty of the peasants was proclaimed immediately and they were given the right to own property, to enter service, to undertake any form of commercial or industrial activity, to enter into contract relationships with other persons and institutions, etc.

In practice, these rights were considerably limited by the continuing economic dependence of the peasant on the landowner for a period of indeterminate length.

The settlement of the economic relationships between the peasants and the landowners was to be carried out over a period of two years, during which the landlords were obliged to complete special deeds, setting out the actual amount of land allotted to the peasants on each estate, giving the size of the

allotments and setting down the obligations of the peasants under the law of 19 February 1861. As soon as these deeds had been endorsed, the peasants were obliged, for an indeterminate period, to carry out legally established obligations towards the landowners. They were released from these obligations and became peasant owners only after concluding, with the consent of the landowner, a special agreement on the purchase of the allotted land.

Emancipation from serfdom under the law of 19 February 1861 was therefore a long and painful process for the peasant. Many of the landowners were in no hurry to give up the accustomed forms of feudal exploitation of the peasantry. Even ten years after the repeal of serf law in Russia, more than 30 per cent of all peasant holdings were still in the position of performing 'temporary' obligations towards the landowners.

In spite of all its organic defects and failings, the law on the repeal of serfdom was extremely important. It opened the way for more rapid development of productive forces.

After the abolition of serfdom, it became acutely necessary to adapt the political structure of Tsarist Russia to the new, capitalist relationships. In order to retain power, the landowning nobility were to some extent obliged to make concessions, and this was the purpose of the bourgeois reforms carried out between 1864 and 1874.

The *zemstvo* reform of 1864 handed over local finance, elementary education, medical and veterinary services and some other functions to new, elected institutions, the provincial and district *zemstvo* councils. An indirect voting system ensured that the majority of seats would go to the ruling class, the landowning nobility in particular. At the irregularly held *zemstvo* assemblies, peasant councillors were always in a minority, whilst among the members of the permanent *zemstvo* councils the number of peasants could be counted in ones and twos. *Zemstvo* affairs, which affected the essential needs of the peasantry, were all decided by the landowners. They checked the initiative of the not infrequently self-sacrificing democratically minded *zemstvo* members—teachers, doctors and statisticians. Furthermore, local *zemstvo* institutions were subordinate to the Tsarist administration and in particular to the provincial governors.

The town council reform of 1870 replaced the existing councils which had been based on representation according to different 'estates', putting in their place a town duma, elected on the basis of a property qualification. This system gave a decisive influence to the big property owners, merchants and industrialists. The municipal administrative bodies set up by the law of 1870 were also subordinate to the government. The decisions of the duma had to be endorsed by the Tsarist administration before they could enter into force.

The law reform of 1864 introduced a single system of courts, based on formal equality before the law of all social groups in the population. Court proceedings were to take place in the presence of the interested parties, they were to be public, and reports of them were to be published in the press. Litigants

were to be able to hire lawyers to defend their interests in court, and these lawyers were to have legal training and were not to be government officials. This reform met the needs of the country's capitalist development but was influenced by the persistence of remnants of serfdom—here again the government allowed a number of important exceptions to the general principles of the bourgeois reforms. Special local courts where corporal punishment was retained were set up for peasants; administrative punishments were imposed in political cases, even where a verdict of not guilty had been passed; political cases were examined without a jury, and so on. Malfeasances by government employees were declared outside the scope of the ordinary courts. Courts in Tsarist Russa continued to be dependent on the autocracy.

The reforms of the 1860s also affected education. A network of primary schools was set up. In addition to the classical gymnasiums, real schools, in which the main attention was given to the teaching of mathematics and the natural sciences, were opened. The statute of 1863 on higher educational institutions gave partial autonomy to the universities, made the posts of rector and dean elective and extended the rights of the body of professors. The first higher general education courses for women in Russia were opened in Moscow in 1869.

In the 1860s changes were introduced into military service: the period of service was shortened, corporal punishments were abolished, military regulations were amended, etc. The climax of the military reforms came only in 1874, when general military service was introduced. According to the new law, the compulsory levying of recruits for military service by landowners (by decision of the village assemblies since 1861) was replaced by a general call-up of all men at the age of 20. The length of service was reduced to six to seven years, with subsequent service in the reserves.

The abolition of serfdom and later reforms in local government, the law courts, education, the press, etc. created better conditions for the development of capitalism. Half-hearted and incomplete as they were, the reforms of the 1860s had a progressive significance at the stage of Russia's transition from feudalism to capitalism.

With the end of serfdom, a new period in the history of Russia began. Capitalist relations, which had long been maturing within the feudal system, were now given an incomparably greater scope for growth. Nevertheless, considerable remnants of serfdom continued to exist even after the bourgeois reform of 1861, and they made their imprint on the whole subsequent social and economic development of Tsarist Russia.

Russia remained the country with the highest degree of landlord landownership. According to the land census of 1877, there were 73 million *desyatinas* (approximately the same as a hectare) in the hands of the nobility— more than three-quarters of all privately owned land; the greater part and the best part of this land belonged to a small group of large landowners—about 30 million *desyatinas* belonged to only 1,000 owners.

The preponderance of nobles among landowners was combined with an acute land hunger among the peasantry, who had been robbed at the time of the 'emancipation' and were oppressed beneath the weight of redemption payments and taxes. The peasants were economically dependent on the landlords, who made wide use of unjust and semi-feudal forms of exploitation. To pay for a plot leased from the landlord, or for borrowed bread or money, the peasant cultivated the landowner's ploughed land with his primitive implements and scrawny beasts. This system, known as the 'otrabotki', was in effect a form of serf labour. By the end of the 1880s this system was predominant in 17 out of the 43 provinces of European Russia, particularly in the central black-earth regions, which were heavily populated and most intensively cultivated.

The remnants of serfdom undermined the productive forces of peasant farming. The yields of peasant fields remained extremely low. Crop failures under these circumstances were chronic, as was the attendant peasant famine. Beginning in the late 1870s Russia entered a period of persistent agrarian crisis. The whole burden was borne by the peasants who, in order to pay their debts to the landlord and the State, were obliged to sell their own corn at a loss on the market. At the same time, however, the otrabotki were increased, and conditions of tenure became worse.

However burdensome the residue of serfdom may have been, it could only postpone the penetration of capitalism into agriculture. Even on the big landed estates, rack-renting and otrabotki on the major part of the estate were not infrequently combined with 'rational' commercial farming on the remainder of the land. Landowners opened distilleries and sugar refineries on their estates, purchased improved machinery and employed hired labourers.

In the villages, the middling peasant was disappearing whilst, on the one hand, a stratum of rural bourgeois, few in number, was appearing and on the other appeared a mass of poor agricultural workers, who were turning into a proletariat. The distribution of land within the obshchina, with periodic reapportionment of the allotted land, concealed growing inequality within the obshchina. The poor peasants more and more frequently abandoned their allotments, leasing them to kulaks. The latter swelled their lands by buying or leasing from the landowners. By the 1880s the rich peasants, who comprised about one-fifth of the whole, had already in some provinces gained possession of from 34 to 50 per cent of the peasant-owned land, whilst the poor peasants who composed half the village population owned from 19 to 32 per cent of the land.

This stratification of the peasantry helped the expansion of the domestic market. The wealthy peasants sold their marketable produce, obtaining not only articles for personal use but also means of production (improved implements, machinery, etc.) in return. The poor peasants, unable to support themselves off their impoverished lands, put their labour on the market for sale to cover their growing expenses.

Agriculture as a whole was becoming more and more commercial. The growth of industry in the towns increased the demand for agricultural produce. The process was also encouraged by the increasing specialization of the economic areas as a result of the building of the railways. In European Russia the area sown with corn and potatoes increased by nearly 50 per cent in the 40 years following the reforms, and the net yield increased by 150 per cent. There was a rapid growth in the production of flax, sugar beet and other crops used as raw material in industry. After the collapse of serfdom, there was an increase in resettlement in the southern provinces—Kherson, Tavrida and Ekaterinoslav, which together with Bessarabia had formally composed so-called New Russia, the steppes of the areas beyond the Volga and around the Urals (Samara, Saratov and Orenburg provinces), and later in the steppes north of the Caucasus. Between 1863 and 1897 the population of European Russia as a whole increased by 53 per cent, whilst that of the southern and south-eastern areas increased by 92 per cent.

The large scale of peasant colonization, the favourable natural conditions, the proximity of the Black Sea and Azov Sea ports, the appearance of new industrial centres and the establishment of rail links with the centre of the Empire all contributed to the agricultural development of the virgin steppes around the Black Sea, beyond the Volga and in the Don valley and to the development of commercial farming. The agrarian crisis, which hit the 'worked-out' provinces hardest, accelerated the displacement of the main grain-growing centre to the south and south-east. The break-up of the peasantry proceeded at a particularly intensive rate here. The rural bourgeoisie by cruelly exploiting the local poor peasantry and hired labourers coming in from elsewhere, took the lead from the landowning nobility.

When we compare the development of agriculture in the central regions and in the south and south-east, we clearly see two basic types of agrarian evolution: in the former case, the slow development of feudal landowner farms into capitalist farms, accompanied by impoverishment of the mass of the peasantry and the gradual growth of a handful of kulaks and money-lenders; in the second case, the rapid development of capitalist crop farming, only to a very small extent burdened with the remnants of serfdom.

The decades following the reforms were the period of capitalist industrialization in Russia. Large-scale mechanical industry won a decisive victory over small-scale workshop production. Production techniques were being rapidly improved in the leading branches of industry. Of considerable importance in this connection was the fact that Russia, embarking on capitalism later than a number of European countries, was able to use the already accumulated technical experience and organizational forms of capitalist industrial develment.

After 1861, capitalism developed in Russia at such a speed that in a few decades changes took place which in some countries in Europe took centuries. A typical example is the case of the introducton of steam engines into industry.

INDUSTRIAL CENTRES IN RUSSIA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY
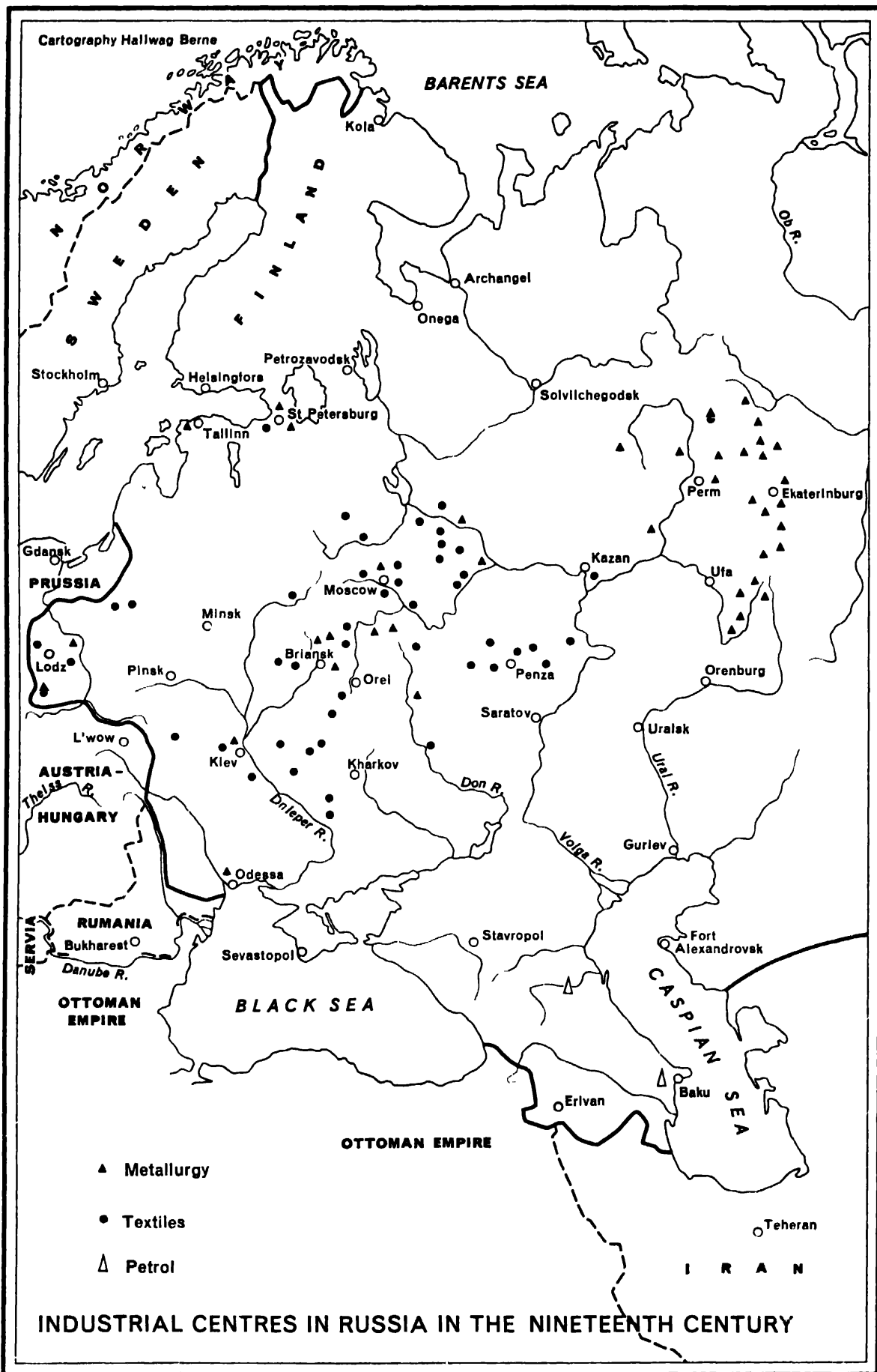
In 1875–78, the boilers and steam engines in use in the factories and ironworks of European Russia had a total capacity of 100,000 h.p.; by the beginning of the 1890s this figure had already increased 2½ times to 256,500 h.p.

In the cotton industry, the large mill finally took the place of the small capitalist enterprise, the system of giving out work to be done outside the enterprise which had been closely connected with it, and the small cottage crafts. Machinery was replacing manual labour in the broadcloth, food and other industries. In the iron industry, puddling was replacing the obsolete finery process. In the 1870s steel production, based first on Bessemer converters and later on open-hearth furnaces, was rapidly developing. In this way the industrial revolution, which had begun in Russia before the age of reforms, was completed in the space of two or three decades after the collapse of serfdom.

The major centres of capitalist industry were St Petersburg and Moscow. St Petersburg was becoming primarily an engineering centre, whilst Moscow and the surrounding industrial region remained the chief centre of the textile industry.

The mining and metallurgical industry of the Urals, which had previously been based on forced labour, went through serious difficulties in the first years after the reform. Thousands of workers, freed from their bondage, left the mines and factories. It took ten years for the metallurgical industry of the Urals to get back to the 1860 level, and it continued to develop very slowly.

In the meantime, beginning in the 1870s, a new centre of the mining and metallurgical industry was beginning to form in the south of Russia. The building of two railways linking Moscow with Rostov-on-Don provided an outlet for Donets coal and greatly increased the demand for it. New collieries began to appear in the Donets steppe, and pit headgear and waste tips drastically altered the previously bare landscape. The first blast furnace in the western Donets Basin was commissioned at Yuzovka in 1872, and two years later the Sulin works, founded by the capitalist Pastukhov in the east of the basin, produced its first pig-iron. These two works at first used the poor local ores. It was only after the coal-producing Donbass was linked by rail with the Krivoy Rog area, with its vast resources of rich iron-ore, in the mid-1880s that the industry began to make rapid progress. Half-way between the Donbass and Krivoy Rog arose the Dnieper valley metallurgical centre, based on Ekaterinoslav, which, free from feudal traditions and with a higher technical level, quickly overtook the Urals in importance.

The oil industry was almost entirely new to Russia. In the pre-reform period, extraction was insignificant and demand was small. Development of the industry in the oil-bearing Baku area was hampered by the system whereby wells were sub-leased for indeterminate periods. When this system was abolished in 1872 and long-term leases became available, forests of oil-derricks began to go up around Baku and alongside the old town arose a new one, smoky and grimy from its dozens of refineries. In the twenty years 1870–90,

output rose 140 times from 1·7 million to 242 million puds (1 pud= 16.38 kg). Outstanding discoveries and inventions by Russian scientists and engineers increased the scope for the use of petroleum products—as fuels, lubricants, etc.—and ensured a market for Baku's production. By the end of the nineteenth century Russia had taken first place in the world for oil production for a while ousting the United States.

The building of railways contributed greatly to the development of capitalist industry. In 1860 Russia had only 1,500 kilometres of track; by 1892 it had 31,200 kilometres. The railways linked the agricultural regions with the industrial areas and the outlying parts with the centre, thus accelerating the process of the social division of labour and the growth of a national market. The railways were also great consumers of coal and metal, machinery and equipment, and thus promoted the growth of heavy industry.

At the end of the first decade following the reform began a period in which firms, banks and joint-stock companies were set up at an intensive rate. A great part of the share capital was invested not in industry, but in commercial enterprises, in banking and particularly in the building of railways. During the 1873-75 crisis, many of these companies which had been created at a time of stock market speculation went bankrupt.

The industrial upsurge which followed the crisis was of short duration and gave place to an even more severe crisis in 1882-86. The economy only began to show signs of life again in 1887, but in 1890-1 several branches of industry were again going through a period of stagnation. The smallness of the domestic market, the combination of the industrial crisis with the agrarian crisis which dragged on until the middle 1890s, and the persistence of outmoded methods and forms of industrial organization all combined to hinder the escape of the economy from crisis and depression.

Industrial expansion did not begin to get under way again until 1892-3—the most significant expansion during the whole capitalist period. The building of the Trans-Siberian Railway and a number of other railways, the growth of shipbuilding, the wider use of machinery on the farms of landowners and kulaks, and the requirements of industry created increased demand for metal, coal, oil, steam locomotives and rolling stock. The increase in production, particularly in heavy industry, was due not so much to the expansion of existing enterprises as to the building of new ones, mainly in the regions recently taken over by capitalism. By the end of the century, the metallurgical industry in the south of the country was producing more than half of all the country's pig-iron. The Donbass was producing more than two-thirds of Russia's coal, and the whole of the country's oil production was centred on Baku.

The towns grew swiftly: the urban population doubled from the beginning of the 1860s to the end of the 1890s. There was a high concentration of industry and workers in the big towns. The population of St Petersburg in 1897 was 1·2 million, of whom more than 49 per cent were workers and their families;

the population of Moscow was more than a million. There were considerable increases in the populations of Odessa, Kiev, Riga, Warsaw, Lodz, Baku and other towns. Many industrial settlements became new industrial centres: Orekhovo-Zuevo near Moscow, Yuzovka in the Donbass and Nizhny Tagil in the Urals.

The Russian population of Siberia doubled in the last third of the nineteenth century. With the building of the Trans-Siberian Railway, which reached Irkutsk in 1897, the stream of settlers increased. Siberia began to supply European Russia with grain, meat, wool, animal and vegetable oil, and its demand for manufactured goods was growing. New towns were springing up —Novo-Nikolaevsk, Omsk, Tomsk—and the mining of gold, coal and metal ores increased.

The growth of large-scale capitalist industry stimulated the development of bank credit. Commercial banks became eager to invest in industry. A merger of bank capital and industrial capital began. In the 1890s there was a particularly noticeable increase in foreign investment in Russian industry: in 1890, foreign capital represented approximately a quarter of all share capital, whilst in 1900 it was more than 40 per cent. German capital, which in the 1880s had occupied the first place, was pushed down into third place by French and Belgian capital.

Foreign capitalists not only purchased shares in Russian enterprises but opened works and factories in Russia themselves. British, French and Belgian capitalists secured for themselves the key positions in the metallurgical industries of the Donbass, Krivoy Rog and the Dnieper valley; British capital ensconced itself in Baku. The influx of foreign capital speeded up industrial development, but the unfavourable consequences of foreign ownership were already becoming apparent: in the scramble for high dividends, the foreigners were ransacking the mineral wealth of Russia and a considerable part of the profits left the country.

The new branches of capitalist industry, with their high concentration of production and capital, were those in which the first Russian monopolies were created. Cartel agreements had already been concluded at the beginning of the 1880s between the owners of the major rail-rolling and bridge-building enterprises. In 1887 a syndicate of sugar manufacturers was set up; by the beginning of the 1890s it included nearly nine-tenths of all the enterprises in this industry. The kerosene manufacturers' syndicate, organized in 1893–4, controlled virtually the whole of the petroleum extraction in the Baku area. These early monopolies were, however, unstable and quickly fell apart.

Parallel with large-scale mechanized industry, small-scale manufacturing industry maintained its importance and in places increased it considerably. The vast size of Russia and its uneven economic development were favourable to this situation. Whereas in some regions large-scale industry displaced and absorbed the small-scale industry, in others, and in particular where backward

branches of industry were concerned, the development of capitalism appeared only in its early stages.

In spite of the comparatively high rate of industrial development, Russia in the age of reform, burdened by the residue of serfdom, continued to lag behind the main capitalist countries in the total volume of its production and even more so in *per capita* production.

Nowhere in Europe were social contrasts sharper than in Russia: the towns, with their vast factories, power stations and big buildings existed alongside small, God-forsaken villages, where the peasants went around in birch-bark shoes and homespun clothes, and where the ancestral wooden plough and the sickle were still in common use. The country's enormous natural resources remained to a considerable extent unexploited, particularly in Siberia. Even in the most highly developed branches of industry, production on a large scale and, for its time, advanced equipment were combined with a very wide use of cheap manual labour. Outstanding Russian scientific and technical discoveries although they obtained world-wide recognition, were in many cases not put to use in Russia itself.

Russia's position in the economic world was also determined by the agrarian nature of her economy. The country imported machinery, manufactured goods and metals. Its main export was grain. By the end of the nineteenth century it was the major granary of Europe and also a big supplier of timber, flax, hemp and other types of raw material.

The development of capitalism had a considerable impact upon the social structure of Russian society. The nobility remained the dominant class, but it was no longer as homogeneous as before, either economically or politically. Many landowners could not adjust to the new conditions and soon spent the redemption payments which they had received from their serfs, sold up or mortgaged their lands and estates. The land censuses show that from 1877 [*sic*] the area of the land owned by the nobility fell by 25 per cent; this process developed with particular speed at the time of the agrarian crisis at the end of the century. At the same time, landowner farms of a capitalist type were becoming more common, and in the central regions of the country the semi-feudal large estates continued to predominate. The owners of these large estates were the most reactionary force in the country. They filled the leading posts in the Tsarist administration—governors and governors-general who had wide-ranging powers on a local level, the higher military ranks, ministers. The titled aristocracy and the top echelons of the government bureaucracy were represented in the State Council, an advisory body to the Tsar left over intact from the times of serfdom.

Landowners of the new capitalist type were politically a much less in-fluential group. Their strongholds were the *zemstvo* set up by the reform of the 1860s, the functions of which were limited to a narrow range of matters of local services, health and education. The *zemstvo* nobility played a leading part in the liberal opposition movement, trying to work together with the

ruling upper caste to obtain further bourgeois reforms and the creation within the framework of the autocratic system of representative institutions for the ruling classes.

The formation of the Russian bourgeoisie had begun before the emancipation of the serfs. Former merchants, tax-farmers, corn dealers, rich kulaks and money-lenders became railway, industrial and banking magnates. Despite its economic strength, the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie was politically extremely feeble and lacked any form of class organization. The associations and congresses of industrialists which arose in the 1860s and 1870s (associations of iron-founders, Baku oil industrialists, etc.) represented only the narrow, selfish interests of individual groups and layers of the rich bourgeoisie. The Russian bourgeoisie was not a revolutionary class; in the post-reform period, at the approach of the social storm, it tried to seek protection from Tsarism with its police force, army and bureaucracy.

Tsarism, for its part, whilst it remained a dictatorship of landowning nobles, was obliged to take into consideration the growing requirements of the country's capitalist development. Without large-scale industry and railways, Tsarist Russia could not remain a great power, could not take part in the more and more acute struggle between the capitalist states for the partition of the world. The upkeep of the army and the apparatus of the police and bureaucracy was extremely expensive. New sources of income had to be found in addition to those inherited from the days of serfdom. There was a rapid increase in indirect taxation, with taxes on sugar, tobacco, kerosene, etc. connected with the development of industry. However, these increases in taxation, although they impoverished wide sections of the population, could not keep pace with the régime's constantly increasing expenditure. A solution was sought in foreign loans. Russia's debt to its foreign creditors increased from 537 million roubles in 1861 to 3,966 million roubles in 1900. Tsarism became more and more dependent on the stock exchanges of Europe: Berlin in the 1860s and 1870s and, after the middle 1880s, Paris, which rapidly became more and more important to Russia as Russo-German relations deteriorated. The emergence of France as the banker of Tsarism had its effect in turn on the formation of a foreign policy alliance between the two countries. The dynastic links and monarchical sympathies which had traditionally bound the Russian and Prusso-German courts had to give way to the inexorable demands of the economic and political struggle.

These demands had also to be taken into account within the country. Whilst allotting the lion's share of Russia's monetary resources to military and administrative expenditure and to subsidizing the landowners (for which purpose a special Nobles' Bank was set up in the 1880s), the Tsarist Government at the same time tried to speed up the industrial development of the country with the help of foreign capital. This was a fundamental feature of the financial and economic policy of the monarchy in the period following the reforms, a policy which was particularly firmly applied by Witte, Minister of

Finance from 1892 to 1903. The interests of Russian capitalists and foreign capitalists who had established themselves in Russia were met by the introduction of high tariffs, by the monetary reform of the 1890s, export bonuses, State guarantees of the income of private railway companies, generous government orders, etc. No small part in the policy of encouraging capitalism was played by the selfish interests of Tsarist officials and titled aristocrats, who were themselves involved in the operations of companies and banks.

The most important phenomenon of social life in Russia following the reforms was the formation and growth of a new class, the proletariat. At least 4 million peasants lost their land at the time of the reform in 1861. Later, there was a constant increase in the number of households without horses and of families who, not having their own tools, completely abandoned farming. Artificial agrarian over-population was created. Millions of peasants had to leave their villages to seek a living. In part they were absorbed as hired labourers in capitalist agriculture. In the 1880s there were at least 3.5 million agricultural labourers in European Russia. In most cases, however, the reserves of labour formed as a result of the proletarianization of the countryside turned to industry. The ranks of the proletariat were also swelled by a considerable section of the working people of the pre-reform period, impoverished handicraftsmen, artisans and members of the urban petty bourgeoisie.

At the end of the nineteenth century the proletariat in Russia (excluding Finland) numbered at least 22 million, of whom hired workers in agriculture, factories and mines, raliway transport, the building and timber industries and in household employment comprised about 10 million.

The formation of an industrial proletariat in Russia took place at the same time as a rapid development of machine-powered industry. In consequence, the concentration of workers at large and very large enterprises was higher in Russia than in a number of the older capitalist countries of Europe. By 1890 three-quarters of all workers employed in factories and mines in Russia were concentrated in enterprises of 100 and more workers, and nearly a half at enterprises with 500 or more workers. In the metallurgical industry the biggest enterprises (those with more than a hundred workers) comprised 10 per cent of all industrial enterprises in Russia but 46 per cent of the total number of Russian workers were concentrated in them.

The completion of the transition from workshop to factory was thus the turning-point in the formation of the proletariat. The old workshop employee, closely connected with the small-scale private enterprise, gave way to the hereditary proletarian, whose only means of existence was the sale of his labour. By the 1880s the absolute majority of workers in the metalworking and engineering industries were proletarians who because of their social origins alone continued to figure as peasants in census returns. This process was however delayed by the persistence of remnants of serfdom. A characteristic feature of capitalist development in Russia was the rapid growth of manufacturing centres situated in rural localities close to the sources of cheap labour;

this also made it harder to break the link with the land even for key workers (especially in such branches as the textile industry and the processing of agricultural raw material). But this phenomenon had another side to it: it brought the peasant masses and the proletariat closer together.

2. THE SOCIAL AND REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

Throughout the nineteenth century, beneath the crushing weight of the reactionary absolutist system, the emancipation movement was making gradual headway in Russia. It manifested itself mainly in the steady growth of the anti-feudal movement among the peasantry. Between 1801 and 1825 there occurred 281 peasant disturbances; between 1826 and 1850 there were 576 of them. In the latter period the nature of these disturbances was markedly hostile to serfdom. Peasants on the noblemen's estates refused to carry out serf labour which was beyond their strength and to pay the increased serf dues. They fought against the despotism of the serf-owners and for total emancipation from the oppression of serfdom. On some estates the peasant disturbances became chronic and continued for several years. Specially formed squads and regular troops were quite often called out to put down these outbreaks and in a number of cases the peasants offered open resistance.

Anti-feudal disturbances also occurred at industrial enterprises. They took place mainly at the enterprises owned by the State and the great landowning families and at the privately owned factories for which State peasants supplied the labour, at all of which the forced labour of peasants was used. The workers taking part in these disturbances were making a spontaneous protest against the exploitation of the serfs, and one of their frequent demands was for equal conditions for work with hired labourers. The first quarter of the nineteenth century also saw the beginning of active agitation by hired workers for the improvement of their situation. They sought higher wages and the regular payment of those wages, limitations on the arbitrary powers of factory administrations, etc. These first workers' demonstrations were unorganized and unco-ordinated, but they showed that, even in serf-owning Russia, new class contradictions, typical of the capitalist system, had already appeared.

The oppressed masses were, however, as yet incapable of organized action. Hence, the leading role in the first phase of the Russian revolutionary movement was played by progressive representatives of the educated section of the nobility.

The conditions in which the outlook of young Russian noblemen at the beginning of the nineteenth century was formed were complex and conflicting. It was a time when revolutionary and liberation movements were gaining ground in western and southern Europe. The young nobleman could have observed from his childhood the sharp contrast between the plight of the unprivileged serfs and the idle existence of the privileged aristocracy. He would have been brought up on stories not only of the murder of Paul I by

court conspirators but also of the overthrow of the monarchy in France and other countries. He would be well read in the French literature of the enlightenment and would quite often see manuscript copies of the *Travels* of Radishchev and other works by progressive Russian and foreign authors.

The political storms of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries made such young people reflect deeply upon the glaring contrasts of the period in which they lived: whilst in Russia the unchecked power of the serf-owners and the arbitrary tyranny of the Tsarist authorities reigned supreme, revolutionary France was proclaiming 'liberty, equality and fraternity'. This caused a critical attitude towards autocracy and serfdom and aroused keen interest in social and political matters.

The war against Napoleon marked an important stage in the development of the revolutionary ideology of Russian society. The French invasion caused an unprecedented upsurge of patriotism in Russia. The war against the invader became a struggle for national existence. It went down in the history of Russia under the name of the Fatherland War of 1812. For Russia it was a just war, a war of the people. In 1812 the Russian troops drew strength from the support of the whole people and had the backing of a massive partisan movement among the peasantry. The fighting spirit of the troops was exceptionally high and they bore with fortitude the burden of their exhausting campaigns. In the zones of military operations the local inhabitants supplied the troops with food for themselves and fodder for their horses, warned them of the approach of the enemy and set scouts and spies upon him. In the provinces of the rear, reserve forces were prepared, a militia was formed and the population gave generous material support. Young people volunteered enthusiastically for the army. The peasants were particularly keen for battle, hoping that their selfless struggle and victory over the enemy would earn them emancipation from serfdom. Armed with hunting rifles, home-made pikes, forks and scythes and with arms seized from the enemy, Byelorussian, Lithuanian and Russian peasants annihilated not only single marauders and foraging parties but even small enemy detachments. The vision and military talent of the great Russian General M. I. Kutuzov were nowhere more clearly shown than in the way in which he based his strategy on the assumption of active support from the whole people.

The defeat of Napoleon's army was one of the greatest events in the history of Russia. It eliminated the threat of foreign conquest and ensured the country's independence. The international effects were also particularly far-reaching. The crushing defeat of Napoleon's forces in Russia sharply altered the balance of power in Europe and greatly affected the subsequent course of European history. The war of 1812 showed the peoples of Europe that Napoleon's army was by no means invincible. Inspired by the example of the Russian people and its army, the peoples of Europe were shortly able to shake off the bondage imposed on them by Napoleon.

The Fatherland War of 1812 also greatly influenced the formation of a

revolutionary ideology among progressive elements of the nobility. Nearly all the members of the first revolutionary society which was soon afterwards formed in Russia had taken part in the Fatherland War and were later to say with pride: 'We are the children of 1812.' The war strengthened the patriotism of the future revolutionaries and set them off on the course of struggle against autocracy and serfdom. Participation in the foreign campaigns of 1813–14 widened the political horizon of many officers. They saw for themselves the mighty liberation movement in Germany at work, the keen political struggle in France, the striking changes in the life of other nations in Europe. Whilst abroad, they became acquainted with the abundant and varied political literature and became convinced from their own experience of the superiority of the bourgeois system to the autocratic and serf-owning system of Tsarist Russia.

Progressive members of the young nobility, returning from these foreign campaigns, were eager for practical action. It was among these young people that, in 1816, the officers Aleksandr Muravyëv and his distant relative Nikita Muravyëv, I. D. Yakushin, S. T. Trubetskoi, the brothers Sergei and Matvei Muravyëv-Apostol set up a revolutionary society. The society was given the name 'The League of Salvation', the founders believing that the time had come to save Russia from serfdom. P. I. Pestel and several other officers soon joined the society.

The society's main aim, as its members unanimously agreed, was to annihilate serfdom and autocracy. The members disputed much among themselves about the forms of revolutionary organization and tactics, basing their arguments on their views of the work of the political clubs in revolutionary France, the Carbonari and the Tugendbund, etc. Finally, the majority acknowledged that it was necessary to work gradually, winning over to their side influential people in the State apparatus, with whose support they could have a constitution proclaimed as soon as the Tsar died.

Two centres of the new revolutionary organization were quickly formed: in St Petersburg the Northern Society was headed by N. M. Muravyëv and in the Ukraine, among the troops of the Second Army, a Southern Society was formed from members of the Tulcea Council, headed by P. I. Pestel. The Southern Society immediately became a strong and rapidly growing organization. As new members were successfully recruited, new councils were set up at Vasilkov and Kamensk. Beginning in 1822, representatives of all the councils met regularly every year in Kiev at the time of the January Hiring Fair. The Society unanimously adopted a republican programme and the tactics of military revolution. Its leaders established contact at the beginning of 1823 with the Polish Patriotic Society and together they discussed plans for joint action against Tsarism.

Agreement between the two Russian societies on a single programme became a matter of importance. The leader of the Southern Society, P. I. Pestel, and one of the founders of the revolutionary societies in St Petersburg

Nikita Muravyёv, undertook to draft such a programme. The work dragged on for several years, reflecting the complications besetting the formulation of a Russian revolutionary ideology in the 1820s. According to Pestel's plan, to which he finally gave the name 'Russkaya Pravda' (Russian Truth) in 1824, Russia was to become a democratic republic. The whole legislative, judiciary and administrative power was to be handed over to the elected representatives of the people. Equality of civil rights was to be introduced and political rights were to be given to all men over the age of 20. The great estates of the nobles were to be confiscated. All subjects were to be able to receive an allotment of land from a special State fund which would include half of all the country's land. The other half could be sold or leased. Pestel's agrarian projects thus cut to the roots of feudalism, undermining the system of landownership by the nobility and opening the way for the development of bourgeois ownership of the land.

Unlike Гestel, N. Muravyёv worked out a programme for a constitutional monarchy. His 'Constitution' envisaged the limitation of the Emperor's power by a fundamental law and an elective legislative body. Hired labourers were not to be allowed any political rights, whilst members of the peasant *obshchiny* (communes) were to be able to send one deputy per 500 members to the electoral assemblies. The qualification for direct participation in elections was that the elector should own property worth not less than 500 roubles in silver. Candidates for the higher elected posts would have to meet an even higher property qualification—from 30,000 to 60,000 roubles in silver. Muravyёv insisted on the emancipation of the serfs but not that land should be guaranteed to them. Landownership by the aristocracy was to be left intact.

Thus, both projects demanded the abolition of serfdom and autocracy, but on many other important questions they differed seriously and suffered from internal inconsistencies and contradictions. Many of the aristocratic revolutionaries were unprepared for the immediate dismantling of the whole apparatus of autocracy and serfdom.

The class limitations of the first Russian revolutionaries were also to be seen in their adoption of the tactics of military revolution. Both the Southern and the Northern Societies unanimously believed that the overthrow of the feudal system in Russia could be accomplished only with the assistance of the army, and they rejected the idea of participation by the mass of the people in the coming revolution. Some members in both societies unfavourably compared the French Revolution (which, in their words, 'was begun by the mob and that was why all the dreadful anarchy occurred') with the 'bloodless' revolution then taking place in Spain. An active member of the Southern Society, M. P. Bestuzhev-Ryumin said: 'Our revolution will be like the Spanish Revolution: it will not cost one drop of blood, because it will be carried out by the army alone, without the participation of the people.'

The Russian revolutionaries had long planned that their open action should

coincide with a change of Tsar. The death of Alexander I in 1825 gave the signal for an uprising against the existing order.

The task of the uprising was to get the Senate to proclaim democratic liberties, repeal serfdom and call a Constituent Assembly. It was planned to force the Senators to issue a special manifesto to this effect. Pressure was to be exerted by concentrating troops on the Senate Square. It was planned to seize the Winter Palace at the same time and arrest the Tsar and his family, to storm the Fortress of St Peter and St Paul and the Arsenal and to take over the post office and other public buildings.

To carry out their plan, the leaders of the Northern Society intended to use the troops of the St Petersburg Garrison, in many of the regiments of which there were officers belonging to the secret society. These officers were to prevent their units taking the oath to Nicholas, lead their troops out of barracks and concentrate them in front of the Senate building. Command of the rebel troops was entrusted to Colonel S. P. Trubetskoi, who was invested with dictatorial powers.

The rising began on 14 December 1825. About 2,000 soldiers left their barracks with banners flying and followed by the crowd, and marched on the Senate, forming a square around the equestrian statue of Peter the Great. It was not until two o'clock in the afternoon that government troops succeeded in surrounding the rebel soldiers, but this did not prevent further detachments of revolutionary troops—lifeguards and sailors of the Royal Household—breaking through into the square and bringing the strength of the rebels up to 3,000.

Both sides were avoiding a definite clash. The leaders of the rebellion continued to hope that further military units would join them. The Household Cavalry made several attacks on the rebels' square but these were repelled without difficulty with volleys of rifle fire. The populace also helped to repel these attacks by throwing sticks and stones at the horsemen.

The new Tsar, Nicholas I, then ordered heavy artillery fire to be opened on the rebellious troops. By the end of the day the rising had been shattered.

After putting down the uprising of the Decembrists, as these first Russian revolutionaries came to be known, Nicholas I dealt brutally with the participants. Five of them—P. I. Pestel, K. F. Ryleev, S. I. Muravyёv-Apostol, M. P. Bestuzkev-Ryumin, P. G. Kakhovsky—were hanged; more than 120 were sent away to penal servitude and exile in Siberia. Nicholas I revenged himself ruthlessly on his political opponents. Until the end of his life, he kept the active participants of the Decembrist rising who had survived their many years of penal labour in Siberia.

The Decembrist rising failed primarily because the Decembrists deliberately rejected the participation of the people in the revolutionary struggle against autocracy. Nevertheless, the rising evoked a wide and sympathetic response throughout the country. Many of the leading Russians of the time recognized just as much as the Decembrists the need to combat autocracy. The brutal

treatment of the Decembrists was criticized by their contemporaries and aroused warm sympathy for the victims of Tsarism. The rising gave an impetus to the development of revolutionary thinking in Russia. Foreign observers saw it as a link in the chain of European revolutionary and liberation movements in the 1820s directed against reactionary monarchial régimes. The French liberal journal *Le Constitutionnel* asked: 'What brought about the St Petersburg movement?' and replied: 'It is the same as is happening in France, England, America, in Rome and in Paris, in Madrid and Mexico, i.e. it is a general world-wide movement which has now reached Russia as well.'

Russian revolutionary thinking in the late 1820s and the 1830s was strongly influenced by the Decembrist rising. The Decembrist tradition was carried on by the progressive students. Whilst a student at Moscow University, the gifted poet A. Polezhaev wrote a poem entitled 'Sashka' (1826) protesting vigorously against the reactionary policies of Tsarism. Nicholas I had him sent into the army 'under the strictest surveillance'.

About the year 1830, the government learned of the existence of the revolutionary circles run by Sungurov and the brothers Kritsky, whose members were preparing plans for a popular rising against the autocracy. These circles were smashed by the police.

One circle which was particularly important to the development of Russian social thinking in the 1830s was that of N. V. Stankevich. Its members carefully studied German idealist philosophy, the works of Hegel in particular. Many eminent men of social action in later decades, such as V. G. Belinsky, M. A. Bakunin, T. N. Granovsky, K. S. Aksakov and others, were regular visitors. Stankevich's circle had no explicit political viewpoint but opposition to serfdom was the predominant attitude.

Since every other form of legitimate social activity had been ruthlessly stopped by the government, the struggle between various literary groups became a very important feature of social life in the 1840s. Literature had become almost the only public platform and the editorial offices of the magazines were the chief centres of social thinking.

In the 1840s the ideological struggle in Russia became livelier and more complicated. The various tendencies in the social movement became clear in the course of this struggle. It was in this decade that a particular form of the ideology of the aristocracy and landowning nobility took shape: the Slavophile movement.

A Slavophile circle grew up around the year 1840 in Moscow. It started off as a small group of aristocratic writers, A. S. Khomyakov, the brothers Ivan and Pëtr Kireevsky, Y. F. Samarin and I. I. Koshelëv and the sons of the writer S. T. Aksakov, Konstantin and Ivan, formed the nucleus of the group. The Slavophiles expressed the views of a certain section of the aristocratic intelligentsia who had come to the conclusion that at that time of crisis for serfdom it was in the interests of the aristocratic landowners themselves that there should be some changes in the social and political system. They rejected

the current idea of a general rule of social development and made a strong distinction between Russia, with its unique features, and the states of western Europe. They proclaimed that the bourgeois states were decadent, by which they were referring to the massive development of a proletariat, the aggravation of class conflicts and the growth of the revolutionary movement. They condemned the Western social and political set-up, denied the achievements of western European culture and believed that Russia's rapprochement with that culture since the time of Peter the Great had been mistaken and harmful. They claimed that the historical development of Russia followed its own special path, distinct from the history of other European nations, and that the Russian *obshchina* or village community was a bulwark against the appearance of a proletariat and against revolutionary upheavals.

The ideology of the Slavophiles was contradictory and inconsistent. They frequently denounced serfdom, but this opposition was expressed in general terms and their idea was that the serfs should be emancipated solely by means of government reforms on a fairly long-term basis. The Slavophiles failed to see that the transition to capitalism had already begun in Russia and had a very vague conception of what the country's future should be, describing it in terms of a renaissance of the idealized order of things prevailing in 'pre-Petrine Rus'.

The Slavophiles were strongly opposed by the 'Westerners'—those who were in favour of a western European type of development. These included representatives of the progressive aristocratic intelligentsia and some members of the *raznochintsy*: T. N. Granovsky, K. D. Kavelin, P. N. Kudryavtsev, V. P. Botkin, P. V. Annenkov, E. F. Korsh and others. The Westerners were convinced that Russia, like other countries, would have to make the transition to a bourgeois system. They were strong supporters of the repeal of serfdom, of the limitations of the powers of the autocracy, and of capitalism in Russia, they welcomed the strengthening of the influence of the bourgeois and believed that the transition to a capitalist use of labour was inevitable. They publicized their views in the periodicals and by means of literature, the universities and the literary salons. In their writings they refuted the arguments of the Slavophiles with their distinctions between Russia and western Europe, reported on the political and social life of the bourgeois countries and related the latest foreign developments in science, literature and art. The public lectures given in the mid-1840s by the historian T. N. Granovsky, a professor at Moscow University, were a great success. According to Herzen, 'his manner of speech was restrained, extremely serious, full of strength, boldness and poetry, which made a powerful impact on his audience . . .'

The outlook of the Westerners objectively reflected the interests of the growing bourgeoisie and was for its time progressive. Their social and political views were, however, somewhat restricted. They acknowledged only a reformist way to bring about a transition from feudalism to capitalism and dissociated themselves strongly from those who advocated revolution. They

constantly criticized and condemned socialist teaching, and typical of their ideas was an idealization of the bourgeois system.

The 1840s saw the emergence of a revolutionary democratic trend in Russian social thinking. The revolutionary democrats represented the interests of the broad masses of the people and in particular of the serfs. Most of them came from the revolutionary *raznochintsy* intellectuals, but the movement attracted several of the aristocratic revolutionaries. The leading ideologists of revolutionary democratic thinking in Russia in the 1840s were V. G. Belinsky, A. I. Herzen and N. P. Ogarëv.

Aleksandr Ivanovich Herzen (1812–70) was the son of a rich Moscow landowner. From his youth he was an ardent opponent of autocracy and serfdom. Entering Moscow University in 1829. Herzen and his friend N. P. Ogarëv (1813–77) set up a revolutionary student group. Its members were particularly interested in social and political questions. They were convinced republicans and were drawn by the teaching of the Utopian socialists. The attempt by Herzen and Ogarëv to carry out revolutionary propaganda was cut short by their arrest in 1834. After nine months in jail, they were sent into exile in the remote provinces, Herzen first to Perm and then to Vyatka, and Ogarëv to the Penza province.

The literary activities of the revolutionary and democrat Vissarion Grigoryevich Belinsky (1820–48) began in the 1830s. He grew up in a poor provincial *raznochintsy* family, his father being a naval doctor, and in 1829 was sent at the expense of the state to Moscow University. A students' circle soon grew up around him. Belinsky and his circle firmly denounced feudalism and serfdom. From the middle of the 1830s Belinsky devoted himself entirely to literary work, contributing to a number of magazines. In 1834, the first of his series of magazine articles 'Literary Reflections' produced a strong impact on young readers. Belinsky showed up reactionary journalism for what it was and pointed out the world-wide significance of progressive Russian literature.

The particular targets of the polemics of the revolutionary democrats were the ideologists of serfdom and the bourgeois liberals. They were the spearhead of the struggle against the Slavophiles and those who openly defended autocracy and serfdom. Even at that time they realized that irreconcilable conflicts of class interest were an inseparable feature of the capitalist system. They demonstrated the dependence of the workers on the power of capitalism in western Europe, the unrestrained greed of the western European bourgeoisie and the purely formal nature of the liberties existing under bourgeois democracy.

The revolutionary democrats were convinced that, as feudalism had been replaced by capitalism, so capitalism would have to give place to a socialist society. Belinsky, Herzen, Ogarëv and many of their followers were attracted by the theories of the Utopian socialists of the time and tirelessly publicized them in Russia. The scholar and author M. B. Butashevich-Petrashevsky in

his two-volume *Pocket Dictionary of Foreign Words in the Russian Language*, published in 1845–6, skilfully propagated the ideas of Utopian socialism, the doctrine of philosophical materialism and the theory of the revolutionary development of society.

The Russian revolutionary democrats of the 1840s believed in the creative power of the masses and were convinced revolutionaries. Taking issue with the liberal Westerners, who believed in the elimination of autocracy and serfdom by peaceful means and by gradual reforms, Belinsky wrote to one of his correspondents:

'But it is absurd to believe that this can come about of itself, by the passage of time, without violent upheavals and without bloodshed... Indeed, what is the blood of thousands in comparison with the humiliation and suffering of millions?'

In the second half of the 1840s, with the development of the peasant movement in Russia and the political storms in western Europe, the revolutionary mood of the followers of Belinsky and Herzen was strengthened. In St Petersburg, Moscow, Rostov, Kazan, Voronezh and other towns, circles were formed by students and by intellectuals in the public service—teachers, minor civil servants and officers. The best known of these was that of M. V. Butashevich-Petrashevsky in St Petersburg, the members of which strongly criticized autocracy and serfdom and discussed its overthrow by means of a popular uprising. The more resolute members drew up revolutionary proclamations and tried to publish them illegally, and drafted a plan for the creation of a secret revolutionary society. The revolutionary activity of the *'petrashevtsy'* came to an end in the spring of 1849 when they were arrested.

The origins of progressive social thinking in Russia in the 1830s and 1840s go back to the first period of the Russian revolutionary movement, the period of the progressive representatives of the educated section of the nobility, but with the passage of two decades the movement had acquired new features which distinguished it from that of the Decembrists. In the first place, there had been a considerable evolution in the social composition of the revolutionary movement. Representatives of the *raznochintsy* and of the landless aristocracy employed in the public service who, in their social situation, were also close to the *raznochintsy*, began to play a more active part in the struggle alongside the progressive section of the nobility. Secondly, the revolutionaries of the 1830s and 1840s, as distinct from the Decembrists, realized that it was impossible to overthrow the autocracy without the active support of the masses. Finally, towards the middle of the century Russian revolutionary thinking had made notable progress in working out the fundamentals of a revolutionary-democratic ideology.

The age of the fall of serfdom (the 1850s and 1860s) saw a fresh upsurge in the revolutionary movement. At that time, only the revolutionary democrats truly represented the interests of the peasantry. From exile abroad, Herzen

championed the cause of emancipation. In 1853 he opened the first 'free Russian printing-press' in London, thus laying the foundations of an uncensored Russian democratic press. In his very first printed broadsheets Herzen passionately advocated the repeal of serfdom in Russia. From 1856 to 1860 he published two books a year of 'Voices from Russia', which carried articles and documents on the emancipation of the serfs. In the summer of 1857 he began to publish the magazine *Kolokol* (The Bell), which normally appeared once a fortnight and ran for ten years. With its lively reaction to matters of topical interest in Russia, *Kolokol* was very popular there. It was smuggled into the country and reached a wide audience.

Chernyshevsky, Dobrolyubov and their circle fought consistently for the complete emancipation of the peasants. Nikolai Gavrilovich Chernyshevsky (1828–89) was born in Saratov, the son of a priest. From his childhood he witnessed the completely unprivileged situation of the serfs. Following in the revolutionary footsteps of Belinsky, Chernyshevsky decided while still a student to devote his life to the service of the people and to dedicate his strength and knowledge to the revolutionary struggle against Tsarism.

In the second half of the 1850s Chernyshevsky had already become a well-known writer and a leading member of the editorial board of the most progressive magazine of that time, *Sovremennik* (The Contemporary). Together with his friend, the talented critic Nikolai Alekandrovich Dobrolyubov (1836–61), Chernyshevsky was able to train genuine revolutionaries by means of his works and in spite of the incredibly difficult condition of the Tsarist censorship. When the law on the repeal of serfdom was being prepared, *Sovremennik* stood up firmly for the interests of the peasants. In many articles, reviews and features, Chernyshevsky and his fellow thinkers fought for the complete emancipation of the serfs. They kept readers informed of the progress being made on the preparation for the repeal of serf law, showed up the plight of the serfs, exposed the avarice of the serf-owners and the hypocrisy of the liberals. Chernyshevsky's articles in the censored press led the reader to the conclusion that the Tsarist Government and the landowning aristocracy would never give the peasants genuine freedom.

Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov were convinced that the peasants could only obtain true freedom by the revolutionary overthrow of the serf-owning system. They had come to the conclusion that the time was ripe to 'call Russia to the axe' and to set up a revolutionary organization. In his revolutionary proclamation 'To the nobelmen's peasants', Chernyshevsky explained that the conditions imposed by the Tsarist Government for the repeal of serfdom were extremely harsh for the peasants. He showed that the Tsar was working hand in glove with the landowners and, in a language accessible to the ordinary people, he described a democratic system in constitutional countries where government was in the hands of elected 'elders of the people'. At the end of his proclamation, he gave practical indications of how 'we Russians can become truly free people'. The main task, he wrote, was to organize all the

forces for a single-hearted struggle by the whole peasantry for freedom. He urged the peasants on noblemen's estates to get together with those on the State and Crown estates. Pointing out that the mass of soldiers were deprived of all rights, Chernyshevsky urged the peasants to associate the soldiers with their joint struggle for freedom. He drew particular attention to the need for preparation of a general revolutionary uprising and gave a warning against premature, unco-ordinated action.

Chernyshevsky was a great scholar as well as a talented and influential journalist. His view of the world was based on a conviction of the unity of the world and of the boundless possibility of cognition. In his views on the study of the natural world, he was a consistent materialist and a firm opponent of idealist theories. Because of the objective conditions of Russian historical development, Chernyshevsky was unable entirely to overcome idealistic conceptions in his analysis of social phenomena, although his views on this subject did develop in the direction of historical materialism. In his writings he pointed out the existence of historical laws which did not depend on the will of individuals, he emphasized the irreconcilable nature of class conflicts in social relationships and he consistently defended the interests of the working masses. Chernyshevsky believed that a peasant revolution in Russia would open the way to a socialist transformation of the country and would allow it to bypass the capitalist phase of social development. This Utopian dream was the form which revolutionary democratic ideology took at that period and it expressed the desire of the working masses for freedom.

Chernyshevsky came closer than the other Russian thinkers of the period to scientific socialism. His teachings inspired hundreds of people to an heroic struggle against autocracy and serfdom.

The struggle waged by the ideologists of Russian revolutionary democracy for the liberation of the peasant by revolutionary means earned the sympathy and support of the leading figures of the time, particularly among the *raznochintsy*.

The end of the 1850s was the beginning of the second period in the development of the Russian revolutionary movement, the *raznochintsy* period. A new force now entered the movement, a force free from the class limitations of the aristocratic revolutionaries, one which finally determined the victory within the movement of the revolutionary-democratic ideology. In the words of one of their contemporaries, 'the *raznochintsy* were a part of the people, rising upwards but with their roots still in the people'.

The progressives of the time, headed by N. G. Chernyshevsky, intensified their revolutionary activity. The illegal publication of a series of revolutionary proclamations, addressed to various strata of the population, was planned. In the middle months of 1861 the distribution of three issues of a printed pamphlet entitled *Velikoruss* (The Great Russian) began. These proclamations, issued by a group of revolutionaries, demanded the complete liberation of the peasants from the land and the inauguration of a democratic system in Russia.

In September of the same year a proclamation by Shelgunov and Mikhailov 'To the younger generation', printed on Herzen's press in London, appeared in Russia. It called on the young people to organize revolutionary circles and put forward a broad programme of action for the overthrow of the autocracy and the establishment of a democratic order. In the first half of 1862 the organizer of the students' revolutionary movement in Moscow, Zaichnevsky, drew up the proclamation 'Young Russia', urging the creation of a 'Russian Social and Democratic Republic'. Zaichnevsky was in favour of firm revolutionary action, the overthrow of the autocratic order and the establishment of a revolutionary dictatorship.

At the end of 1861 a secret society 'Zemlya i volya' (Land and Liberty), was set up as a centre to direct the activities of the revolutionary organizations. The driving force behind this society was the generally acknowledged leader of the revolutionary-democratic camp, Chernyshevsky. The society had links with Herzen and Ogarëv and among its leaders were some whose thinking was very close to that of Chernyshevsky—the brothers Nikolai and Aleksandr Serno-Solovyevich, Obruchev, Sleptsov and others. Branches of the society existed in Moscow, Kazan, Saratov and other towns.

In the summer of 1862 the government struck a blow at the revolutionary-democratic camp. On 7 July the Tsarist authorities arrested Chernyshevsky and incarnated him in the fortress of St Peter and St Paul. Nikolai Serno-Solovyevich and a number of other revolutionaries were arrested at the same time on a charge of having connections with the 'London propagandists'. Chernyshevsky was kept in prison for a year and a half whilst the police sought grounds for a formal charge against him. On false evidence and forged documents, Chernyshevsky was condemned to fourteen years' penal servitude to be followed by exile in Siberia. The Tsarist Government kept the leader of the Russian revolutionary-democrats doing penal servitude in Siberia and in exile in distant Vilyuisk for about twenty years. It was only in 1883 that he was allowed to return to European Russia and settle in Astrakhan. In 1889 he was allowed to move to Saratov, where he soon afterwards died. To the end of his days, Chernyshevsky remained a steadfast revolutionary.

The repressive measures by the government were incapable of impeding the further development of the revolutionary struggle in Russia. In the late 1860s an unregistered student of Moscow University, N. A. Ishutin, set up a revolutionary circle in Moscow. Its members believed in Utopian *obshchiny* and 'co-operative-artel socialism', of which their ideas were vague and woolly. In their desire for a wave of revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of Tsarism, they mistakenly believed that an act of regicide would spark off a massive peasant movement and thus speed up the revolutionary transformation of Russia. One of the members of the circle, the student D. V. Karakozov, took it upon himself to carry out this act of individual terrorism. He travelled to St Petersburg, and on 4 April 1866 shot at Alexander II on the embankment near the Summer Garden, missed, was arrested and hanged. Following this

assassination attempt, Ishutin's circle was smashed and the case was urged as a pretext by Tsarism for further repressions against the progressive press and the students.

In the early 1870s a specific name, 'populism' was given to the Russian revolutionary movement.

The new generation of revolutionaries who entered the social arena at this time were linked with their predecessors of the 1850s and 1860s by a community of democratic outlook and by their conviction of the possibility for Russia to bypass the capitalist line of development, by their faith in the feasibility of a transition to socialism by way of the village *obshchina*; like their predecessors they regarded the peasantry as the main force capable of staging a socialist revolution. There were, however, considerable differences between the revolutionary democrats of the 1860s and their successors of the 1870s. The influential ideologists of populism, P. L. Lavrov, N. K. Mikhailovsky and others, deviated from the consistent materialism of Chernyshevsky towards idealist philosophy and subjectivist sociology with its typical underestimation of the decisive historical role of the masses and its exaggerated conception of the social mission of the intelligentsia. The majority of the revolutionaries of the 1870s, unlike the nucleus of those of the 1860s, for a long time took an anarchist or semi-anarchist attitude; they denied the need for a political struggle, proceeding from the mistaken assumption that a peasant revolution would at one swoop put an end to the monarchial system and to the social and economic order based on exploitation of the masses. The views of Mikhail Bakunin, one of the founders of anarchism, were at this time widespread among revolutionary youth.

Populism split up into several streams of thought, which disagreed mainly on tactics. The followers of Bakunin thought that the people were ready for revolution and that the task of the revolutionary intelligentsia was to stir up the peasants to armed rebellion and unite the unco-ordinated disturbances into a nationwide rising. The supporters of another leading populist, Pëtr Lavrov, a professor of St Petersburg Artillery Academy who joined the liberation movement in the 1860s and later escaped from exile to take refuge abroad, believed that the revolution required a great amount of preparatory work, mainly in the form of propaganda, and looked askance at the rebellion-raising activities of the others. There was also a third school of thought, whose ideas were close to those of Blanqui. Its founder, the well-known democratic journalist Pëtr Tkachev, believed in conspiratorial tactics and in the need to seize power by means of a small revolutionary minority.

Populism as a whole, with all its nuances and differences, did in its way represent the interests of the peasant masses.

The revolutionary movement in the 1870s had close links with the western European socialist movement. The publication in St Petersburg in 1872 of the first volume of the first foreign translation of Marx's *Das Kapital* was a major event. Some years later the populists wrote to Marx that *Das Kapital* had

become the 'bible' of the educated Russian. The populists were, however, incapable of appreciating the full significance of the work, much less of constructing thereon a correct theory. The idea of the class nature of the proletariat and its historic mission was quite alien to them, and they understood the term 'workers' to embrace all working people, primarily the peasants.

The first signs of a gathering revolutionary storm became evident as early as the late 1860s. Student demonstrations became more and more frequent, the democratic press became more active. Among the many circles of young people which came into being in this period the most important were a few revolutionary groups operating in St Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, Odessa and certain other towns. The members of these groups were relatively few in number but included the flower of the young revolutionary intellectuals of the time; it was here that many of the leaders of the populist movement began their careers. The St Petersburg circle and others closely connected with it at first confined their activity to organizational and propaganda work among the intelligentsia, distributing radical-democratic and socialist literature. Later they began to carry out propaganda work among the urban working class, whom the populists regarded as intermediaries between the revolutionary intelligentsia and the rural masses.

Inspired by the initial successes of their revolutionary propaganda and the growth in their numbers, the populist circles and groups wanted to get down as soon as possible to the main task in hand, the preparations for a peasant revolution. Thus began the movement known as 'going to the people', a movement which reached its climax in the spring and summer of 1874. The mood of the participants has been well described by the democratic writer V. G. Korolenko:

'If the general presupposition [i.e. the belief in the approach of a socialist revolution—ed.] is correct, then the conclusion is quite clear; one must "renounce the old world", renounce "those who bathe and joyfully warm their hands in blood".'

Thousands of people, mainly in the central provinces of Great Russia and the Ukraine, were involved in the movement, but it lacked general organization. The separate groups and individuals usually acted on their own initiative and almost without any conspiratorial experience. The populists were convinced that their appeals would sting the peasant masses into immediate action. A common form of agitation was for the revolutionaries, wearing peasant clothes, to go from place to place spreading their ideas and slogans.

The efforts of the populists were unsuccessful. In the first place, they soon began to realize how illusory were their ideas of rural life and the 'socialist instincts of the *muzhik*'. Secondly, the government took rapid steps to break up the movement; a wave of investigations and arrests swept the country and hundreds of young men and women were imprisoned.

The failure of this movement left the revolutionary intellectuals faced with

the question of what the future form of the struggle should be. At secret meetings in 1875–6 it was suggested that the movement's programme should be limited to demands which, in the opinion of the revolutionaries, had already been acknowledged by the people. Land and liberty, i.e. the transfer of all land to the peasants and the emancipation of the peasant *obshchina* from all control from above, its complete self-management, now became the main slogan. The populists decided to give up their 'wandering' type of agitation and set up long-term settlements in the countryside. It was also decided that serious organization of the revolutionary forces and firm revolutionary discipline were necessary. All these ideas were at the back of the energetic activity of the secret populist society set up in 1876 and later given the title of 'Zemlya i volya' (Land and Liberty, which was also the title of its underground newspaper). The leaders of this society included a student of the Mining Institute, Georgy Plekhanov, who was actively engaged in propaganda work among the workers, the brilliant organizer and conspirator Aleksandr Mikhailov and one of the veterans of the populist movement, Mark Natanson, and others. The society answered repression with acts of terrorism. At first, such acts were regarded merely as a weapon of self-defence and as a means of revenging dead comrades, but gradually, as disappointment with the results of propaganda activity grew, they came to be regarded as an end in themselves.

Although the *raznochintsy* revolutionaries remained, in the 1870s as in the 1860s, the main figures in the revolutionary movement, working-class participation became a marked feature of the later period. No separate proletarian stream appeared, however, in the general movement of populism.

By the spring of 1879 profound differences of view had become evident among the members of 'Land and Liberty', and in August of that year there was a split in the society. Two organizations arose in its place: 'The People's Will' (Narodnaya Volya) and the 'Black Partition' (Chërny Peredel). The latter organization included the supporters of the earlier anarchist and Bakuninite views, who did not believe that the revolutionary movement should have its own political aims and thought that its main task should be work by the intellectuals among the people. The influence of this group was not so great as that of 'The People's Will', its practical activities made less impact and its leaders (Plekhanov and others) soon began to move away from their initial point of view towards Marxism.

The majority of the revolutionaries rallied to the standard of 'The People's Will'. It was a militant, centralized organization, headed by an executive committee which skilfully managed to keep its secrecy. It included a number of former activists of 'Land and Liberty' (Aleksandr Mikhailov, Nikolai Morozov, Alexander Kvyatkosvky, Sofya Perovskaya, Vera Figner and others) and a few representatives of the revolutionary underground in the south. Prominent among the latter was Andrei Zhelyabov, the son of a serf, an outstanding organizer and agitator, an ardent proponent of the idea of political

struggle and a man of exceptional courage, who enjoyed immense prestige among the revolutionaries.

Members of the organization carried out propaganda among students, workers and army officers. The activities of the organization, however, soon began to swing towards individual terrorism, which was now regarded as a means of preparing for a political coup or, at the very least, as a means of forcing the government to capitulate and accept the demands of the revolutionaries: the convening of a Constituent Assembly elected by universal suffrage, civil liberties (of speech, of the press, etc.). By setting up a revolutionary organization which had as its aim the overthrow of the autocracy, the members of 'The People's Will' had made a big step forward which was subsequently regarded with approval by the Russian Marxists. In practice however their political activity was confined to conspiracy, which, although it relied on the sympathy and support of the people, was not based directly on the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses. Their conspiratorial and terrorist tactics were a reflection of the weaknesses of the organization, not an inevitable consequence of the mass movement which was already developing.

The revolutionary situation in Russia reached a climax in 1880 and the beginning of 1881. The ferment in the countryside was increased by poor harvests and famine. Strikes, student disturbances and a general strengthening of the mood of opposition formed the background to the single combat in which the populist revolutionaries and the autocracy were about to engage.

On 1 March 1881, after a number of unsuccessful attempts, the death sentence which The People's Will had passed on to Alexander II was carried out. The Tsar was killed by a bomb thrown by Ignaty Grinevitsky, who was also killed.

The assassination of Alexander II caused a great stir both at home and abroad but failed to live up to the expectations of the terrorists. There was still no real force in Russia capable of getting rid not merely of the absolute monarch himself but of the whole system. The People's Will was a spent force after the act of 1 March. Tsarism turned the whole force of its military and police machine against the revolutionaries. A month later, the leaders Zhelyabov and Perovskaya and those directly involved in the assassination, the worker T. M. Mikhailov and the student N. I. Rysakov had been executed. Their fate was shared by the talented scientist N. I. Kibalchich who had set up a secret laboratory to manufacture grenades (in prison before his execution he was working on a plan for a jet-propelled flying machine). Much weakened, The People's Will tried to carry on with its activities, but Tsarism struck blow after blow and at the beginning of 1883 the old executive committee had been completely wiped out.

In the 1880s the old revolutionary populism began to be replaced by a liberal populism which presented a reformist programme to 'patch up' and 'improve' the situation of the peasantry whilst leaving society fundamentally unchanged.

The active struggle against the autocracy and the legacy of serfdom did not cease in the 1880s, however. Hundreds of peasant disturbances took place between 1881 and 1890. There were numerous student disturbances. In spite of the heavy censorship, the democratic press and literature continued to play a prominent part. The Russian satirist of genius Saltykov-Shchedrin continued until the end of his life with his sharp and indignant criticisms of reaction, of the self-interest of the emergent bourgeoisie and the cowardice of the liberals who 'reconciled themselves with vileness'. The works of G. I. Uspensky, in which the author showed the truth about life in the countryside in the period following the reforms, had a considerable influence on the public at large and helped in no small measure to dispel the illusions of the populists.

The 1880s saw the growth of the workers' movement, the spread of Marxism and the birth of Russian social democracy.

The workers' movement had a profound influence on the revolutionary intelligentsia. The defeat inflicted on democratic forces at the beginning of the 1880s compelled them to scrutinize particularly carefully the reasons for their failures and to seek a way out of their difficulties. From the study of the works of Marx and Engels and from acquaintance with what was happening in the western European workers' movement, they were able to realize that the only correct line of action was to take the teachings of Marx and apply them to an assessment of Russian social relationships and to the tasks of the revolutionary movement in Russia. In 1886–7 another illegal organization was set up under the leadership of Aleksandr Ulyanov, the elder brother of V. I. Lenin, to prepare an attempt on the life of Alexander III. This organization could no longer entirely follow the traditional populist views, and it endeavoured to combine populism with elements of Marxism.

The 'Liberation of Labour' (Osvobozhdenie truda) group, which had been set up in the autumn of 1883 in Switzerland by G. V. Plekhanv, had already taken the decisive step from populism to Marxism. Other members of the group included P. B. Axelrod, Vera Zasulich, L. G. Deich and V. N. Ignatov. The group did a great deal of work on the translation, publication and distribution of works by the founders of scientific socialism. It was the first group in Russia to criticize populism from a Marxist point of view.

It was not only among the *émigrés* but in Russia itself that there was a transition from populism to Marxism, accompanied by the setting up of social-democratic groups and circles. Marxist circles began to appear in Moscow, in the Ukraine and Byelorussia. The gifted revolutionary N. E. Fedoseev set up a number of circles in the Volga region. The first Marxist circles appeared in Latvia, Estonia and Georgia in the early 1890s.

The 1890s mark a turning-point in the history of the Russian liberation movement, which now entered a new period, the period of the proletarian movement. The entire character of the struggle changed when scientific socialism joined forces with a mass movement of the proletariat. This

immensely important historic step was taken under the direct leadership of V. I. Lenin.

Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov-Lenin was born on 22 April (10 April Old Style) 1870 in Simbirsk (now Ulyanovsk), the son of the director of schools of the province. The moulding of his outlook and character was strongly influenced by revolutionary democratic literature, in particular, the works of Chernyshevsky, by the traditions of the 'men of the 1860s' which were kept alive in his family and by his dealings with his elder brother, who was a revolutionary. The execution of his brother in 1887 strongly influenced the young Lenin's decision to become a professional revolutionary and made him think very hard about the right course for the revolutionary struggle to take.

From the very beginning Lenin's revolutionary activity was characterized by a theoretical [sic] approach to Marxist theory and an outstanding ability to make use of it as a practical guide.

From the beginning of 1894 Lenin was in constant and close contact with the leaders of the St Petersburg proletariat. With the unselfish help of men like the workers Shelgunov and Babushkin, he carried out systematic propaganda among groups of workers. During 1894–5, on Lenin's initiative, the group of which he was the leader went over to mass agitation work. The social democrats mixed with the workers, carefully studied the situation at industrial enterprises and issued illicit appeals to the workers. When the group became firmly established in this new form of activity, a single, centralized social democrat organization was formed, which at the end of 1895 took the name of the 'League of Struggle for the Emancipation of the Working Class'. Several years later, Lenin wrote that the League was a revolutionary party in embryo, 'which, with the support of the workers' movement, leads the class struggle of the proletariat against capital and against the absolute government ...'

Under the influence of the League and on its example, social democrat organizations were set up in Moscow, Ivanovo-Voznesensk, Tula, Rostov-on-Don, in the industrial centres of the Ukraine and Trans-Caucasus, and in other towns. The social democrats took an increasingly active part in the mass strike movement, giving it a more organized, conscious character.

The first congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Workers' Party, held in Minsk from 13 to 15 March (1 to 3 March Old Style) 1898, was a major event in the workers' movement. It was attended by representatives of the League, the social-democrat organizations of St Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, Ekaterinoslav and the western territory. The very fact that the party and its revolutionary aims were proclaimed was itself of great significance. In practical terms, however, the congress did not create a party. The social-democrat organizations were left without an overall programme or statutes, without unified leadership (the central committee elected by the Congress was immediately dispersed by the police) and without tangible liaison with each other.

But even during these difficult years, the onward march of the workers' revolutionary movement never halted. More and more sections of the workers

joined in the strike movement and it spread to the whole of Russia. Influenced by this, a fresh outbreak of student disturbances took place, involving tens of thousands of students in St Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, Odessa, Riga, Kazan and other towns. The peasants stepped up their struggle against the aristocratic landowners and began to burn down their farms. These events foreshadowed the mighty liberation movement which was to develop at the beginning of the twentieth century.

3. RUSSIAN CULTURE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Literature

Hard indeed were the conditions under which Russian literature developed. Serfdom left its mark in every sphere of life. Political oppression reigned. Some of the greatest writers suffered persecution and many of them died in tragic circumstances. Ryleev was hanged. Odoevsky was sent to penal servitude and Bestuzhev was exiled to Siberia. Pushkin spent his youth in exile and was later hounded by a court cabal and killed at the height of his powers. Lermontov was exiled to the Caucasus and died there in a duel. Polezhaev was forced to join the army. In spite of this, the nineteenth century saw a brilliant flowering of Russian literature, which became one of the greatest in the world in this period.

Serfdom was a cause of deep discontent among the masses. A mighty democratic revolution was maturing in Russia throughout the century. It was this democratic upsurge which produced the best works of Russian literature and art. Literature played an immense part in developing progressive ideas and it was through literature that progressive thinking could most strongly and energetically express itself. 'For a people deprived of social freedom, literature is the one rostrum from which it can make the cry of its indignation and the call of its conscience heard', wrote Herzen.

A fierce ideological struggle raged around Russian literature. Progressive writers and artists, inspired by the love of freedom, waged a running battle with writers of reactionary, monarchial views who defended the existing system, and later with bourgeois liberal writers who demanded only slight reforms.

Russian artists were not cut off from what was happening abroad. They responded to events in the social life of western Europe and followed the progressive movements in art and literature. The growth of Russian culture was so extraordinarily intense and rapid that schools of literature and art which had developed in western Europe over a period of several centuries existed side by side in Russia. Classicism, which found its supreme expression in various forms of Russian art, developed alongside romanticism; at the same time realism, which was to become the mainstream of literature in the nineteenth century, was already taking shape in the 1820s in Russia. The Fatherland War of 1812 and the surge of patriotic feeling which followed it gave a

powerful impetus to the development of a Russian national culture. The most highly educated class of the population at that time was the nobility. Most writers and artists were either themselves noblemen or were connected in some way or other with the culture of the nobility.

Nikolai Mikhailovich Karamzin (1766–1826), the historian and major prose writer of the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century, was no stranger to liberalism in his youth. His *Letters of a Russian Traveller* played an important part in acquainting the Russian reader with western European life and culture. His best known story *Poor Lisa* (1792) tells a moving story of the love between a nobleman and a peasant girl. The maxim 'even peasant girls have feelings' which occurs in this story, mild as it is, shows the humane aspect of the author's views.

Ivan Andreevich Krylov (1769–1844) began as a journalist and dramatist of enlightened radical views. His chief claim to fame, however, is his creation of the classical Russian fable. Krylov often took the subjects of his fables from other fabulists, primarily La Fontaine, but he always remained a deeply national poet, who mirrored in his fables the specific features of the Russian national character and mind. He attacks the privileges of the nobility and the tyranny of the strong, mocks the functionaries of the Tsarist state and judges the characters of his fables from the point of view of the people. He made the fable a thing of great beauty and simplicity.

There were many writers and poets among the Decembrists. In their writings the civic themes of classicism, the invocations of the heroic images of Cato and Brutus mingled with romantic motifs, and with an interest in the Russian past and the freedom-loving traditions of Novgorod and Pskov. The greatest poet amongst the Decembrists was Kondraty Fëdorovich Ryleev (1795–1826), the author of such poems of freedom as 'The Citizen' and 'To a Court Favourite', and of a series of patriotic 'Thoughts'.

Two of the greatest writers of this time, Griboedov and Pushkin, were associated intellectually with the Decembrists.

The position of Aleksandr Sergeevich Griboedov (1795–1829) in Russian literature rests upon one work. 'Griboedov did everything—he wrote "Woe from Wit",' said Pushkin, thus summing up the short life of his outstanding contemporary. Griboedov's play shows the struggle of a progressive character, Chatsky (whom Herzen referred to simply as a Decembrist) against the parasitic Moscow nobility, military numskulls and militant Philistines. The passionate speeches of Chatsky reflect the full force of the social indignation which had accumulated among young Russian progressives and their boundless hatred for serfdom.

Aleksandr Sergeevich Pushkin (1799–1837) is the great genius of the Russian people and the creator of poetical works of unsurpassed beauty and perfection. As an artist he developed with extraordinary speed, unerringly assimilating all that was most valuable and important in Russian and world culture. Brought up on the literature of the enlightenment, he underwent at the time of

his early writings the influence of romantic poetry and, enriched by this experience, he became one of the first writers of the nineteenth century to rise to the heights of realism.

Pushkin's early lyric poetry is witty and imbued with an Epicurean attitude to life which he inherited from the poetry of the eighteenth century. Around 1820 new motifs appeared in Pushkin's poetry, the praise of liberty and the ridicule of Tsars. It was on account of his brilliant political lyrics that he was banished to Bessarabia. During this period, Pushkin wrote his poems 'The Caucasian Prisoner' (1820–1), 'The Bandit Brothers' (1821–2), 'The Fountain of Bakhchisarai' (1821–3), 'The Gypsies' (1824–5)—works resplendent with the brilliant colours of romanticism. The realist strain, a particular feature of Pushkin's talent, begins to show in these southern poems.

After the defeat of the Decembrist uprising, Pushkin began to scrutinize the life of his times, to study the life of the people in the past and the present and to strive for historical objectivity, for unshakable realistic truth. The result was the historical tragedy *Boris Godunov* (1824–5), devoted to the 'Time of the Troubles' at the beginning of the seventeenth century. This play's astonishing re-creation of the historical past of Russia, its strict and lucid form, give it a high place in Russian and world literature.

In 1823, Pushkin began work on his greatest creation, the novel in verse *Evgeny Onegin* (1823–31). *Onegin* gives a broad picture of the life of Russian society, whilst the novel's lyrical digressions give a many-sided picture of the personality of the poet himself, sometimes pensive, sometimes sad, sometimes caustic or laughing. In *Evgeny Onegin* Pushkin carries on, in a realistic vein, what he had begun in the romantic poems of an earlier period: holding up a mirror to his contemporaries, the young men of the aristocratic period in the Russian social movement of the nineteenth century. Pushkin was particularly interested in the problem of the peasant movement. He dealt with this topic in the novel *Dubrovsky* (1830–33) but did not carry it to its conclusion. After carefully studying all the material which he could obtain on Pugachëv and collecting information in the area where the rising took place, Pushkin wrote his *History of Pugachëv*, the first piece of historical research into the peasant war of the eighteenth century. In 1836 he wrote *The Captain's Daughter*, a historical tale of the time of the Pugachëv rebellion, distinguished by the classical simplicity of the narrative and the depth of the psychological characterization. In *The Captain's Daughter* Pushkin demonstrated both the disorganized character of the peasant movement and its poetry, the inevitability of its fate.

Pushkin's beautiful lyric poetry is no less profound than the lyric poetry of the romantics in its expression of human emotions, but with Pushkin the heart and soul combine harmoniously with the powerful force of his intellect. His works are full of humane feeling. By virtue of the depth of their feeling and the classical harmony of their form, they are among the greatest works of world poetry.

Pushkin was the central figure in Russian literature in the first few decades of the nineteenth century. Belinsky simply refers to this period as the 'Pushkin period'. Pushkin's name is connected not only with the fine flowering of Russian poetry but also with the creation of a Russian literary language. Pushkin demonstrated the spiritual beauty and strength of the Russian character, the charm of Nature in Russia and of popular poetry—fairy tales, songs and legends. His importance in Russian literature is immeasurable. 'Everything we have began with him', said Gorky.

A new type of realism began to emerge at the end of the 1830s. Belinsky regarded the basic feature of this as being an intensification of the critical attitude, of the denunciatory tendency. The work of Puskhin's greatest poetic successor, Mikhail Yuryevich Lermontov (1814–41), is marked by his forceful rejection of contemporary society. The period when Lermontov began to write was one when 'the times were out of joint', when the Decembrist movement had already been crushed and a new generation of Russian revolutionaries was yet to arise. This explains the themes of solitude and bitter disillusionment in his poetry.

Hatred of the 'society rabble' and for the gendarmes of Russia under Nicholas I is a theme recurring throughout Lermontov's poetry. The motifs of rebellion, bold challenge and impatience for the coming storm echo through his lyric poetry. His longer poems ('Mtsyri', 1840, 'Song of the Merchant Kalashnikov', 1838) contain frequent images of rebels, seeking liberty and rebelling against social injustice. Lermontov is a poet of action and it is for its inaction that he castigates his own generation, a generation reared in an age of reaction and incapable of struggle and creative work.

The central characters of Lermontov's most important works are proud figures, seeking strong sensations in struggle; such are Arbenin in the play *Masquerade* (1835–6), the Demon in the poem of that name (1829–41) and Pechorin in *A Hero of our Time* (1840). Disillusioned with the pettiness of life around him, the poet was for a time drawn by these demonic characters, but in his later works he spurns the romantic poetry of proud solitude and clearly demonstrates his sympathy for people who, though simple, are capable of true self-denial and heroism, that sympathy which was one of the basic sentiments of Russian literature in the nineteenth century.

Nikolai Vasilyevich Gogol (1809–52) completed the extremely important swing of nineteenth-century Russian literature towards prose genres, the short story and the novel. His first work of any consequence, *Evenings on a Farm Near Dikanka* (1831–2), introduces the reader to a world of folk tales. The fantasy of this book and its carefree jollity have little in common with the later work of Gogol the realist. His second book *Mirgorod* (1835), although it is a continuation of the first, is more mature. The four short stories comprising *Mirgorod* contrast with each other. In *Taras Bulba* Gogol portrays the dash and daring of the Cossacks. In the story *How Ivan Ivanovich Quarrelled with Ivan Nikiforovich*, the trivial incidents of the narrative give an impression of

the boredom, vulgarity and petty personal interests which dominated the life of his contemporaries. The wild imagination of *Viya* contrasts with the idyllic *Old-world Landowners*.

Gogol's *Tales of St Petersburg*, with their descriptions of the social contrasts of the great city, occupy a special place in his work. One of these stories, *The Overcoat* (1842), had a particular influence on later writers. With this sympathetic story of a downtrodden minor civil servant, Gogol opened the way for a whole succession of democratic writers from Turgenev, Grigorovich and the early Dostoevsky to Chekhov. 'We all came from under Gogol's *Overcoat*'— Dostoevsky's words are a truthful acknowledgement of the importance of Gogol's story.

In his comedy *The Government Inspector* (1836), Gogol carries on the traditions of Fonvizin and Griboedov. He remorselessly exposes government officials and their despotic ways. He abandoned the traditional love intrigue and based his play on the depicting of social relationships. His satire is aimed not against individual 'abuses' but against the very foundations of the social system which gives rise to characters like Khlestakov and the Mayor.

Gogol's greatest creation is *Dead Souls* (1842–52). The very title of the book has not only a direct but also a general symbolic sense. Gogol portrays a whole gallery of grotesques from the Russia of the landowners, each embodying a different form of parasitism. He called the work a poem, and this was only partly meant ironically. It has a peculiar poetry of its own, arising from a consciousness of the enormous power of the people and from a premonition of the great future awaiting it. All this is expressed in lyrical digressions, which form a considerable element in Gogol's style of story-telling. His humour is intermingled with serious, even tragic reflections. Gogol was afraid that his criticism of Russian society had gone too far. He wanted to write a second volume of *Dead Souls*, showing the moral rebirth of his heroes. The inherent dishonesty of such a task made the writer destroy much of what he had written.

In serf-owning Russia of the nineteenth century, literature was the forum in which all social questions were keenly and forcefully debated. For this reason, the democratic social thinkers of the time were mostly literary critics by profession. The activities of Belinsky and his followers Dobrolyubov and Chernyshevsky have a direct analogy in the activities of such Western writers as Lessing or Diderot: all of them raised basic social questions in the form of aesthetic questions, but the century which separated them from their Western counterparts meant that the Russian thinkers were immeasurably more mature in their ideas and shrewder in their approach to social questions.

The development of Belinsky's literary views was a complex process, but in spite of all the twists and turns in his beliefs, he kept throughout his development certain guiding principles which determined his interpretation of literature. The first and foremost of these was his idea of *narodnost*, the association of art with the people; this idea, which among the romantics had merely been

an abstraction, with Belinsky becomes something much more specific and closely connected with realism—a truthful, objective reflection of life. He was an outstanding combination of literary theroist, historian and critic. In his articles 'The Classification of Poetry into Genera and Species', 'The Idea of Art', 'The General Significance of the Word Literature' and others, he developed the basis of scientific aesthetics—the principle relating form and content, the theory of genres as specific forms for representing reality, etc. In his eleven articles on Pushkin and his numerous reviews of Russian literature, Belinsky gave a lucid short history of Russian literature from the eighteenth century onwards. A great admirer of Pushkin, Belinsky strongly supported the new tendency in literature, more critical in its attitude to society. This tendency was, in his view, represented by Lermontov and Gogol. He regarded the latter as having inaugurated a new phase in the development of Russian literature, the 'natural school'.

The end of the aristocratic period in the emancipation movement and the beginning of the *raznochintsy*, bourgeois-democratic period were bound to have a serious effect on the development of literature. It became considerably more democratic and more involved with the urgent questions of social life. The laying down of a final demarcation line between the liberal and democratic trends in the Russian social movement was accompanied by a similar regrouping of forces in literature.

In the 1850s the magazine *Sovremennik* (The Contemporary) was a rallying point for the major democratic and liberally minded writers. By the end of the 1850s the moderate writers had already finally broken with the magazine and it became the mouthpiece of the revolutionary democrats. The magazine's ideological leader was Chernyshevsky. Other representatives of the democratic camp in literature were Herzen, Dobrolyubov, Nekrasov and Saltykov-Shchedrin. In the opposite camp were the writers who leaned towards liberal views, the most significant of whom were Turgenev and Goncharov; however, the evident need for bourgeois democratic reforms and the presence of a democratic fervour in the country at large meant that in a number of cases these latter artists too were able to maintain a depth and force of social criticism in their work. The revolutionary-democratic writers in Russia formed a more powerful, united and ideologically mature group than in any other European country.

Herzen was not only a thinker and revolutionary but a fine writer. Belinsky said that Herzen as a writer put the intellect first and the imagination second. His talent was not so much in creating plastic images as in explaining the social phenomena which he described and using them to set out his own ideas. In his novel *Who is to Blame ?* (1848), Herzen showed how serfdom twisted people's lives. The aristocratic intellectuals depicted in the novel realize the defects of the life around them but do not know how to attack them and have not the strength for the job. Herzen was searching for a free form in which to express his ideas and feelings. He found this form in his excellent memoirs

Past and Thoughts (1850s and 1860s). In these, the author not only tells his life story and paints a broad picture of the social struggle in Russia and in the West, he also expresses his deepest and most general ideas. He was a brilliant stylist, witty and ironical, and greatly influenced writing on social topics in Russia.

The chief representative of the revolutionary and democratic trend in the development of aesthetics and literature was Chernyshevsky. His aesthetic views are materialistic in character and relate to the philosophy of Feuerbach. Chernyshevsky's ideas however represent a considerable advance on the contemplative materialism of Feuerbach: he already realized the revolutionary role of the dialectic. His main work on aesthetics is the dissertation on 'The aesthetic relationship between art and reality' (1855), in which he takes issue with the idealist aesthetics of the post-Hegelian school, defends a materialistic point of view and demonstrates that life itself is beauty. The function of art is therefore both to depict life and to condemn its negative features. Chernyshevsky relates art to the struggle against reaction and sees as its main aim promoting the idea of a revolutionary transformation of society.

Chernyshevsky's novel *What is to be Done?* (1863) had a powerful impact. In it, the writer portrayed representatives of the progressive intelligentsia who appeared during the age of democratic upsurge in Russia. Characteristic of Chernyshevsky's work is his desire to relate people's desire for a rational social order to their personal interests and needs. This is expressed in the 'enlightened self-interest' which the hero of the novel preaches. Chernyshevsky uses the characters of his novel to set out his ideas of the socialist future, in which the influence of Fourier is apparent.

Chernyshevsky's pupil and comrade in arms Dobrolyubov based his critical work on the same revolutionary and democratic ideas as inspired Chernyshevsky's approach to aesthetics. In his outstanding articles 'What is Oblomovism?', 'The Kingdom of Darkness', 'A Ray of Light in the Kingdom of Darkness', etc., Dobrolyubov writes, in his own words, as a representative of 'real criticism'. What he looked for in literary works was the reflection of social conditions; in his criticism he examined social problems raised by the authors, writing not only about literature but about life, expanding the framework of the picture drawn by the author and thus helping the reader to grasp the work's social significance. Such outstanding Russian writers as Goncharov and Ostrovsky thought highly of Dobrolyubov's interpretations of their works.

Two great artists, Nekrasov and Saltykov-Shchedrin, were also associated with the revolutionary-democratic group headed by Chernyshevsky.

Nikolai Alekseyevich Nekrasov (1821–77), the editor of *Sovremennik* and *Otechestvennye zapiski* (Fatherland Notes), was a friend and supporter of Belinsky and Chernyshevsky. In the struggle between the revolutionary democrats and the liberal camp, Nekrasov was on the side of the democrats, though not always consistently so. He was a revolutionary-democratic poet of

great depth of ideas and artistic maturity. The civic strain in his poetry does not take the form of abstract proclamations but proceeds directly from a realistic reflection of life. In many of his works, such as 'Frost the Red-Nosed' (1863) and 'Who can be Happy in Russia?' (1863–77) he depicts the common people. He showed not only their suffering, but their great physical and moral qualities, their ideas and their tastes. He affirms the superiority of the peasant to his master and illustrates the selfishness and cruelty of the idle land-owner. His poems also depict those whom Nekrasov called 'The defenders of the people'—those who fought for the interests of the common people. His poems also give us a picture of the poet himself, an eminent citizen-poet, sensitive of the sufferings of the people, chivalrously devoted to their cause and ready 'to die for the honour of the homeland'.

Mikhail Evgrafovich Saltykov-Shchedrin (1826–89) is a satirist of world standing. His satire, with its conscious revolutionary-democratic tendency, is aimed against the social system of Tsarist Russia and exposes the ugliness of that system, reducing it to a grotesque caricature. Shchedrin is very free in his choice of forms and styles, writing satirical sketches and feuilletons, novels and dialogues, comedies and pamphlets. In his *The History of One Town* (1869–70), he gives a general satirical picture of Tsarism. In his novel *The Golovlev Family* (1875–80) he shows an aristocratic family in decline, and in Iudushka Golovlёv are embodied the vileness and rottenness of the serf-owning system. Shchedrin's artistic analysis is sharper and fuller in *Old Times in Poshekhonye* (1887–9) where he used the same material in a form similar to memoirs. In his *Tales* (1868–86), Shchedrin, employing the conventional fantastic form, showed the social types of Russian society—the peasants, the civil servants, the ruling classes, the generals—and the relations between them, with exceptional force and clarity.

Shchedrin was remorseless in his attitude towards all liberal attempts to clean up and patch up the old serf-owning system and to 'expose' its minor defects in order to preserve its essentials. A constant theme in his work is his ridicule of the long-winded liberals, easily lured away from their positions and crawling to the serf-owners. At the same time Shchedrin, though an incorruptible and steadfast defender of the people's interests, was not prone to the sentimental idealization of the muzhik; on the contrary, he writes with bitterness, anger and ruthless irony about the servility, backwardness and ignorance which played into the hands of the oppressors of the people.

Aleksandr Nikolaevich Ostrovsky (1823–86) is a unique figure in nineteenth-century literature. There is no Western dramatist before Ibsen who can be set alongside him. He found the raw material for his plays in the life of the mer-chant classes, with their ignorance and blind prejudice, their taste for domestic tyranny and their absurd fancies. These pictures from the life of the merchant class allowed Ostrovsky to show an important aspect of Russian life as a whole, the 'Kingdom of Darkness' of old Russia.

But Ostrovsky depicts other sides of life as well: In the play *The Storm*, he

had already created a female personage full of moral strength and honesty, incapable of accepting slavery and protesting against it. In his plays *The Last Victim*, *The Ward* and *Talents and Admirers*, Ostrovsky showed the tragic fate of women in the worlds of rich and poor, of masters and slaves. He depicts worthless nobles, compelled to give way to the businessmen of the new type, with pitiless contempt. The civilized bourgeois, sober, intelligent and ruthless, emerges victorious. Whilst showing his energy and efficiency, Ostrovsky contrasts him with the *raznochintsy* intellectuals who stood up for democratic ideals.

Ostrovsky is a dramatist of the people in the true and full sense of the word, by virtue of the direct link between his art and folklore—folk songs, sayings and proverbs, which he even used for the titles of his plays, of his truthful picture of the life of the people and of the plasticity of his imagery, expressed in an intelligible and democratic form and addressed to a popular audience.

Ivan Sergeevich Turgenev (1818–83) began writing in the 1840s, before the final split between the liberal and democratic tendencies in Russian social life. He was favourably influenced by the ideas of Belinsky. In his sketches written for the magazine *Sovremennik* under the general title 'A Sportsman's Notebook' (1847–52), he shows the inhuman oppression of the peasants under serfdom. In his novels *Rudin* (1856) and *A Nest of Gentlefolk* (1859), the author portrays progressive members of the aristocracy, deeply dissatisfied with the environment in which they live but unable to summon up the energy to break with that environment and fight against it. Like Pushkin, whose *Onegin* was the model for these novels, Turgenev contrasts his 'superfluous man' with a woman of strong character. Their subtlety and depth of psychological analysis, their perceptive descriptions of the Russian landscape, and the classical perfection of their style make these novels outstanding works in Russian and world literature.

Turgenev spent most of his later years abroad. He publicized Russian literature in the West and his own works were important in establishing its world-wide influence.

Fëdor Mikhailovich Dostoevsky (1821–81) was an artist of great talent and a writer of complexity and contradictions. His pictures of human suffering are unsurpassed in their power and expressiveness, but he rejects the revolutionary way to the transformation of society; for many years he fought bitterly against the ideas of the revolutionary-democratic camp.

Dostoevsky began as a representative of the 'natural school', following the traditions of Pushkin and Gogol. His first story *Poor Folk* (1846) was received enthusiastically by Belinsky. In it, Dostoevsky depicts with deep feeling the sufferings of the poor in a great city, defends the virtues of simple folk and demonstrates their superiority over the rich. Even in this work, however, one may see in embryo some of the ideas of Dostoevsky's later work. He does not believe in the ability of 'the little man' to protest and struggle or in the possibility of actively influencing the course of affairs.

Dostoevsky's major work, the novel *Crime and Punishment* (1866) shows a man filled with a sense of his own uniqueness, with contempt for the mass of humanity and the conviction of his own right to violate moral standards. Dostoevsky exposes the falsity of this individualist's ideas and shows the collapse of his ambitions. The novel gives a shatteringly powerful picture of the poverty and suffering of people under capitalism, the disintegration of personality and the break-up of the family, the humiliation and profanation of human virtue.

Dostoevsky embodied his positive ideal, his ideal of the virtuous man, in the novel *The Idiot* (1868). This book also shows the cruelty, selfishness and brutality of the ruling bourgeoisie and aristocracy and contrasts them with the virtues of the hero, an embodiment of humility and compassion with the features of a Don Quixote. Although helpless in the struggle against social evil, he nevertheless represents the only principle which Dostoevsky advances to combat the cruelty of contemporary life.

Dostoevsky's work received world-wide recognition. His reactionary ideas, his claim that human conduct is dominated by dark and selfish instincts which need to be suppressed with the help of religious resignation, were used by the ideologists of the ruling classes for reactionary propaganda; the art of Dostoevsky, the great realist and passionate denouncer of capitalism, is nevertheless of progressive significance.

Leo Nikolaevich Tolstoy (1828–1910) is one of the world's great writers. Tolstoy's family belonged to the higher aristocracy but he broke with his class to express the ideas and attitudes of the Russian peasantry, embodying in his work both its hatred for the régime and its ignorance of ways to fight against it, its political immaturity, its reliance on God and its naïve ideas about not resisting evil.

The main hero of the biographical trilogy *Childhood, Boyhood and Youth* (1852–57), Nikolenka Irtenyev, is one of those sensitive people who are keenly aware of the social injustice and false values of the life around them. The image of such men, painfully striving after truth and to understand the world, recurs throughout Tolstoy's work. The novel *War and Peace* (1863–69) is a sweeping epic of the Russian people's war against Napoleon, one of the greatest works not only of Russian literature but of world literature. In it, Tolstoy portrays the whole of Russian society. In his depiction of the titled aristocracy, he shows its selfishness and ambition, its hypocrisy and idleness, its taste for worthless pursuits. Against this, he contrasts those representatives of the nobility who feel some connection with the life of the people or try to understand the complex contradictions of the world around them and to find a place for themselves at a time of national disaster. The novel also shows the ordinary people of Russia, courageously and humbly achieving great feats. These people are far removed from the falsity of life among the ruling classes. Tolstoy sees the greatness of General Kutuzov in his aloofness from the narrow interests of the ruling classes and his close links with the people.

Russia won the war in 1812 because it was a patriotic war, a war of the whole people.

Tolstoy however also expresses the reactionary side of his views in *War and Peace*. In support of his idea that military operations cannot be actively and consciously controlled, he attributes to Kutuzov a fatalistic passiveness and unwillingness to interfere with the natural course of events. Again in support of this false idea, Tolstoy links his picture of Kutuzov with that of the peasant Platon Karataev, who represents humility and Christian resignation before fate. As a whole, however, the work with its brilliant psychological insight and its masterly depiction of the life of the people, is a mountain peak of world literature.

In the 1870s, Tolstoy wrote his second great novel *Anna Karenina*, but at the beginning of the 1880s, tormented by social and moral problems, he underwent a crisis in his ideas and became, in his own words, 'an advocate for the hundred-million-strong rural population of Russia'. From now on he subordinates his artistry to the main aim of exposing the autocracy (*Hadji Murat*, 1904), the Tsarist administration, the courts and the official church (*Resurrection*, 1899), and the bourgeois family (*The Death of Ivan Ilyich*, 1886). Satire makes its appearance as a necessary weapon of criticism (the comedy *The Fruits of Learning*, 1889). Public topics find an organic place in his work; his selection of details becomes more severe; artistically and in its ideas, his work becomes more 'capacious'.

In *Resurrection* Nekhlyudov passes through the 'circles of hell' of Tsarist Russia, observing and comparing the lives of different strata of society: aristocratic and bureaucratic St Petersburg, the impoverished countryside, prison and banishment. By the end of the novel, both Nekhlyudov and the reader have a mental picture of the 'hundreds and thousands of victims'— the whole of Russia, the whole of its absurd social system, from the splendours of the Senate to a filthy overnight lodging-place for convicts on their way to Siberia, 'from the Fortress of St Peter and St Paul to Sakhalin', the whole system of coercion and oppression 'from the police officer to the Minister'.

Tolstoy greatly extended the frontiers of realism. This applies particularly to methods of psychological analysis: like no writer before him, Tolstoy takes the reader deep into the heart of his heroes; the hidden laws and forms of the psychological process, invisible from the outside, the 'dialectic of the soul', are the special objects of his artistic attention. At the same time, he paints epic pictures of unprecedented scale and scope. This combination of the ability to paint a whole society, create a general picture of a nation and at the same time to study the finest details of the inner life of his characters under the microscope was something new not only in Russian but in world literature.

Anton Pavlovich Chekhov, whose work shows the life of Russian society in a period of reaction and on the eve of the general democratic upheaval, occupies an outstanding place in the development of Russian realism at the end of the century. Beginning as a brilliant humorist, he went on to satirize the ugly

features of social life in Tsarist Russia. Chekhov's sane and open attitude is shown in his consistent criticism of illusions concerning the rebuilding of society: Tolstoyism in *My Life*, the theory of 'modest deeds' in *A House with a Mezzanine*, populist infatuation with the peasant in his stories *Peasants* and *In the Ravine*. Central to his work are the themes of protest against indifference to human suffering and the struggle to combat spiritual atrophy in the 'grey twilight' of reaction. In his stories *The Man in the Case*, *Ionych* and *Ward No. 6* these themes become a condemnation of the whole social system. Chekhov's prose, with its restrained lyricism and brevity, belongs in many respects to the twentieth century. His lyrical story *The Steppe* shows realism in a new form.

According to L. N. Tolstoy, Chekhov 'created completely new forms of writing', mainly in his stories, in which he achieved what Korolenko in his psychological sketches and Garshin in his stories had been aiming for. Chekhov was no less influential as a dramatist (*The Seagull*, 1896; *Uncle Vanya*, 1897; *Three Sisters*, 1901; *The Cherry Orchard*, 1904) in which he violates the canons of stage convention, bringing the action as close as possible to the commonplace course of ordinary life and 'in the background' giving his own tacit comments on the action. Chekhov's plays had an enormous influence on world drama.

Art and architecture

At the beginning of the century, profound advances in Russian social life helped new trends in art, sculpture and architecture to come to maturity. Classicism in the arts was given new meaning by these changes and by the upsurge of patriotism, and this proved a fruitful development. The best public and private buildings of the period are in a style of mature classicism, strong and monumentally simple in form. Large-scale developments appeared in the chief towns: A. D. Zakharov's Admiralty, A. N. Voronikhin's Kazan Cathedral (Pl. 57a), and Mining Institute, Thomas de Thomon's Stock Exchange and a number of buildings by K. I. Rossi in St Petersburg (Pl. 57b); in Moscow, groups of buildings by O. I. Bove, D. I. Gilliardi and others, including the new frontage of the University, the Manège, etc. It was during the period of intensive building in the first decades of the century that St Petersburg acquired its limpid, elegant and majestic air of a 'Palmyra of the North', as sung by A. S. Pushkin, K. N. Batyushkov and other poets. At the same time, sculpture, both monumental and decorative, flourished with the work of I. P. Martos, F. F. Shchderin, V. I. Demuth-Malinovsky and S. S. Pimenov. Martos' monument to Minin and Pozharsky embodies the lofty patriotism of the leaders of Russian society at that time (Pl. 58a).

Decorative and applied art at this time reached a peak of classical clarity and simplicity of form. Furniture, wrought iron and bronze, ceramics and wood carvings lent richness and charm to interiors and exteriors alike and contributed to the establishment of the mature classical style.

The development of painting and drawing at the beginning of the nineteenth century was marked by a striving towards realism, based on a direct observation of Nature and reflecting the general process of rapprochement between art and reality. The artists of this period broke through the old, restrictive conventions imposed by classical aesthetics to a freer and broader understanding and appreciation of Nature and man, heightened at times by spiritual unease.

Romanticism, the effect of which was particularly marked in portrait and landscape painting, played an important part in this assimilation of the real world into art and the strengthening of the emotional, lyrical content of art. Genre painting underwent interesting development at this time. The portraits of O. A. Kiprensky (1782–1836), in which the influence of romanticism is evident, are outstanding for their sensitivity and charming simplicity. S. F. Shchedrin (1751–1830) painted the landscape of Italy with delicate poetry. His soft, dreamy paintings try to capture the living spirit of the landscape and its changing moods. V. A. Tropinin (1776–1857) and especially A. G. Venetsianov (1780–1847), whose genre paintings are portraits reveal the moral qualities of the peasantry and depict with feeling the Russian landscape, were inspired by the progressive social movement to pay close attention to the common people.

Between the thirties and fifties, the aggravation of social conflicts following the putting down of the Decembrist rising, oppression on the part of the reactionaries, coupled with the endeavours of progressives to find the Russian road to development and the maturing of a revolutionary-democratic ideology, produced a complicated situation in art. Classicism was finally losing its progressive aspects and degenerating into sterile academicism. With the rejection by many sections of Russian society of the autocratic system and their lack of belief in the possibility of social changes in the near future, and with the appearance of new philosophical views, romanticism became more widespread and more contradictory than at the beginning of the century. Alongside this development a new, severely objective outlook gave rise to a profound realistic tendency, sometimes finding expression within the framework of romanticism in its more advanced forms. Even by the forties, however, romanticism was clearly on the wane, and consistently realistic principles were asserting themselves.

In the thirties to fifties the late classical style becomes an official architecture, chilly and abstract, Buildings of this period lack the earlier harmony of forms and in several cases are overloaded with ornament. A genre style makes headway in sculpture. The best works of the period, such as B. I. Orlovsky's monuments to Kutuzov and Barclay de Tolly, and P. K. Klodt's horse-tamers on the Anichkov bridge, (Pl. 58b) show a desire to combine classical severity and monumentality with a new realism of treatment.

The keen interest in history and the fate of nations typical of the outlook of the times inspired artists to treat big general themes, illustrating important moments in the history of mankind. Historical painting occupied the leading

position in the art of the thirties. K. P. Bryullov (1799–1852) in his picture *The End of Pompeii* shows the blind, all-destroying catastrophe descending upon the city. Bryullov's interpretation and handling of the subject are rather superficial, however; in spite of its romanticism, the picture still shows the influence of classical idealization of the human figure and attempts to bemuse the spectator with the plastic beauty of the body. Many of Bryullov's portraits, particularly the smaller ones, are vivid and forceful, with bold colouring.

Aleksandr Andreevich Ivanov (1806–58) was deeply involved with the ideas of his times. Keenly aware of social injustice and filled with premonitions of changes to come, he tried to find a subject which would express his interpretation of a turning-point in history. He finally chose the Gospel story of the coming of the Messiah, in which he saw deep historical meaning. He worked for more than twenty years on his gigantic canvas, *Christ Appears to the People*, the basic theme of which is the spiritual rebirth of people stained with suffering and sin. (Pl. 59a). The complex religious and moral idea of the necessity of man's emancipation from oppression and slavery reflects the conflicts within the artist's own outlook, typical of that of many aristocratic intellectuals of the time who saw the solution to social problems in moral terms. As the picture progressed, the artist came to see more and more significance in the figure of the slave, who is shown, in his words, 'through his accustomed suffering feeling joy for the first time' and a consciousness of his humanity. Ivanov's many sketches for this painting, particularly the landscapes, greatly influenced the development of realist art. In his later period, Ivanov tried to express his ideas in a series of sketches of biblical scenes, in which he tries to reinterpret the myths. He got completely away from the church's interpretation of the Bible, conveying in poetic and harmonious form the beauty of the ancient legends, springing from the popular imagination.

The development of genre painting and satirical drawing filled a gap left by the historical painters by portraying everyday Russian life. Scenes from the life of the people, shown with compassion and at times with great bitterness, are found in the water-colours and drawings of T. G. Shevchenko and the paintings of several pupils of A. G. Venetsianov. At the end of the thirties a group of artists illustrating the works of writers of the so-called 'natural school' appeared.

In the mid-forties Pavel Andreevich Fedotov (1815–59) established himself as a profoundly democratic artist, opening a new phase in the development of genre painting. He introduced new themes into this style of painting by depicting the lives of civil servants and merchants, and poor, but still pretentious nobles. He showed the self-importance and stupidity of officials, the naïve complacency and low cunning of money-grabbing merchants, the hopeless dreariness of the life of provincial officers at the time of Nicholas I's reaction (Pl. 59b) and the unhappy lot of his brother artists. With a sharp eye for detail he can sketch in the setting, the normal background of his figures, handle a complicated, sometimes dramatic narrative and show human character and conduct with a sharp satirical edge. His small, intimate portraits have a

fine psychological insight. Fedotov's work, showing the ugly and dark sides of social life, thus mirroring the trend of Russian literature at the time, laid the foundations of critical realism in painting.

Genre painting becomes more and more important in the fifties, but only in the sixties, the time of the democratic upsurge, does it become militant. Truthful art, such as Chernyshevsky and the other revolutionary democrats demanded, drawing primarily on contemporary life, exposing and castigating social evils and standing up for the interests of the people is found in the work of P. G. Vasily Perov (1834–82), I. M. Pryanishnikov (1840–94), N. V. Nevrëv (1850–1904) and other artists of the time. The main themes of their pictures are the ignorant clergy, shown up as bulwarks of the autocracy, the petty tyranny of officialdom, the cruelty and coarseness of the merchants, the plight of the downtrodden, the 'insulted and injured', subjects which rouse the spectator's protests against the existing social order. The artists of the sixties were no mean portraitists either: Perov's portraits of F. M. Dostoevsky, A. N. Ostrovsky, V. I. Dal and others are outstanding for their psychological and social analysis.

Democratic art had to struggle against the inane salon painting and sculpture approved by the Academy of Arts. In 1863 fourteen Academy graduates led by I. N. Kramskoy (1837–87), refusing to carry out the set programme of work, formed an artists' co-operative so as to put their art at the service of society. In 1870 they formed the Brotherhood of Travelling Art Exhibitions. As a counterpoise to the Academy, it supported all the *avant-garde* movements in art, contributing greatly to the development of Russian realism. The artistic movement of the sixties prepared the way for the great outburst of art in the seventies and eighties.

Russian realism of this period occupies a special place in world art. In contrast with the situation in the West, in Russian painting realism came to the fore. Neither the autocracy nor the degenerate nobility nor the ultra-conservative upper bourgeoisie could find anything worth while to counterbalance the progressive forces in art. Revolutionary democratic ideas had a strong influence on the leading artists, and this influence grew as the centre of gravity of the world revolutionary movement shifted towards Russia.

Between the 1870s and 1890s the works of the realist school enjoyed almost undivided popularity with the public. Feeble academic exhibitions contrasted with the popular and socially significant exhibition of the 'Peredvizhniki'— the members of the Brotherhood, which included many of the major realists, beginning with Repin and Surikov. Other artists were close in spirit to the *Peredvizhniki*, such as Vereshchagin and Pavel Kovalevsky, who painted the truth about the horrors of war, or Pëtr Sikolov, who excelled at illustrating the classics and depicting village life. On the threshold of the new century, a new phase in the development of Russian realism began, when a new generation led by Serov enriched it with a new clarity and sharpness of colour and composition and psychological penetration.

The Russian realists, headed by the great masters I. E. Repin, V. I. Surikov and V. A. Serov, introduced much that was new into many styles of painting. They painted a sweeping picture of the Russian society of their times, permeated with sharp criticism of the social order, and created poetic and profound images of Russian nature and history. Repin, Kramskoy and Ge were masters of the psychological portrait, painting with the same truthfulness the various social types of Russia, from Kramskoy's peasant Mina Moïseev to the members of the Council of State in Repin's admirable studies. Later, Serov brought particular subtlety to the portrait, conveying with inspired insight the gradations of mood and character, from the most delicate lyricism in *Young Girl with Peaches* (Pl. 60a) to the grotesque eccentricity and keen social observation of the portraits of Grishman and Orlova. Savitsky, Makovsky, Yaroshenko, Ivanov, Kasatkin and other artists worked mainly in genre painting, often combining it with narrative elements to illustrate the many and varied aspects of popular life, sometimes calm and happy, sometimes gloomy and tragic. Russian genre painting, in a way that hardly has any parallel in other countries, frequently gave impassioned and tense direct illustrations of the revolutionary struggle—Yaroshenko's *Deportees' Prison* (Pl. 60b), Repin's *Mur des communards, Under Escort, The Unexpected Return* (Pl. 61), and *Confession Refused*, Serov's *Funeral of Bauman, Gallant Soldier Lads*, etc.

The Russian realists brought depth and variety to landscape and historical painting. The chief landmarks in the development of landscape at the end of the century are Savrasov's *The Rooks Have Returned; The Lake* by the great master of landscape Levitan (Pl. 62b); and Serov's *October*. Surikov gave a forceful treatment to historical paintings in which he brought out the poetry and dramatic significance of the great popular movements (*Menshikov in Berëzov, The Boyarynya Morozova* (Pl. 62a), *Yermak*), carrying through the radical realistic reform of the historical genre which began with Delacroix. Russian artists entered boldly into realms hitherto reserved for historians and writers (*The Stone Age* by V. Vasnetsov, the historical paintings of Serov, etc.).

Music

The nineteenth century was a brilliant period in the history of Russian music.

Heroic, patriotic themes, reflecting the events of the Fatherland War of 1812, predominate in the works of S. A. Degtarëv, the author of the first Russian oratorio *Minin and Pozharsky*, D. N. Kashin, S. I. Davydov and I. A. Kozlovsky. A rich variety of songs was written, based on folk melodies and expressing the feelings of ordinary people, 'Russian songs' in the spirit of folk music, songs of everyday life and ballads. The songs of A. A. Alyabev (1787–1851), A. E. Varlamov (1801–48) and A. L. Gurilëv and the charming romantic folk-operas of A. N. Verstovsky (1799–1862), author of *Askold's Tomb*, gave an outlet to the progressive tendencies in Russian art. It was only

with Glinka, however, that Russian music came to the notice of the outside world and caught up with the advanced ideas of its time.

The work of Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka (1804–57) makes a magnificent prelude to the classical period in Russian music. Historically, Glinka's great merit was to have had a profound understanding of the aims of *narodnost* and realism. In his works he expressed the basic traits of the national character, the thoughts and hopes of his people. After he had assimilated all that was best in western European culture, he became a great national artist. Folk song was for him not only a source of musical material but the basis of his musical thinking, determining the characteristics of the classic 'Glinka style'. The essence of Glinka's aesthetic theories is expressed in his famous words 'The people write the music; we artists merely arrange it.'

Even Glinka's first opera *Ivan Susanin* (1836) was an event of world importance. As his contemporary Odoevsky wrote: 'With this opera, a new, elemental force in art comes into being and a new period, the period of Russian music, begins.' In this opera he created a lofty patriotic tragedy, the like of which the operatic stage had never seen. His interpretation of the subject in itself shows the progressive nature of the composers views: the hero is the people, the people which defends its homeland and moulds its own fate. By its broad picture of the life of the people and its theme of the inseparability of 'the fate of men and the fate of nations', Glinka's opera is the first classic example of a genuinely historical drama in Russian or in any other music. His deep patriotism finds its supreme expression in the superb chorus 'Slavsya' ('Exult') —with which the opera culminates in a solemn anthem of rejoicing. The work clearly demonstrates the conflict of two opposing forces, the Russian people and the foreign invaders. Throughout the opera, Glinka sets his broadly developed Russian song themes against the brilliant, colourful music of the Polish dance, which represents the Polish knights, and it is the confrontation of these two forces which gives the music its dynamism and dramatic power.

The opera *Ruslan and Lyudmila* (1842) is a work of art of quite a different kind, a monumental work based on a epic tale. Glinka took his subject from Pushkin's poem and developed the legendary aspect of the story, giving to its pictures of a distant past and of ancient heroes their full value. The action is calm and unhurried, like that of an epic. The dramatic interest of the opera lies in the contrast between this legendary world of Kievan Rus and the fantastic, fairy-tale magic. Glinka's delineation of the mysterious and wonderful Black Sea kingdom shows his inexhaustible imagination and his mastery of colour. Glinka depicts the colourful East in all its variety, foreshadowing the Oriental scenes of Borodin and Rimsky-Korsakov. The opera is the supreme reflection of Pushkin's influence on Glinka, and its bright, sunlit music, its affirmation of life, are a true expression of Pushkin's optimism.

These two operas, one a historic drama and the other a fairy tale, determined the course taken by Russian classical opera. Glinka was also a great symphonic

composer. His orchestral fantasy *Kamarinskaya*, his two Spanish overtures, based on folk songs and his lyrical 'Valse-Fantaisie' formed the basis of the nineteenth-century Russian symphonic school.

Glinka's songs also show the typical features of his style—plasticity and clarity, broad, flowing melody, a completeness and delicacy of composition. He is close, in his striving for artistic perfection of form, to Pushkin; like him, he may be called, in Belinsky's words, 'a poet of reality'. With his tremendous artistic power of synthesizing, he brought a lofty, true realism into Russian music.

The traditions of Glinka were carried on by his younger contemporary, Aleksandr Sergeevich Dargomyzhsky (1813–69). The pupil and friend of Glinka, he followed the older man's precepts of *narodnost* and truth to life, but whereas Glinka's art was influenced by Pushkin, Dargomyzhsky belongs to a later period and his work reflected the new trends of 'critical realism' which came to maturity in the crucial years of the 1850s and 1860s. The theme of social inequality and oppression is strong in his work; whether he is telling the tragic tale of a simple peasant girl in *Rusalka* (1855), or of a soldier in *The Old Corporal*, he is always the sensitive, humane artist, trying to attune his work to the needs of Russian society.

Dargomyzhsky's songs show his desire to approximate music to living speech. 'I want the sound to be a direct expression of the word, I want the truth': such was his motto. The best features of his lyrical style are shown in his settings of Lermontov's poetry with their brooding atmosphere. His dramatic song *The Old Corporal*, the satirical *Worm* and *The Titular Councillor* contain sharp social criticism; in these compositions, he turns songs to dramatic effect.

Dargomyzhsky's main work, the opera *Rusalka* was the first example of a new genre in Russian music, the psychological drama. The composer stressed the social aspects of Pushkin's text, creating figures of remarkable realism and depth in Natasha and her father the miller, suffering and needy people. The composer's mastery and his sensitive interpretation of inner emotions are shown in the musical language of the opera, with its dramatically expressive recitative and in its scenes of drama.

Dargomyzhsky's powers of invention are shown to greatest effect in his last opera *The Stone Guest*, based on Pushkin's play of the same name. Retaining the whole of Pushkin's text, he builds the whole opera on recitative without splitting it up into self-contained parts; he deliberately refrains from using the traditional operatic forms of chorus and aria, concentrating on vocal expressiveness and the flexible intonations of the verse and turning the opera into a psychological musical drama.

Russian opera did not follow where *The Stone Guest* had led, but the innovations introduced by Dargomyzhsky were to be of great importance, enriching operatic music with new resources of flexible, expressive recitative.

Russian music reaches maturity and full flower in the 1860s. The new,

post-reform historical conditions produced an upsurge in musical society. The efforts of the great musician-teachers M. A. Balakirev, A. G. and N. G. Rubinstein resulted in the creation of the first Russian conservatories. The foundations of classical Russian music criticism were laid at this time by V. V. Stasov and A. N. Serov.

The ideological and artistic principles of the Glinka school were fruitfully developed in the creative work of the great composers of the following generation: Tchaikovsky, Mussorgsky, Borodin, Rimsky-Korsakov. Their work, begun in the 1860s, marked the highest development of Russian music, which attained its historical culmination in the following period.

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, Russian music moved to the forefront of world music. The ideas and aesthetics of the school of M. I. Glinka were developed in the work of the new generation of composers— P. I. Tchaikovsky and the members of the 'mighty handful'. This latter was the name given later by Stasov to a group of composers, formed around 1860 and associated in its ideas with the progressive democratic movement of the period. The group included M. A. Balakirev, Ts. A. Cui, A. P. Borodin, M. P. Mussorgsky and N. A. Rimsky-Korsakov; the great critic V. V. Stasov was a member and an inspiring force behind it. In developing the Glinka tradition, the members of the group based their work on folk music, in a wide sense, both in their choice of subjects and their style. One of the main principles of this new school was its 'Russianness', but it also showed a lively interest in the cultures of other countries and made use of various themes from Oriental and Western nations and from the other Slav peoples.

The greatest achievements of the group were in opera. Mussorgsky's historical operas *Boris Gudunov* and *Khovanshchina*, and Borodin's *Prince Igor* were something new in music, whilst Rimsky-Korsakov's operatic fairy tales *The Snow Maiden*, *Sadko* and *The Tale of the Invisible City of Kitezh* wrought their own deep changes in the principles of realism and *narodnost*. Members of the group wrote symphonic music of a high standard. Borodin was the founder of the lyrical-epic and heroic genres (the 'Heroic Symphony' [translator's note: Russian 'Bogatyrskaya Simfoniya', a name given by Stasov to Borodin's Second Symphony]) typical also of later Russian symphonic works. Rimsky-Korsakov and Balakirev created a new style of pictorial programme music (the former's *Upas Tree* and *Scheherezade*, the latter's *Tamara*). The group also made many innovations in vocal and piano music (Balakirev's *Islamei*, Borodin's 'Little Suite' and Mussorgsky's 'Pictures from an Exhibition').

The group fought against all that was run-of-the-mill, eclectic and imitative and they were genuinely inventive. The style of each is distinctive and yet they all have common features, associated with their common aspiration to create opera using the language of folk song and to give a truthful rendering of feelings and thoughts.

The same period saw the flowering of the creative talent of the greatest of

Russian composers, Tchaikovsky, whose work was epoch-making alike in opera, ballet and the symphony.

Tchaikovsky believed in the moral power of art and in its educative role in society. His works are imbued with humanism and suffused with deep philosophical ideas. His operas are unsurpassed in the realism and depth with which they illuminate the psychology of their heroes (*Eugene Onegin, The Queen of Spades, The Enchantress*). He was also the father of Russian lyrical-dramatic symphony. His six symphonies display a vast range of thoughts and emotions and a passion for life battling against the tragic nature of the world around, shown particularly in his Fifth and Sixth Symphonies. Something new in music were the programme works such as *Romeo and Juliet, Francesca da Rimini* and *Manfred*, in which he transposed subjects from classics of world literature. He was the first composer to turn ballet music into a powerful means of artistic expression (*Swan Lake, Sleeping Beauty, Nutcracker*). Tchaikovsky made great contributions also to chamber music and the concerto. His First Concerto for Piano and Orchestra and his Violin Concerto initiated a new and original style of Russian concerto. The [piano] trio 'In memory of a great artist' [Op. 50,] the quartets, the songs and the cycle 'The Seasons' strongly influenced the subsequent development of these genres. His incomparable gift for melody, his sincerity, the dramatic and lyrical power of his music, his innovations in the matter of form and his complete mastery of the art won him wide recognition in his own lifetime. Tchaikovsky made Russian music world-famous.

A. G. Rubinstein, a brilliant pianist, teacher and composer, the author of the opera *The Demon*, the symphony 'The Ocean', etc., also contributed to the development of Russian musical life. He was the originator of music teaching in Russia and organized the first conservatory in St Petersburg in 1862.

In the eighties, new composers appeared on the scene, mostly pupils and followers of Rimsky-Korsakov, Tchaikovsky and Balakirev: A. K. Glazunov, the author of eight symphonies, the ballet *Raymonda*, etc. and numerous orchestral works; S. I. Taneev, a leading pianist and teacher who reared a whole generation of composers, a master of chamber and choral music of philosophical content and author of the opera *The Oresteia*; A. K. Lyadov, the author of delicate but profound lyrical music, of the original 'Eight Russian songs for orchestra' and of a number of orchestral pieces; and A. S. Arensky, best known for his piano, orchestral and vocal works.

These in their turn became the teachers of another generation of composers at the turn of the century: S. V. Rachmaninov, A. N. Scriabin, N. K. Metner and others.

APPENDIX A: The Russian Orthodox Church
by N. V. Zavadzakaya

At the end of the eighteenth century all ministers of the Church became servants of the State but the only church dignitaries to receive a stipend were members of the synod, archbishops,

rectors of seminaries and diocesan bishops, the parish priests being unpaid. They lived on what their parishioners paid them for such services as baptisms, marriages, funerals, requiem masses, Te Deums, etc. They also sold candles and crosses, said prayers, and collected money from among their parishioners. Plots of land, from 15 to 75 dessiatines* per parish, were the mainstay of the country clergy. In Paul I's time, the clergy were not allowed to work on the land, since it was considered that farm labour was 'unsuited to ecclesiastical dignity'. Farm work was done by the peasants for a half or a third of the harvest; this gave rise to endless disputes between the 'shepherd' and his 'flock'. In Alexander I's reign, in order to end these disputes, farm work was declared to be 'holy' and the clergy began to work their lands themselves or to hire farm labourers.

From the end of the eighteenth century, the Church began to acquire land. By a decree of Paul I (18 December 1797) 60 dessiatines of land were allocated to the bishops' palaces, and 30 dessiatines to each monastery. The same decree mentioned the acquisition of mills, fish and timber.

The clergy received considerable sums from the manufacture of candles, from their mills, and from the sale of statues of saints, tapers, crosses, and various relics. During parish preaching and while touring the diocese, the priests collected not only money but also gifts in kind. In monasteries and hostelries the sums paid by the faithful for masses for the dead brought in large sums. Collections in the churches were for various purposes: for upkeep and for the choir, for the restoration of churches, etc. However, these revenues, while in themselves considerable, were irregularly distributed so that most of the country clergy (especially in poor parishes) had the humiliation of begging from their parishioners.

The very system of obtaining their livelihood encouraged the clergy to develop meanness, avarice and that commercial outlook which so often appear in folk tales. In his story *The Tale of the Pope* (i.e. priest) *and his Labourer, the Canary*, the poet Pushkin faithfully catches the atmosphere of popular folk tales which were hostile to the 'popes'. A commercial attitude particularly developed in great monasteries like Troitsk, Alexander-Nevsky, and Kievo-Pechersk, which had their own grocer's shops, stalls, hotels, etc.

It was not until 1842 that the question of an official salary for the parish clergy was raised, and then only 415,000 roubles were allocated for the purpose. In 1862 the sum was increased, but an official salary was only granted to 17,715 out of 37,000 priests—an average of 219 roubles per year for each priest.† By 1900 the total income of the clergy was approximately 100 million roubles; the official salary still only made up 18 to 19 per cent of this sum, while the remaining 80–86 million roubles came from the parishioners.

In 1838 the average size of monastic lands rose from 30 to 100–150 dessiatines of arable, not counting meadow and woodland. By 1838 the monastery of Troitski-Sergiev had already acquired 1,429 dessiatines and at the beginning of the twentieth century the lands of the Church had risen to 2,611,635 dessiatines.

Bishops had the right to appoint parish priests according to the 'Spiritual Ruling' on the status or 'recommendations' of the faithful. From the eighteenth century onwards, according to tradition, the faithful recommended the son or stepson of the dead priests, or, in default of one of these, to one of his near relatives who had studied at a seminary. The succession of parish priests became normal, and an unofficial trade in the livings grew up. Thus 'recommendations' soon became a formality and, gradually, succession to the parishes changed to appointment from higher up. In the richer parishes, the chosen priests were those with 'the best intentions' from the political point of view, who had won the favour of the local administration. 'By a decree of the Tsar, on 19 February 1897,' wrote B. V. Titlinov, 'the synod is enjoined to take special care that only trustworthy persons are admitted to the priesthood.' The synod in fact acted in such a way that the diocesan bishops 'might do their best to foresee and prevent peasant revolts'.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the Russian Orthodox Church became an instrument of state power and its 'pastors' became civil servants. Paul I was called openly 'the Head of the Church', and the Church itself became a state department, 'a huge office' as I. Aksakov called it, 'steeped in the official lies of bureaucracy'.

The parish clergy, whether rich or poor, were deprived of their rights. They became

* 1 dessiatine=2.69975 acres.
† N. M. Nikolsky, *History of the Russian Church*, Moskovsku Rabochii, 1931, p. 337.

subordinated to their diocese and to the administration, to whom they were forced to report on the 'spiritual state of the faithful' and on 'evil-intentioned persons' in their parishes, on the great estates and among the kulaks.

The diocesan bishops feared to lose favour with the governor, who could not only replace any and every bishop, but could even send him into exile. To make sure that the governors had complete control over the management of the dioceses, in 1774 the government rearranged the dioceses, in accordance with the new law on government and the new division of Russia into governments. This reform met with secret opposition amongst the clergy, and had to be postponed until 1796.

The relations between the Church, represented by the synod, and the supreme power of the State, represented by the procurator of the synod, who had the rights of a minister, were definitely laid down at the beginning of the nineteenth century. At this time, the duties of the procurator were considerably modified in comparison with those described in the 'Spiritual Ruling'. The procurator not only became the eye and ear of the Tsar in the synod and controller of its decisions so that they would be in harmony with the civil laws, but he was also the only person who had the right to keep the Tsar informed on religious matters.

Although according to the 'Spiritual Ruling' the synod could initiate legislation, this right was gradually lost as a result of the development of the procurator's office. Once a legislative and consultative institution, it became a mere vehicle for popularizing the decrees, proclamations and rescripts of the Tsar, a court for dealing with crimes committed by high state officials, and a supreme court of appeal from local tribunals, which sometimes even rejected the canons of the church.

During the Napoleonic war of 1812 the clergy was unanimously patriotic, lending great support to the state. The synod issued a special appeal to the faithful to repulse the enemy, calling Napoleon 'the enemy of Christianity and the forerunner of Antichrist'. In addition, the Church voted one and a half million roubles to raise new forces and assist the war victims. There were, however, a few of the higher clergy who swore allegiance to Napoleon and praised him in their sermons.

'The Holy Alliance', entered into by Alexander I and the Emperors of Prussia and Austria to fight against the 'liberal and seditious spirit' of the French Revolution, aimed chiefly at bolstering up feudal and monarchist ideas, by relying on Christianity of all kinds, particularly on the various mystical movements. This period is marked by the re-emergence of the Jesuits, also of the Freemasons and sectarians of all kinds.

The Russian Bible Society was now founded in St Petersburg on the lines of the British society, with the object of spreading the Scriptures among the various nationalities living in Russia. The society lasted from 1812 to 1826. At first, the Bible was only translated into the languages of the minority peoples, but in 1816 it was decided to translate it into Russian. This scheme encountered strong opposition in the 1820s. The metropolitan Bishop, Seraphim (Glagolevsky) put forward the theory that it was wrong to bring the Scriptures to the people and accused Filaret (Drozdov) of being partly responsible for the decision to translate the Bible into Russian, and of having quoted extracts from the Scriptures in Russian in his *Catechism*.

This bureaucratization of the Church, and its transformation into an instrument of Tsarist policy, went on throughout the nineteenth century.

In 1817 the Ministry of Education was reorganized. The secretariat of the procurator of the synod was a department in the Ministry for Internal Affairs, for dealing with 'foreign beliefs'. The newly unified organization was given the title of Ministry of Religion and Education. Everything relating to religion was concentrated in the Department for Religious Affairs and A. N. Golitzin was appointed as Minister. But Golitzin's policy of protecting mystical movements and freemasonry met with resistance from the clergy, as did the activities of the Bible Society.

This dispute masked the reforms of Arakchaev, who wanted to rid himself of Golitzin and of the reactionary Shishkov, an admiral who aspired to be Minister of Education. This group was also supported by the Archimandrite, Foty, the fanatic who was the subject of Pushkin's famous epigram.

Arakchaev's group carried on a bitter struggle against the penetration of foreign influence into Russia, which they regarded as a surer defence against the spread of unrest in Russia than the activities of the Holy Alliance. Under the influence of this group, Alexander I gradually

modified his policy of religious tolerance, changing over to an exclusive support of orthodoxy, to the repression of all other religious sects and to a savage policy of Russianization.

In 1824 Arakchaev succeeded in suppressing the Ministry for Religion and Education. Golitzin was replaced by Admiral Shishkov and religion was once more administered by the Ministry for Internal Affairs. Prince V. S. Mestchersky became procurator of the synod.

During his tenure of office, the power of the procurator was strengthened; S. D. Nechaev (1833-5), his successor, even set up a system of secret police to spy on the bishops, but this angered the members of the synod and the procurator was dismissed. Count Protasov, who succeeded Neschaev, was an old officer of the guard and, as the members of the synod remarked, 'commanded the bishops like a squadron on manoeuvres', so that none of them 'dared raise his voice'. Protasov created a great bureaucratic machine for the synod, and tried to isolate the most intelligent and active archbishops—Filaret of Moscow and Filaret of Kiev —from the synod.

There followed a period of intensified repression of the various sects. In 1820 the Jesuits were expelled from Russia, and in 1826 the Bible Society was suppressed. Measures were taken for the reassimilation of the Uniats, and the Russianization of outlying areas, by attracting men of different beliefs into the Orthodox Church.

The people and the majority of the clergy absolutely refused to adopt ecumenical union; hence it could only be adopted and disseminated by violence. After the downfall of the Polish nobility, their territory with its Ukrainian population became an integral part of Russia, which allowed union to be abandoned. The Tsarist Government, however, was in no great hurry about this. The struggle against Union affected the interests of the great Polish landowners and the religious feudalities, who mattered more to the Russian Government than the interests of the people. Union disappeared only after the partition of Poland; in 1839, the Uniats united completely with the Orthodox Church, which was a great religious and political event. The Union of Brest completely disappeared in western Ukraine in 1946.

The reforms of Peter I resulted in heavy taxes for the peasantry and the town poor, the introduction of passports, recruitment, 'tribute by numbers' and 'tribute by work'. Peter's reforms made the Church into an instrument of State power, and 'the parish became a sort of governmental and religious commissariat'.

The people began to consider Orthodoxy a 'bureaucratic religion' and left it en masse for a schismatic religion (Raskol).* The numerous sects which made up the Russian 'Raskol' can be divided into three important groups: the Old Believers, the rationalists, and the mystics. The Old Believers were divided into two main movements: the popists (popovschina) and the anti-popists (bez-popovschina).

Among the anti-popists some did not acknowledge any authority at all. The popists did not renounce authority at first, like the anti-popists—philippians (filipovzy), begunis, etc. The doctrine of the begunis prescribed, for instance, the breaking of all ties with the world, as with antichrist. It compelled them to leave their home village, family, friends and relations and to go away into the forests and steppes. One of the principal dogmas of the begunis was their

'repudiation of the Tsar and the power he wielded, because the Tsar was antichrist and the representatives of his powers were wicked angels sent to execute his will and oppress God's people'.

Among the mystic sects we must class the Scoptzis, the Khlists, the Prigunis, etc. who were to be found especially among the merchant capitalists.

The rationalist sects included the doukhobors, subbotmiks, baptists, etc. The Spiritual Christians (Swtundists) rejected all ritual, paid special attention to ethical problems and preached the brotherhood of man. These movements were subjected to extremely severe repression. They were deported in large blocks from one government to another, condemned to forced labour, to prison and to torture. But this repression intensified their religious fanaticism.

Then the clergy changed their tactics in the battle against schism (especially against the Old Believers). Churches known as 'co-religionist' were established in which Orthodox priests said Mass according to the ancient books—thus the Old Believers preserved their ritual.

* B. M. Andreev, *Raskol i ego znachenie*, p. 96.

These 'co-religionist' churches gradually drew the Old Believers back into orthodoxy and became normal Orthodox churches.

Again, before the beginning of the Napoleonic War of 1812, the Russianization of the border-lands by the Church was intensified. In 1811, for example, the Catholics of Georgia were suppressed; in 1817, Feofilact (Russanov) was appointed Exarch of Georgia, and the number of Georgian dioceses was reduced from 12 to 3.

The work of the Exarch, who was too zealous in Russianizing the Georgian Church, aroused to indignation the local population. The Georgian clergy left the churches and went into the forests where they carried on their religious services and other rites. In the summer of 1819, as a result of the Russianizing activities of Feofilact, revolts broke out in Imeretia and else-where. Feofilact died suddenly in 1821, but the policy of Russianization continued after his death.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the missionary activities of the Church were intensified. From 1807 to 1822 Joachim Bichurin was leader of the Orthodox mission to China, where his work on the study of that extraordinary country was very important. He amassed a great collection of information on the geography, history, economics, religion, literature and language of China, Mongolia, and to some extent of Tibet. The synod was, however, hostile to Bichurin's work, so that he was compelled to return from China. When he came back he was imprisoned in the monastery of Walaam, but at the request of the Ministry of Education and of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs he was set free and elected a member of the Academy of Sciences for his work on Sinology.

In addition, Orthodox missions were sent to the Aleutian Islands, to the Baikal area, to the Neneans, to Ossetia, to the Altai, Obdorsk and Japan. Under Nicholas I (1825–55), the policy of bureaucratizing the Church and its transformation into a docile instrument of the State remained unchanged.

The Tsar appointed the procurator, nominated the members of the synod and assumed the right to appoint diocesan bishops, taking into consideration the wishes of the governors. With the bishops there were in each diocese, at the consistory, secretaries—the representatives of the procurators—fulfilling their duties in the consistories. Finally, the parish clergy were appointed in the same way, according to the wishes of the local authority. The clergy not only had to teach their flock to be loyal to the Tsar but also to keep a check on the state of mind of the parishioners, denouncing 'dissensions' and warning the authorities against persons of evil intention. The 'Spiritual Ruling' stressed the point that the clergy must denounce 'any treason or rebellion' to the prikaz of Preobrajensky (security service). The Ruling justified this order regarding confessions by reference to the text of the Gospels: 'if thy brother hath sinned against thee, warn him privately, but if he obey not, denounce him to the Church'.

The discontent aroused by the reactionary policy of the Tsar grew stronger, not only among the peasants and the poor town workers, but also among the enlightened nobility. This is clear from the works of Radiskchev and the activities of the Decembrists. In his struggle against the young revolutionary movement Nicholas I fell back on the Church. During the rising of the Decembrists the metropolitan, Serafim (Glagolevsky), was sent by the Tsar to mix with the insurgents in his priestly vestments, to entreat them to cease the revolt and swear allegiance to Nicholas. As is well known this appeal met with no success. Among the judges who tried the Decembrists were three bishops. They charged two priests, S. Kolessov and P. Mislovsky, to find out from the Decembrists during confession the names of their accomplices. After the defeat of the Decembrists, the Tsar ordered a thanksgiving Mass to be said.

During the reign of Alexander II the Church remained a faithful bulwark of autocracy and serfdom.

The Tsarist Government, with some justification, feared that the publication of the manifesto on the 'emancipation' of the serfs would provoke trouble among the masses. The manifesto was signed in February, but the Tsarist Government did not dare to publish it until March. By order of the government the manifesto was read in all churches, and the priests had to explain to the peasants the kindness of the Tsar and to pacify the discontented.

In spite of the efforts of police and priests the publication of the manifesto caused widespread trouble among the peasants. The greatest opposition of the peasants took place in the village of Besdn in the Spassky district of the Penza Government.

Once granted that the Church was to fulfil the functions both of teacher of the faithful and

political watchdog, the Tsarist Government began to pay great attention to the raising of the level of religious education, to the expansion of the system of parish and theological schools, requiring a certain standard of education for the priests. Theological academies were established at Kiev and Moscow, as well as St Petersburg and Kazan.

By a decision of the 'Spiritual Ruling' each priest had to have in his parish a school for the education of priests' children and particularly for those preparing for the priesthood. Bishop's schools still existed. In 1788 a senior seminary was opened, to which the best students from the bishops' schools were sent. In 1797 this seminary was called the Alexander Nevsky Academy on the pattern of the Academies at Kiev and Moscow. In the same year the seminary at Kazan became an Academy. At the turn of the eighteenth century the government began to contribute to the development of church intellectual life by enlarging the system of parish schools and seminaries. The number of pupils in the primary theological schools and seminaries was estimated at 11,320 in 1782 and by the beginning of the nineteenth century this had risen to 29,000.

In 1807 a special committee was set up to reorganize the theological schools, to improve the position of the clergy and expand the system of theological training. Diocesan theology schools for women were established in 1823.

The growth of revolutionary tendencies among the people, the activities of the Old Believers and other sections and the spread of atheism among the upper classes all forced the government to take serious steps to raise the level of teaching in the theological schools, and to train 'spiritual pastors'. By a decision of 1808, the elements of Russian grammar, arithmetic, history, and geography were to be introduced into the parish schools, in addition to purely theological subjects. In the seminaries, the teaching of linguistics, history, mathematics (i.e. algebra, geometry, and mechanics), philosophy (including physics), and Latin, Greek, German, French and Hebrew was developed and extended. The theological academies were also reformed by increased teaching in theology and idealist philosophy. A special committee was set up 'for the improvement of theological schools', as also a centre for unifying the teaching of theology—the synod commission for theological schools. There was a seminary for each diocese (36). The number of parish schools rose to 360; that of parish primary schools rose to 1,080.

In 1840 there was a new reform in religious teaching; this consisted in relieving the theological schools of 'superfluous philosophy', thus enabling them to train active pastors. The teaching of philosophy and of some other general subjects was excluded from the curriculum of the seminaries. The syllabuses of 'sacred history, biblical studies, the history of the Russian Church, the ideas of the Early Fathers, were all expanded and more time was given to catechetical lectures. The curriculum in the seminaries included rural economy, agriculture, the elements of medicine and the languages of minor nationalities. A study committee of the synod was set up to direct all the theological schools.

Up to the end of the nineteenth century both the personnel and (parts of) the curriculum of the seminaries and theological academies were constantly inspected and modified.

The part played by the parish schools in spreading literacy among the people was very important, especially before the Zemstvo primary schools existed. One must also honour the part played by the Church in the artistic education of the people. In this period architecture, painting and religious music all reached a high level; it was in the Church, and only the Church, that the people could hear for the first time the music of Bortniansky, Musichevsky, Grechaninov, Ippolitov-Ivanov and other Russian composers. By the middle of the nineteenth century the reactionary role of the Church had become predominant: the parish schools, the seminaries and the theological academies all contributed to the propaganda on behalf of autocracy and serfdom. The Church also struggled against 'progressives' in science and literature.

It is well known, for example, that the mystical sermons of the protopope Matvei exercised a harmful influence on Gogol. In 1901 Tolstoy was excommunicated, and his novel *Resurrection* was published with cuts as a result of official censorship. The Church was very hostile to socialist ideas. P. D. Urkevich, professor of the theological academy at Kiev, came out strongly against the progressive ideas of Chernyshevsky. Later on, Anton Khrapovitsky published in the periodical *Bogoslovsky Vestnik* (Theological Journal), articles against socialism.

One of the important churchmen of the period who rendered great services to Tsarism was the metropolitan of Moscow, Filaret (Drozdov). It was he who composed the *Catechism* which

was taught not only in the seminaries but in all the secondary schools of Russia up to 1917 and in the churches every Sunday before Mass.

As dissatisfaction with the autocratic and servile régime increased and revolutionary ideas spread among the people, still greater efforts were made to stifle the tendency to revolt of the masses.

During the procuratorship of K. P. Pobedonostzev (1880–1905) both reaction and the bureaucratization of the Church reached a climax. Pobedonostzev was a bitter opponent of secular schools, and his first effort was to extend the system of theological schools. Pobedonostzev declared that authority was founded on 'the faith of the people'; he considered Orthodoxy, autocracy and nationalism to be the three supporting pillars of the Russian State. He himself acknowledged that in certain remote regions, 'the people understand nothing either of the words uttered by the priest during Mass or even of the simplest prayers, which they often repeat with cuts or additions which rob the prayer of any meaning'.*

Revolutionary movements became very widespread in 1905 after the defeat of the Tsarist Government in the Russo-Japanese War. Discontent also increased among the parish priests who did not wish to, and moreover could not, help the Tsarist police as they had formerly done. The clergy wished the Church to regain its independence from the State, and to strengthen their authority among the people. In the clerical newspapers the necessity of convoking an ecumenical congress was urged, and in 1917 this was done. This congress, by restoring the Patriarchate, brought to a close the period of diocesan domination in the history of the Church.

APPENDIX B: Religious Sentiment and Religious Thought in the Russian Orthodox Church
by Alain Besançon

The writer considers the history of the Orthodox Church chiefly from the institutional angle. The legal and economic position of the Church is described in sufficient detail. According to the writer, the history of the Orthodox Church is merely a matter of the changes made in its central government (the holy synod), the expansion of a few of its activities (such as missionary work and education) and the political stand it took on certain occasions—which was usually conservative.

There are two important aspects of the history of this Church which do not seem to be covered here as they should be. These are the history of religious sentiment and the history of religious thought.

a. *Religious sentiment*

By the end of the eighteenth century, though the westernized fraction of the population had not lost its Christian faith, its culture was no longer coloured by religion. This section of the population had shown considerable enthusiasm for the movement of enlightenment, and Voltaire was its hero. For all that, the finest minds (from Lomonosov to Novikov and Karamzin) disapproved of the irreligious attitude of the French philosophers and their Western followers—even though in their own minds the Orthodox Church was associated with Russian underdevelopment, beards, caftans and superstition. In fact, their feeling about the Church was as ambivalent as their feeling about the people—the remote but downtrodden multitude in whom, it must be reiterated, the specifically Russian values were embodied.

Two things occurred to modify this state of affairs. In the first place there was the victorious war against Napoleon's revolutionary armies, which naturally led to a revival of national values, Orthodoxy among them. The other was a further consequence of the westernization of the upper classes. From being Voltairean, they became romantic.

On the sentimental plane the effect of this fidelity—which had survived unimpaired through the century of enlightenment and took on renewed vigour at the beginning of the nineteenth century—was to preserve the continuity of religious education for the children of the aristocracy. Aksakov, Pushkin, Tolstoy and Goncharov all mention among their recollections the imprint of traditional religion they received from mother, grandmother or aunt, or from the *nianias*, the serf-women who were their nurses. Whatever their adult minds retained or rejected

* Sm. *Moskovsku sbornik*, p. 138.

of all this, the Orthodox religion was hallowed by an ancestral prestige, derived chiefly from the distaff side.

As for the mass of the population, contrary to Belinsky's sweeping assertion, their faith was still positively medieval—as attested by Wallace, Leroy, Beaulieu, Léger and other foreign observers. Great numbers of wandering pilgrims and beggars used to make their way to Mount Athos, to Jerusalem (where half the nineteenth-century Christian pilgrims were Russians) and to the hermitages and the great, venerated *Lavra* of the Trinity and Pechersk. Many of these were old men, and some were 'innocents'. The myth of Holy Russia, of Christ walking over Russian soil, seems to have originated among the common people.

It would be a mistake to argue that because the piety of the humble classes found an outlet in ritualism, it must have been superficial. No less than the unostentatious piety of cultivated people, ritual has its origin in structures which have survived unimpaired, though buried far below the surface of religious consciousness. The anti-clericalism to be found in certain folk tales did not scratch the surface of peasant Christianity, any more than did our own medieval verse tales.

As well as the writings of certain famous authors (Leskov, Melnikov-Pechersky, Korolenko, Tolstoy, etc.) on the theme of Holy Russia, we are fortunate enough to possess some first-hand testimony in the form of documents which, though they belong to the latter half of the nine-teenth century, might well be contemporary with the *Fioretti*. There is the anonymous *Russian Pilgrim*, that highly interesting tale of a mystical adventure based on ascetic athleticism and 'prayers from the heart' which was widely distributed in Russia by the Philocalia of Nicodemus the Hagiorite. There is a work entitled *Missions*, by the Archimandrate Spiridion, from which I will quote a passage to show the general tone. It tells how a priest, whose name is not recorded, meets a murderous seminarist who describes how he killed his wife:

'I cut her brother's throat, I mutilated him, I took an axe and cut off my wife's head, and then I chopped her up until she was nothing but bloody mud. But how I enjoyed doing it! Never had I known such pleasure as at that moment, when I was killing my beloved wife.'

And Spiridion replies:

'Beloved son, I beseech you with tears to make your confession, to make it so thoroughly that afterwards every sin you have committed will have been washed from your soul. Be sure to dwell on the most terrible, the most shameful of your sins and relate them to the priest in detail. After that, transfer the consequences of those sins to yourself, and transfer them as though to the cause of the sins, created consciously by you. And then, my friend, all of a sudden, after such a confession, you will feel a tremendous relief. Also, as well as confession, I urge you to be tireless in "praying from the heart".'

There is nothing so gentle as Orthodox piety, nothing to equal the warmth of emotion poured out in the liturgical hymns, in hesychastic prayer and in confession. The priest stands with the penitent lying prostrate at his feet, and covers the man's head with his stole. What is expected of the penitent is not so much a detailed recital of his sins as a keen awareness of his condition as a sinful man. Sometimes when the priest asks him whether he has committed a particular sin he confesses to it, although everyone knows he has not, because since his soul is stained by original sin, he deserves to have committed it. Russian confession was thus the occasion for an acute emotional crisis, in which guilt was not distilled away or juridically redeemed, as in present-day Catholic confession, but on the contrary, was deliberately left vague and carried to its extreme limits.

Hence the forms and content of Orthodox piety played a part in the psychological balance of nineteenth-century Russian society which it is impossible to ignore. There was a traditional contrast between the sweetness and warmth of relations with God (which was like the warmth and sweetness of family relationships) and the insensitive harshness of officialdom. Every Russian barracks had its icon niche. The consoling features of the Saviour, the Prodrome and Protection, were always interposed between the sinful creatures and the divine or temporal Pantocrator.

Many writers have pointed out how the religious mentality tinged the whole radical, revolutionary movement that began with populism. Chernyshevsky and Dobrolyubov, the originators of populism, were youths, the sons of priests of humble origin, who had been educated in the seminar. Literally speaking, they were atheists. They were sufficiently

westernized to be carried away on the wave of scientific materialism which succeeded Hegelian idealism in Germany about 1850. Yet they often behaved as though the old Holy Russian saints were their spiritual guides. Tireless advocates of 'rational egoism', they were never satisfied until they had outstripped their fellows in their incredible courage, their unselfish devotion, their ascetic lives, their uncompromising beliefs, their hatred of the enemy, and their patience amid the torments to which their seditious activities exposed them. Chernyshevsky's banishment to Siberia and his sufferings there might be the replica of the banishment to Siberia and his sufferings there might be the replica of the banishment and sufferings of the schismatic archpriest Avvakum, and both were due to the same thing—bearing witness to the Truth.

When Soloviev summed up the populists' doctrine as 'Man is descended from the apes, so let us love one another', he was revealing the ambiguity of the intelligentsia's aspirations— they were flirting with rationalism, but did not want to break with the ethical system they had known from childhood.

It has sometimes been suggested that populism, from the religious standpoint, represented a kind of belated, confused Russian version of the Reformation. It makes the same call to action, sets the same high value on labour in the world, has the same sense of personal responsibility and of the importance of self-discipline and self-denial. Without entering into this vexed question, we may, however, note one important difference: the populist's belief in salvation comes not from worldly success, but from failure. This differentiates the New England merchant from the Russian exile in Siberia who, unfortunately for him, could not find release from the Orthodox dictum of redemption through suffering.

The subconscious transmission of certain religious attitudes cannot be overlooked by the historian who recognizes Russian materialism as 'religious materialism'. Lenin, one of Russia's most genuinely irreligious minds, had nevertheless read, and knew by heart, Chernyshevsky's *What to do*, that guide to the ascetic life which might be compared to the Puritan's *Pilgrim's Progress*.

b. *Religious Thought*

Russian religious thought in the nineteenth century rises to two peaks, separated by some fifty years of materialist domination—though Dostoevsky and Soloviev wrote their works under that domination.

The first climax was reached during the Slavophile period. Modern Orthodox trends were brought together in a synthesis that took form in the narrow circle of a few Muscovites (Khomiakov, 1804–60, Kirievsky, 1806–56, Samarin and Aksakov). It embraced Greek patristics, and the Russian spirituality initiated by St Sergius, revived in the eighteenth century by Tykhon of Zadonsky and Paisy Velishkovsky, and here represented by Serafim of Sarov, who had indirect connections with one member of the group. It also took in the great constructions of German romantic philosophy, as represented by Schelling and Hegel.

The joint aim of Khomiakov and Kirievsky was to establish a 'Christian philosophy'. The meaning of the Church was of decisive importance in their eyes. For example, their concept of *sobornost* is by no means identical with the German *Gemeinschaft*: it is not a community, but the Church in the pentecostal sense—that is, a union between the divine and the human, a theanthropy. Their view of the facts of spiritual experience places them in determined opposition to Western Christianity, which according to them was entirely a rationalistic matter, divorcing thought from feeling. They wished to restore the kind of Orthodoxy which denied the duality of faith and reason, of the Church and culture, postulating that reality could not be attained by reason alone, but by a form of knowledge in which the individual and his faith participated unstintingly.

During the same period the ecclesiastical academies were not idle. At Kiev and in Moscow in the eighteenth century there had grown up a philosophical tradition which set itself to reappraise Orthodox dogma and the Greek Fathers in terms of Western scholasticism and rationalism. They made a serious study of Kant, Schelling and Wolf. Fedor Golubinsky (1797–1854) had many followers; other prominent figures were Father Sidonsky (1805–73), a professor at the St Petersburg Ecclesiastical Academy, his pupil Karpov (1798–1867), and Pamphily Yurkevich (1827–74). The last of these made himself unpopular in radical circles by attacking Chernyshevsky.

'The tree of knowledge is not the tree of life,' he wrote, 'it is not thought that forms the essence

of man, it is the life of the heart and the development of the biblical doctrine of the heart as man's physical and spiritual centre.'

It is easy to imagine how this was received by the materialists, those great dissectors of the brain!

Despite the predominance of materialism, the latter half of the nineteenth century witnessed many attempts to take the 'orthodox spirit' as the foundation of a philosophy. Dostoevsky's theological pronouncements, it may be mentioned in passing, were only the most powerful expression of the tenets of the 'native soil' philosophers, the *Pochvenniki*, who included Apollon Grigoriev and Nikolai Strakhov as well as Dostoevsky.

But there were isolated thinkers as well. Konstantin Leontiev (1831–91) had a career as doctor and diplomat before he repaired first to Mount Athos and then to the monastery of Optina Pustyni, of which the Staretz Ambrose was then head. Leontiev took the monk's habit before he died. He was a strange character, one of the few Russian writers to have explored the paths of eroticism, cruelty and aestheticism, and was a reactionary and immoralist at the prompting of a kind of anti-humanism which is one of the possible interpretations of the Orthodox rejection of the world.

Rather than attempt the impossible task of summarizing the contribution of that unhappy genius Rozanov (1856–1919), it will be better to quote a few of his aphorisms, which give a penetrating view of the Orthodox attitude towards life:

'At the centre is the gentle, weeping Face.'
'I never longed for anything so much as for humiliation.'
'No man is worthy of praise. Every man is worthy of pity.'

A new period of Russian philosophy began with Soloviev (1853–1900). Except at the 'medium' level of the intelligentsia, represented by Plekhanov and Lenin, interest in revolution steadily declined as actual revolution drew nearer. Russian thought was obsessed with the City of God. The new school of religious thinkers rejected the Slavophiles and their nationalism, calling for a synthesis of Russia and the West instead of a contrast between them. East and West now became spiritual concepts, in the sense that every people and creed contained an East and a West within itself.

Vladimir Soloviev, the son of a well-known historian, began his teaching by criticizing the official Church and differentiating it from the faith of the humble people. He accused it of nationalistic pride.

'Our nationalism has passed through three phases—worship of the people as the vehicle of universal truth, then worship of the people as an elementary force regardless of any form of truth, and finally worship of the special characteristics and anomalies that divide a people from civilized mankind.'

He fought for the union of the Churches and considered Rome as 'the mysterious icon of universal Christianity', so that both the Catholics and the Orthodox Church can lay claim to him.

Soloviev's influence is to be seen in Lev Shestov, Berdiaev, Bulgakov and Struve, the last three of whom began as Marxists. All these emigrated after the Revolution, and though their ideas were developed before the First World War, they belong to the twentieth century. Having completely assimilated Husserl, Kierkegaard and contemporary neo-Kantism, they devised highly impressive systems. They have something in common with Teilhard de Chardin, whom they preceded by forty years; but their Christianity is less heretical and their philosophy more subtle. It is virtually impossible to divide their philosophy from their theology. Bulgakov ultimately took holy orders.

The Church was determined not to be left behind. Its great concern was to recover its independence (i.e. to give itself a patriarch) and to link up with the outside world. The academies provided an excellent education. The names of Kudriatzev, Archbishop Nikanor and the Metropolitan Antonios all take an honourable place in the victorious campaign that was carrying Russian religious thought into all intellectual spheres just before it was suddenly expelled from them.

c. *The 'Staretz'*
Starechestvo was one of the points of contact between the religion of the common people and

that of the intellectuals. Readers of *The Brothers Karamazov* know what a *staretz* is, though Dostoevsky has sometimes been accused of painting Father Zosima in over-literary colours.

Starechestvo was a uniquely Russian form of saintless and spiritual guidance whose best-known exponent was the eighteenth-century Paisy Velichkovsky; it reached its culmination during the nineteenth century. It consists of a 'cure of souls' conducted by experienced 'ancients' (*staretz*). The most obvious difference between this system and Catholic spiritual guidance is that the former is not based on the efficacity of the sacraments (the *staretz* was often not a priest, sometimes not even a monk) but, deliberately, on the personal relationship. Talking with the *staretz* releases something in the mind of the 'patient'. Hence the importance of right preparation for this special form of ministry, where everything depends on the almost shamanistic powers of the spiritual director.

In the middle of the war against Napoleon, Serafim of Sarov equalled the feats of the ancient stylites—for a thousand nights he stood on a rock in the forest with his arms raised skywards, repeating, to the rhythm of his heart and respiration, the hesychastic formula, 'Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have pity upon me, a sinner'. After this he observed several years of silence, followed by unbroken seclusion in a cell. Only then, about 1825, did he consent to open his door to those who came to him for advice and consolation. At this time he was abounding in charisma. Several of his 'spiritual children' saw him transfigured by celestial radiance, or in familiar converse with the Mother of God accompanied by several female saints.

Throughout the century an illustrious succession of *staretz* had their quarters in the 'wilderness' of Optina, between Moscow and Kiev, where they lived concealed among the trees on the banks of a tranquil stream. For twenty years Father Leonid could be found in his cell, where he sat on his bed, his hands busy with some task, surrounded by visitors who knelt or sat on the ground to listen to him. When sick people, or those possessed of devils, were brought to him, he healed them with an ointment, or by touching them with an icon. Bourgeois, merchants, priests and nuns would swarm round him until nightfall. Father Macaire, who succeeded him, came of an aristocratic family and was a highly educated man. Father Ambrose was the most famous of all. He was shrewd and cheerful, and people of all sorts flocked to him in search of spiritual enlightenment; among those who came—with varying success—were Dostoevsky, Tolstoy, Soloviev and Leontiev. The last *staretz* of Optina, Father Anatoly, saw his monastery closed down and his brotherhood scattered to the four winds, and is believed to have died in 1922.

CHAPTER XX

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA[1]

I. INTRODUCTION

I N the United States the period from 1775 to 1905 was one of intense concentration upon internal development. Even in the preceding colonial era, Americans had had a sense of their own remoteness from Europe, since they had been engaged in mastering a new and separated physical environment. But the outbreak of the revolution in 1775 confirmed this sense of separation in a dramatic way, and at the same time set before Americans demanding new tasks of political and cultural construction. The resulting dual preoccupation with the subduing of a continent and the formation of national institutions continued throughout the period, reaching its apogee in the middle years of the nineteenth century. Americans, who before 1775 had belonged to Europe, during this later era nurtured an acute and sometimes excessive awareness that they now belonged to the American continent and must devote themselves to meeting its demands. 'Such as we were,' the late Robert Frost wrote, 'we gave ourselves outright . . . to the land vaguely realizing westward.'

This self-giving, though outright, did not go unrequited. On the contrary, the return on the gift was abundant and seemed unending. If 'America was promises', as another poet said, America was also fulfilment. The ebullient tone of national life and thought rested not simply upon high expectations, but upon a repeated experience of the full cycle of promise and achievement. It is easy enough in retrospect to see how far ideals exceeded realities; but for contemporaries the compelling, and perhaps hypnotic, spectacle was one of seemingly perpetual national progress. It was difficult, in fact, for the nine-teenth-century American to doubt the perfectibility either of American society or of man in general.

The American thought of himself, moreover, as aspiring and acting for all mankind. His powerful sense of separation from Europe did not interfere with his confidence that the national success story was the success story of humanity. The latter was, indeed, a fundamental belief, and one which added measurably to American euphoria. Hector St John de Crèvecoeur, the 'American Farmer' who interpreted the new society for Europeans in the 1780s, projected a fulfilment in America not only of European but of universal cultural aspira-tion. The Americans, he wrote, are the 'western pilgrims, who are carrying along with them that great mass of arts, sciences, vigour, and industry, which began long since in the east'; they would, he predicted, 'finish the great circle'. American civilization would distinguish itself through leadership of the human pilgrimage, not through the formation of a separate procession.
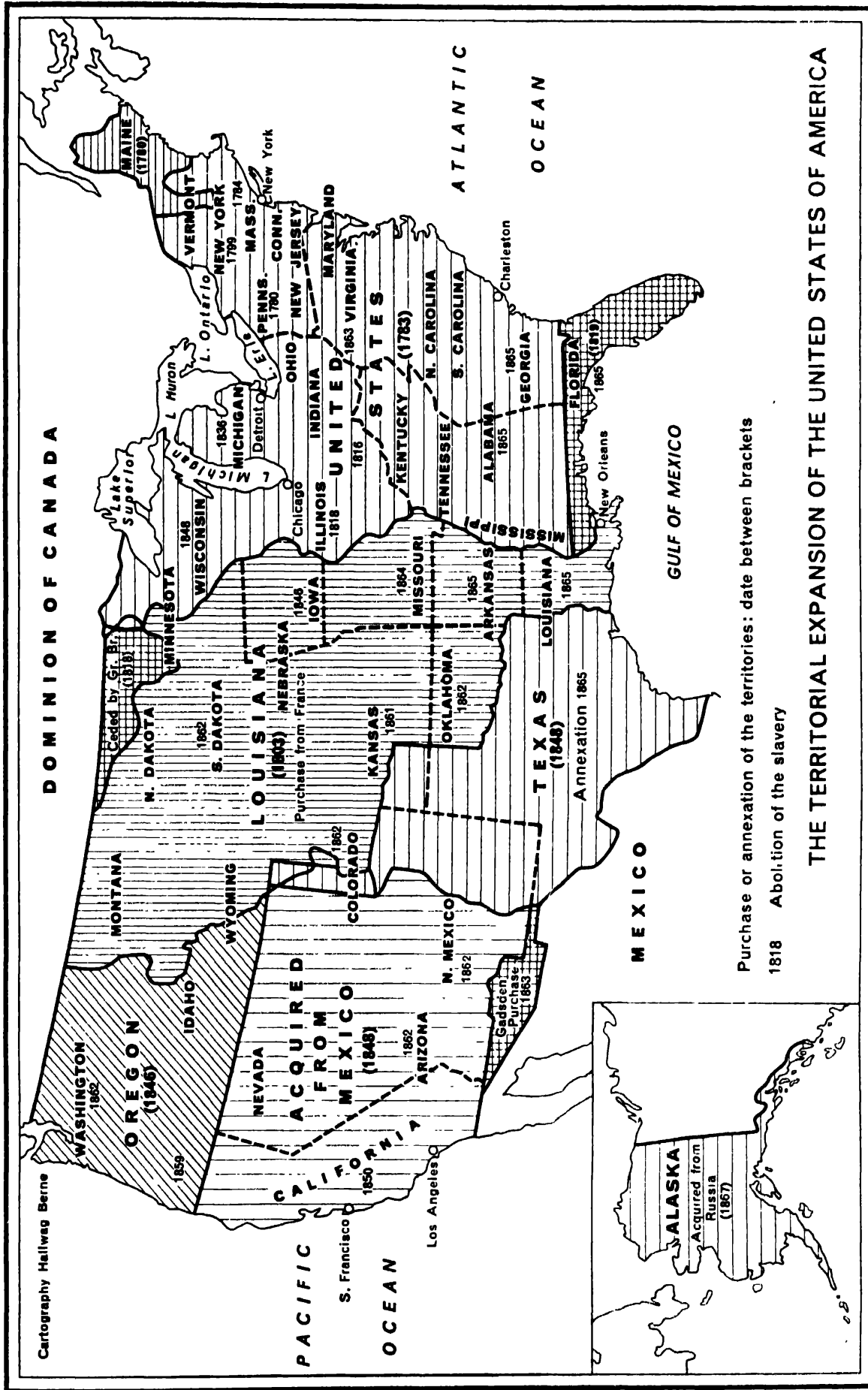
Crèvecoeur's metaphors, in which the 'farmer', the possessor and cultivator of land, led a westward march of human progress, seemed to contemporaries to be little more than a reporting of the facts; and such metaphors continued, throughout the nineteenth century, to have the double force of poetic truths that were being confirmed in everyday experience. Millions of Americans did know 'opportunity', and even 'success', as experiences genuinely associated with physical movement into areas of free land. In the popular mind the definition of success was affected both by the accumulation of these individual experiences and by the observable and apparently effortless expansion of the nation toward a western terminus. Every time a 'Latin school' opened in some far wilderness, a few more Americans were confirmed in their tendency to identify physical movement and cultural progress. Wherever free land yielded lucrative crops and brought dramatic gains in personal status, men were tempted not only to believe in land as the token of equality, but to believe that the high goal of equality had been attained.

Nearly every other venture in national development appeared (to natives at least) to confirm the 'American Farmer's' hopeful predictions. In the revolutionary period the acceptance by the newly independent states of documents signifying political union—in particular their acceptance of a centralizing constitution—showed a cohesion which up to that moment had seemed quite unattainable. The Revolutionary War stamped the nationalizing enterprise with military success; and the War of 1812 with Great Britain, while not unequivocally a military victory, helped to secure for the United States a long-sought freedom of economic action.

It was at this point that Americans turned most consciously toward concentration upon domestic development. After 1820 they renewed their interest in a westward movement that already had reached beyond the first (the Appalachian) mountain barrier, and they came to regard expansion to the Pacific not only as justifiable but as the 'manifest destiny' decreed by a beneficient Providence. The spirit of Young America supported hopeful movements in popular education, social reform, and extension of the franchise. Even the Civil War of the 1860s, though it involved almost incredible carnage, could be viewed by contemporaries as 'but an incident'—a scuffle in the ranks—temporarily disrupting the forward procession (Pl. 63a). The war also, by resolving the chief ambiguity of American federalism, contributed to an industrial acceleration which by 1900 had catapulted the United States into something approaching Great Power status (Pl. 63b).

The enormous growth in population, meanwhile, meant among other things that some thirty million immigrants, from 1775 to 1905, were reading their largely favourable personal reports into the record of American life. And by the end of the era the crisis of Indian–white conflict, as well as that of Negro slavery, had been reached and passed, so that even here the American supposed the promise of the new land to be in process of astounding fulfilment.

Less striking as evidences of this kind of achievement, but important to the

THE TERRITORIAL EXPANSION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Purchase or annexation of the territories : date between brackets

1818   Abolition of the slavery

Cartography Hallweg Berne

DOMINION OF CANADA

PACIFIC

OCEAN

ATLANTIC

OCEAN

GULF OF MEXICO

MEXICO

S. Francisco

Los Angeles

WASHINGTON
1862

OREGON
(1846)

1859

IDAHO

NEVADA
1862

CALIFORNIA
1850

ACQUIRED
FROM
MEXICO
(1848)

ARIZONA
1862

MONTANA

WYOMING

COLORADO
1862

N. MEXICO
1862

Gadsden
Purchase
11853

Ceded by Gr. Br.
(1818)

N. DAKOTA

S. DAKOTA
1862

NEBRASKA

KANSAS
1861

OKLAHOMA
1862

TEXAS
(1845)

Annexation 1865

MINNESOTA

LOUISIANA
(1803)
Purchase from France

IOWA
1848

MISSOURI
1854

ARKANSAS
1865

LOUISIANA
1865

WISCONSIN
1848

MICHIGAN
1836

Lake Superior

L. Michigan

L. Huron

Detroit

Chicago

ILLINOIS
1818

INDIANA
1816

UNITED

STATES

KENTUCKY
(1783)

TENNESSEE

MISSISSIPPI

ALABAMA
1865

New Orleans

L. Ontario

L. Erie

MAINE
(1789)

VERMONT

NEW YORK
1799

MASS.
1784

CONN.

PENNS.
1780

NEW JERSEY

MARYLAND

OHIO

1863 VIRGINIA

New York

N. CAROLINA

S. CAROLINA

Charleston

GEORGIA
1865

FLORIDA
(1819)
1865

MEXICO

ALASKA
Acquired from
Russia
(1867)

growth of conscious nationality, were developments in cultural forms and social institutions. Education and religion especially received the impress of the environment and adapted traditional goals to new needs. Education at the lower levels became the most important instrument of 'Americanization' (Pl. 66a), while the colleges and universities found themselves called upon to bring culture and the practical arts to frontier communities (Pl. 66b). Among religious institutions, those that could most readily adapt to a mobile frontier situation emerged as the greatest in numerical strength, and evolved those forms (such as the 'revival') that were most distinctively American (Pl. 69).

Literature, philosophy, the fine arts, and the natural sciences in America responded to impulses at work throughout Western society, and of course were in a high degree dependent upon the fortuitous workings of individual genius. Yet in these areas also, the conscious pursuit of the national destiny— as announced, for example, by John Quincy Adams, by Ralph Waldo Emerson, and by Noah Webster—spurred and gave direction to individual efforts. And habits of thought engendered by the national experience could make for the peculiar acceptability in America of a variant cultural form such as, for example, Scottish philosophical realism.

Many 'keys' have been singled out to explain the traits of character and behaviour which became most visible among the nineteenth-century Americans. Some interpreters have thought European origins were decisive in shaping the American character, while others have given greater weight to North American conditions. In discussing environmental influences, scholars have debated whether material abundance should be taken as the central factor, or whether the frontier experience, a total configuration involving more than abundance, sent its own thrill of dynamism through American society. Continental isolation; military security; the 'M-factor' of geographic and social mobility; the imperatives of a class struggle; each of these has been urged by one or another modern commentator as the key to American cultural peculiarities.

Whatever their aetiology, certain traits came in the nineteenth century to seem especially and pervasively American. The national character was strongly marked, for example, by a combination of idealism and acquisitiveness. These two drives may appear to have been contradictory, yet both were genuine, and the American found little difficulty in reconciling them. Both the frenzy of acquisition and the extravagance of idealism were in his mind justified by the conviction that nothing was beyond his reach, that anything could be obtained or done. (And if it could not be done in a given spot, it could be done farther west.)

Americans also, as the late Professor David Potter pointed out, were understandably if excessively impressed by the contributions which material abundance seemed able to make to the realization of ideals. From this observation, buttressed by the Calvinistic rationale of acquisitiveness, it was but a short step to the idealizing of the materialist bent itself, and to philosophical posi-

tions—notably pragmatism—in which success in action became the major criterion of the truth of propositions.

Just as an accentuated idealism could coexist and interact with acquisitiveness, the desire for conformity seems to have arisen in response to needs left unfulfilled by individualism. Individualism and conformity, as Tocqueville argued convincingly in the 1830s, were jointly products of the principle of equality in its American setting. The American as frontiersman or entrepreneur was strikingly an individualist in many spheres of practical activity; yet the fact of equality produced in him a heightened concern about his standing in the eyes of others, and a desire for the security of shared convictions.

Within these patterns of idealism and acquisitiveness, individualism and conformity, a number of related characteristics came to appear peculiarly American. Restlessness and inventiveness, for example, were qualities which expressed and helped define frontier individualism, while a marked gregariousness and tendency toward 'joining' were reflexes of this same individualism wherever Americans were 'on the move'. The generosity of the average American, a trait constantly reported, was related both to his sense of material well-being and to his idealism. Idealism could also become the expansive boastfulness which foreign observers were so quick to notice.

Cataloguing the traits of the nineteenth-century American, however, is not very helpful beyond this point. Nearly every imaginable trait has been proclaimed by one or another observer as 'typical'. The difficulty, of course, is that a number of widely varying types existed. While the Ohio valley farmer of 1820 shared many badges of common nationality with the southern plantation owner and the Massachusetts factory worker, it is about as dangerous to generalize about the common traits of these three transplanted Europeans as it would be to generalize about the common traits of their kinsmen scattered over Europe.

Still, as we have indicated, the national experience did induce common attitudes and did dictate that certain ingredients would regularly be found in the configurations of individual and local character. The most persistent of these were the preoccupation with internal development and nation-building, the expectation of change and movement, and the optimism born of apparently perpetual achievement. Though these by no means exhaust the categories within which the nineteenth-century American can be analysed, they provide the chief clues for understanding the impressions, good and bad, which he made upon his contemporaries.

2. POPULATION GROWTH AND SOCIAL CHANGE
BY MARGARET LERCHE

All Americans except the Indians, as Franklin Roosevelt was fond of pointing out, are 'recent immigrants'. And the nineteenth century is clearly the century

of the Great Migration. Thus one might be tempted to focus the entire story of cultural development upon the transoceanic and transcontinental migrations. To do so would result in distortion. Yet most of the major themes of national development do present themselves with peculiar clarity in the story of these vast movements; and several of the prominent traits of American character are most readily explicable within that story.

The westering American or newly arrived immigrant was an essential agent of internal economic development. More than that, his was the mind and personality that perpetually gave fresh dynamism to the American's sense of himself as something more than a European—as, in fact, a New Adam in the garden of the Western world. The other participants in the migrant's story— the 'nativists' with whom he had to contend, and the Indians whom, ironically, he forced to lead his western pilgrimage—are reminders of the more sombre realities of the American experience. The Old Adam of human perversity had not, as the script for this drama required, stayed behind to manage affairs in the Old World.

Natural increase and immigration

In the seventy years between 1790 and 1860, while the European population was growing by some 65 per cent, the population of the United States was growing by roughly one-third in each decade. (After 1860 the rate was approximately 25 per cent per decade.) Up to 1830, natural increase accounted for most of this growth; but from 1830 until the Civil War, the sizeable immigrant flow served to obscure a marked slackening of natural increase. The Civil War further depressed natural population growth (although immigration remained high); and post-war America, with its rapid industrialization and urbanization, was not conducive to high birth-rates. A dramatic fall in the birth-rate from 32 per thousand to 18 per thousand occurred during the first years of the twentieth century, and was reversed only after the Second World War. Although the death rate also moved steadily downward (from 17 to 11) in the same period, the net decline was substantial.

The high rate of natural increase during the early years of the nation was appropriate to the social and economic conditions of a frontier-oriented, rapidly developing society. The decline in this rate began in the urbanized regions of the north-east and came last to the rural and less developed areas of the country (notably to southern rural whites and Negroes). By the end of the century the downward trend was affecting even new immigrants, whose preference for large families was sharply conditioned by the situation they discovered in America.

Growth through immigration, of course, was a radically different matter. During the 1820s about 14,000 immigrants arrived each year; but by the 1840s this annual figure had risen above 170,000. (More than half the entire total of immigrants up to 1850, indeed, arrived during the 1840s.) After 1850 the yearly totals rose even more steeply. The annual average rose to almost 370,000 in

the 1890s and to nearly one million per year from 1900 to 1910. One-and-a-half million immigrants arrived in the single year of 1907.

Up to the middle of the nineteenth century the composition of the immigrant flow remained consistent with the proportions in the colonial settlements: predominantly British, Irish, German, and Scandinavian, with the English-speaking residents of the British Isles being the most numerous and the most easily assimilated in a culture that closely resembled their own.

This pre-1850 immigration shaped the culture of the United States into a pattern based on British seventeenth- and eighteenth-century experience but modified in at least two important ways. The first factor that contributed to the creation of a distinct American nation was the alien and largely virgin environment into which British culture was brought; the second was the presence of relatively small but very important minorities of non-British origin. These latter groups, while being successfully assimilated in the predominant Anglo-American culture, contributed significantly to its enrichment and variety.

An increased Irish immigration, beginning at mid-century, brought the first radical change in these patterns. The Irish had arrived steadily from colonial times until the middle of the nineteenth century, but after the potato famine of 1846 the trickle from this quarter became a flood. During the 1850s an average of over 90,000 Irish entered the United States annually, and Ireland soon displaced Germany as the second most important source of immigrants. The Irish differed in a number of ways from the bulk of the earlier settlers: they were Catholic, they tended to concentrate in the cities, and they generally were from the lowest rather than from a middling economic level. Irish immigration put the 'melting-pot' ideal to its first real test.

The 1880s saw further change in the composition of the immigrant population as well as a sharp increase in numbers. Italians, Poles, Russians, Greeks, and the subject Slav peoples of the Austro-Hungarian Empire poured across the Atlantic, so that by 1890 northern Europe, the traditional source of immigration, was producing only half the total human input in the United States.

Included within this newest immigration were several other interesting and significant groups, of which the most important were the Jews. Sizeable Jewish migration from Germany, Poland, and Russia began—except in the case of German Jews—at the same time as did large-scale non-Jewish movements from these countries. On their arrival the Jewish immigrants were registered as 'Jews' rather than Russians, Poles, or Germans. Thus, anomalously, they came to be classified in the statistics as a separate immigrant group. Jews generally demonstrated in a sharper way the general characteristics of the newest immigrants: religious difference, linguistic oddity, urban orientation, close in-group identification, and low income status.

Less significant numerically but of considerable social importance were the non-European immigrants who began to appear in the United States late in the century. Latin Americans—almost entirely Mexicans—began to cross the

Rio Grande and join the other Latin American and Spanish-speaking communities in the American south-west. Across the Pacific came Chinese and Japanese, most of whom settled on the Pacific Coast. The Japanese total remained small (only 12,000 by 1905), but the Chinese amounted to more than 100,000 by 1890. These non-European immigrants, as well as the long-resident Negro population, added racial diversity to the other strands of religious, linguistic, cultural and economic variety. By 1900 the newly arrived immigrant of whatever country was no longer entering upon an experience that was unique and possibly lonely. He could count on joining an established community of his fellow nationals.

The nineteenth-century immigrant experience influenced the composite national character in many ways that elude exact definition, and in a few ways that can be rather clearly documented. Though in-group identification was powerful among many of the newcomers, their sharp sense of separation from the soil and culture of the homeland stoked the fires of American individualism. Equally important in this regard was the striking fact that American immigration, in its aggregate one of the greatest movements of people in history, occurred almost entirely without planning, official assistance, or leadership; the decision to migrate was almost always an individual or a family choice.

Effects upon the development of the dual acquisitive–idealistic spirit are also patent. Initially the immigrant, placed at the bottom of the economic ladder, was an agent in fulfilling the aspirations and acquisitive drives of more privileged persons. But the restless compulsion to rise from that level, exercised within a population already pre-selected for the kind of initiative needed for migration, fostered American acquisitiveness to a degree that can be exaggerated but should not be ignored. At the same time, the constant flow of immigrants kept very much alive the dream of the 'free society' and the fact of social mobility. In the latter nineteenth century especially, when older social patterns and the stratification intrinsic to an industrialized society were inhibiting social dynamism, the steady injection of large numbers of ambitious, upward-mobile, and hard-working immigrants made a vital if still incomplete reality of the 'land of opportunity' ideal.

Problems of assimilation

In general, nineteenth-century Americans were as proud of their 'melting-pot' society, and thus of their immigrants, as modern Americans are in retrospect. A jarring dissent, however, was entered by the people called nativists. Nativism was a hostility, variously manifested and organized, toward aliens and foreign-born Americans. In the nineteenth century it took the form of vocal animosity toward whichever newly arrived immigrant groups provided the sharpest contrast with the established older community. At best a paradox, at worst an ugly contradiction of American ideals, nativism reached its high-points of influence during the 1850s with the 'Know-Nothing' movement and then in the 1890s with the American Protective Association.

Nativists in both periods advanced religious, economic, political, and eugenic reasons for their hostility toward the target groups and for their proposal that immigration be restricted. Since most of the offending immigrants were non-Protestant, religious hatreds were relatively easy to arouse. Since new immigrants generally accepted lower wages than more sophisticated native workers, their presence unquestionably served to depress wage rates and they were pictured as paupers and enemies of the American working man. Politically they found their way into big-city political machines (in most cases part of the Democratic Party) where they provided large masses of easily controlled votes that could and did upset long-standing political relationships. Running through all the nativist discussions, but particularly those of the latter nineteenth century, were vague but emotion-filled concerns that new ethnic admixtures would dilute and pollute the purity of the native American bloodstream.

Both Know-Nothingism and the American Protective Association sought to carry nativism into politics. Both, however, foundered as political movements when more important and fundamental issues arose to engage the loyalties of their adherents: Know-Nothingism collapsed with the rise of anti-slavery agitation in the 1850s, and the APA fell apart under the impact of populism and the agitation for free silver in the 1890s. Although revived in the twentieth century with the modern Ku Klux Klan, nativism came to be less a fundamental problem in American life than a recurrent manifestation of generalized social unrest. While it is replete with unpleasant experiences, the history of nativism does not suggest any permanent impact on American life beyond the eventual acceptance of the principle that immigration should be restricted.

Despite nativist pressures, the federal government up to 1882 passed no laws inhibiting immigration; and such attempts at restriction as were made by state governments were substantially invalidated by decisions of the United States Supreme Court. The Civil War, in which numerous immigrants demonstrated their loyalty, deprived the anti-foreign argument of much of its vitality. Even at the end of the century, when the 'new immigration' from southern Europe and the Far East was arousing widespread concern, federal controls were generally minor and non-invidious.

In 1882 the United States imposed a head tax on immigrants and denied admission to certain categories of persons: lunatics, idiots, those likely to become public charges, and convicted criminals (although political and religious offenders were not barred). Later legislation provided for deportation of illegal immigrants (1885), the exclusion of polygamists (1891), and the temporary cessation of all immigration if there was danger of an epidemic (the Quarantine Act, 1892).

A more ominous development than any of these was the enacting of a series of Chinese Exclusion Acts and the imposing of informal restrictions on Japanese immigration. But President Cleveland in 1897 vetoed a literacy-test bill

frankly aimed at the 'new immigration', and the century closed with no further restrictions. The trend toward restriction was to be resumed in the 1900s, with Congress imposing a literacy test in 1917 and enacting the highly restrictive national origins quota system in the 1920s.

Far more numerous than the 'nativists', both before and after the beginning of the era of restriction, were those who sought to expedite the process of 'Americanization'. Americanization meant more than the sloughing off of old ways and the adoption of new ones. It meant really the transformation of Slavs, Italians, or Greeks into replicas of fourth-generation middle-class Anglo-Saxon Americans. At the same time, it implied that each immigrant group, in return for its adaptation to prevailing social patterns, would enjoy the satisfaction of having added something distinctive to American life; the transmutation worked both ways. It was in this context that the very phrase 'melting-pot' was born. Most of the immigrants displayed an almost touching eagerness to join in the process and to become 'real' Americans as quickly as possible.

In spite of the efforts of resident citizens and the usually whole-hearted co-operation of the immigrants themselves, assimilation proved a difficult task for many. The immigrants tended to cluster in communities in large cities, where their natural preference for old and familiar ways in the face of an exotic and frequently bewildering environment led to a prolongation of misunderstanding, suspicion, and often fear on both sides. The full process of Americanization was only rarely completed by the immigrant generation itself.

This suggests what was probably the most vexing of the problems of assimilation, at least to the immigrants themselves: the inevitable conflict between generations. The children of immigrants, most of them exposed to the democratizing and Americanizing influence of the public schools, rapidly evolved into standard American types, while the metamorphosis of their parents was only rarely complete or happy. Even while wishing their children every success and giving them every assistance, immigrant parents were torn by regret as they watched their children grow away from ancestral ways. The younger generation, on its part, was avid to break with the 'old country' and to become indistinguishable from other native-born Americans.

Religious differences, also, created problems that were sufficiently serious without the exacerbations of the nativists. The Slavs were Roman Catholic or Greek Orthodox, the Italians were Roman Catholic, and the Jews, as has been mentioned, were identified by their religion rather than by their country of origin. As these new religious bodies grew and established institutional structures, they symbolized for many the obstacles facing immigrant assimilation. As time passed, however, the opinion became general among older settlers that an American Jew or an American Catholic was in some desirable way 'different' from his co-religionists in the Old World, and correspondingly more acceptable.

Also contributing to the difficulty of thorough assimilation was the limited range of economic opportunity afforded the new immigrants. Enough of them, however, prospered mightily and took important places in American economic life for happier images to displace the stereotype of the immigrant as a permanent resident of a sweat-shop.

A final problem, in large part the result of the preceding three, was the development and perpetuation of segregated residential patterns. In almost every large eastern and mid-western city, by 1900 there were clearly defined Italian, Polish, Greek, and Jewish quarters. Here the immigrants built an approximation of their earlier communal life in Europe, and it was partly the urge of young American-born immigrant children to escape from this non-American environment that contributed to the conflict between them and their parents. The low income level ensured that these immigrant areas were never luxurious and were often slums. Thus nativist prejudices seemed, even in the eyes of better-disposed compatriots, to receive objective confirmation.

In spite of these problems, assimilation progressed apace. American society was fluid and the American economy expanding; and this meant that immigrants and native-born Americans found themselves increasingly thrown into contact. As each group made its way among the more established Americans, ethnic, cultural, and religious suspicions on both sides lessened—gradually yet quite demonstrably. Immigrants and their children became caught up in changing American social patterns—altered family structure, for example—that represented especially sharp departures from European norms. They also, in a culture that still eagerly appropriated European ideas and fashions, implanted thousands of vital social customs that would remind the Old and New Worlds of their common roots long after the variety of folkways had ceased to remind old and new immigrants of their differences. In modern America, artistic and musical standards, preferences in food, and such volatile matters as prevailing patterns of humour and speech, all show their indebtedness to the culture of ordinary immigrants.

Internal migration and the problem of Indian–white relations

Since the earliest settlements had been clustered along the Atlantic seaboard, the filling up of the nation in the nineteenth century obviously required an internal migration comparable in magnitude to the immigration from abroad. Two great trends gave form to the process: the inexorable movement from East to West and a more gradual shift of population from farm to city.

In 1790, the year of the first census, the centre of American population was 23 miles east of Baltimore, Maryland. In 1850 it was 23 miles south-east of the modern Parkersburg, West Virginia, and in 1900 it had moved to 6 miles south-east of Columbus, Indiana. The trans-Allegheny West had drawn migrants from eastern cities and immigrants from Europe in a steady flow that began even before independence. This process continued without inter-

ruption until the frontier reached approximately the 100th meridian—the boundary between the prairies and the Great Plains.

At this point difficulties of transportation and deficiencies of rainfall made small-homestead farming unprofitable. For this reason, the Great Plains and Rocky Mountain regions did not become populated in their turn; instead, the wave of migration in the 1840s passed beyond the mountains to the Pacific coast, leaving behind a vast empty area. It was not until the completion of the trans-continental railroad in 1869 that the Great Basin, the Rockies, and the Great Plains became centres of settlement; and population density in these areas was to remain the lowest in the United States.

Although the concurrent shift from farm to city reached its climax only in the present century (the nation first became over half urban in the census of 1920), this phenomenon had been evident in the latter nineteenth century. In 1790 the American population was 95 per cent rural; in 1850, 85 per cent; in 1900, only 57 per cent. By 1900 there were eight states in which the population was more than half urban. The movement to the cities was clearly a function primarily of the post-Civil War industrialization of the nation.

Within these two trends were many smaller tides of movement as Americans criss-crossed the map of their country. People moved between North and South, and there was a smaller but noticeable counter-migration from West to East. These divergent trends in many cases can be related to particular economic attractions; but much of the Americans' restless movement must be attributed to the inscrutable workings of individual preference or to the drawing power (sometimes exaggerated in the 'frontier thesis') of open land and fresh opportunities. It can be argued, at any rate, that the physical movement of peoples within the American continent was nearly as important to the 'melting-pot' as were the transatlantic migrations.

Throughout the nineteenth century the westward tide of settlement continued to collide with the resistance of the land's prior inhabitants, the American Indians. None of the several ways in which white Americans sought to cope with this obstacle to their 'manifest destiny' was completely satisfactory, and the record of Indian–white relations is a generally unedifying one.

In spite of many famous instances of friendly relations, natives and settlers had found themselves involved regularly in warfare. Indian resistance to Christianization and Indian refusal to fit into European patterns of agriculture convinced the whites that the natives must be either bought out or driven out.[2] But treaties of purchase, though repeatedly drawn up and agreed to, were of little effect. On the Indian side the legalities of land transfer were often not grasped; on the white, a long history of broken promises, violations of contract, and other instances of bad faith made each new treaty more difficult to work out.

As white civilization established itself firmly along the Atlantic coast and began to reach westward, the really difficult phase of the Indian problem began. Migration across the Allegheny Mountains touched off several decades of almost constant warfare. Although the United States Government from

independence onward pledged itself to maintain the 'utmost good faith', declarations from Washington could not halt the steady depredations of American pioneers upon Indian lands. Too frequently, American officials joined private citizens in using a combination of violence and trickery to take one hunting ground after another out of Indian hands.

At last the Indians sought to strike back. Between 1809 and 1811 Tecumseh —a Shawnee chief—attempted to weld all the tribes east of the Mississippi into a single confederation, with the aim of halting the piecemeal dissolution of Indian life. His movement enjoyed startling success and alarmed the white population. Under the leadership of the governor of the Indiana Territory, William Henry Harrison, Tecumseh was defeated and his movement crushed at the battle of Tippecanoe in 1811. Almost thirty years later, memories of this feat helped to put Harrison in the White House.

With the end of Tecumseh's effort, the United States continued to deal with the Indians on a tribe-by-tribe basis. The predictable results were incessant tension, increasing hostility, and frequent war. Such national policies as attempted to regularize Indian relations east of the Mississippi proved unable to change the pattern; and finally, under President Andrew Jackson, a new tactic was adopted. All Indians were to be removed west of the Mississippi. Between 1829 and 1837 the removal was carried out; the United States signed treaties with nearly 100 tribes, opened millions of acres of land to white settlement, and removed thousands of Indians bodily across the Mississippi. Although technically this was not a 'forced' move, Americans here brooked no interference; tribes such as the Cherokee and Seminole that resisted the transfer were eventually subdued.

The removal of the Indians was followed by the delineation of a 'permanent Indian frontier' which ran roughly along the western borders of Arkansas and Missouri north-east to Lake Superior and south along the Red River. The United States pledged the permanence of this barrier and garrisoned it with troops to keep whites and Indians apart. This, Americans thought, was to be the final solution to the problem.

But the whites would not stay behind the line (Pl. 65a). The discovery of gold in California in 1849 and the consequent peopling of the Far West, followed by the building of the transcontinental railroads, brought about a new irruption of whites into Indian territory and touched off the most serious Indian wars of all. The western tribes lived entirely off the buffalo and were nomadic and warlike as a result. When white settlement menaced the buffalo herds, these Indians revolted.

In this era of war against the Plains Indians (the most famous tribes included the Sioux, the Cheyenne, the Arapaho, and the Kiowa), the United States abandoned its policy of dealing with the Indians as a single unit. In 1851 the government began allocating to each tribe a reservation for its exclusive use. The allocations were made, however, without regard for Indian wishes or the availability of game.

The Civil War, which occasioned withdrawals of regular-army complements from frontier posts, promoted a long series of Indian rebellions and white reprisals. The Sioux and the Cheyenne proved the most difficult to control, and desultory but always sanguine warfare raged along the Great Plains throughout the sixties and seventies (Pl. 65b). The climax came in 1876 when General George A. Custer and 200 cavalrymen were wiped out by Chief Sitting Bull at Little Big Horn. In the south-west the campaign against the Apaches under Geronimo continued fitfully until the great chief was captured and exiled in 1885.

But a new Indian policy was in the making in Washington as the white conscience began to be troubled by the excesses on the frontier. In 1869 Congress established the Indian Committees Bureau; and in 1871 the fiction that each tribe was a foreign nation, to be dealt with by treaty, was allowed to slip into well-earned oblivion. Also salutary, and reflective of a widespread attitude, was the acknowledgement by President Rutherford B. Hayes, in 1877, that most of the Indian wars had been the fault of the white Americans.

The Indian policy initiated at this time was founded on the notion that the Indian was the responsibility of the nation and ought ultimately to be integrated into American society. The Dawes Act of 1887, under which each family head was given 160 acres (a 'quarter section') to cultivate, diminished tribal authority over its individual members, even on the reservations. The recipient of the land, after a probationary period, was granted full ownership and full citizenship in the United States.

Although Indian affairs continued difficult and even included later outbreaks of violence, the precedent had been established that the nation was no longer bent on the extermination of the Indians, but rather was committed to their rehabilitation. As early as 1901 the Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma became United States citizens, and in 1924 all Indians were granted full citizenship.

3. ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Economic transformations rivalled the demographic ones in magnitude and in complexity. Between 1775 and 1905 the United States grew from a loose collection of agrarian colonies to take first place among the manufacturing nations. This growth resulted in large part from the application of new technology in an environment favoured with abundant resources. It also depended upon, and further instigated, drastic changes in the way Americans lived, worked, and governed themselves. Nineteenth-century American farmers greatly increased production but, in mechanizing and specializing, lost the cherished self-sufficiency of the family farm. Entrepreneurs, forging economic tools and risking capital to build new industries, looked for ways of gaining governmental help without succumbing entirely to governmental control. Statesmen, balancing myriad group and sectional interests, sought to

build a nation united in fact as well as in law. With the growth of cities and factories, leaders of social thought proposed new ways of organizing social and political relationships.

First years of independence

The men who governed in the first twenty-five years of independence were preoccupied with working out policies, practices, and institutions to set a course for American development. For the most part, they made few alterations in the face of the land or in the way Americans lived. The American country-side, which was to be altered greatly even by the 1830s, appeared in 1800 much as it had in the last colonial years.

Farming dominated the economy of the new nation. Almost 73 per cent of gainfully employed Americans worked in agriculture. Estimates suggest that farming accounted for about 40 per cent of Americans' income, and that its products provided the main support for an additional 25 per cent gained from transportation. In 1803 agricultural goods—chiefly grain, tobacco, rice, and cotton—comprised 78 per cent of exports originating domestically. Forest products contributed an additional 11 per cent, while fish (6 per cent) and manufactures (3 per cent) made up most of the rest.

Farming methods remained much the same as in colonial days. A few large planters experimented with fertilizers, crop rotation, new tools, and contour ploughing; but most small farmers continued in the old ways, wearing out their land and then abandoning it in favour of new farms on the ample frontier.

The state and national governments moved early to facilitate agricultural expansion by putting land into the hands of private owners. The revolutionary movement had put the quietus, by 1800, to such feudal landholding practices as had been transplanted from Europe, although many large estates remained in the Hudson valley and in the South. Two acts, meanwhile, had set the tone for federal land policy. The Land Ordinance of 1785 had authorized the national government to sell carefully-surveyed plots of public land to indivi-duals after setting aside one square mile in each township for the support of schools. Two years later the Northwest Ordinance had established a system by which new settlements could evolve through several stages of limited self-government until ready for full-fledged statehood and membership in the Union.

Land policy provoked heated political debate which continued throughout the nineteenth century. Some statesmen argued that the public domain was a vast natural resource which the government should sell at a high price to produce revenue for the common benefit. They were seconded by manu-facturers who hoped to keep their labour force from moving west, and by landowners with a stake in high land prices. Other leaders, supported by western pioneers, eastern wage-earners, and land speculators, insisted that democratic principles as well as group economic interests demanded sale of the land on liberal terms. The latter group prevailed. Terms of sale were

gradually liberalized until, in 1862, Congress passed the Homestead Act; this offered 160 acres of public land to any settler who would farm the plot for five years. Only about 16 per cent of the new farms after 1860, however, occupied homestead land. The rest were formed by purchases of railroad and other granted land and, in the South, by sub-division of plantations into tenant farms.

Despite the predominance of agriculture, late eighteenth-century America boasted a sizeable commercial community, growing manufactures, and a handful of cities populated by artisans and working men. Together, these elements were often influential beyond the proportion of their numbers, although manufacturers and merchants were often divided on major political issues such as the protective tariff.

Unlike most new nations of succeeding centuries, the United States had the advantage of an active mercantile tradition. The colonial merchants had contributed significantly to the British effort to build a self-sufficient empire. When British financial policy turned to their disadvantage after 1763, these same merchants, together with large landowners, provided much of the leadership for the independence movement. After the Revolution, the outbreak of the Napoleonic wars made the neutral United States, long experienced in shipbuilding, a major commercial carrier, and the American merchant marine came to stand second only to the British, as it continued to do throughout the first half of the nineteenth century.

Distinctive patterns of business organization evolved in these first years after independence. Although most businesses continued to be individually owned and operated, the larger enterprises such as shipping, mining, and milling were increasingly organized as partnerships or as unincorporated companies of shareholders. Corporations, as in colonial days, were chartered largely for public service functions. Of the 326 corporations chartered between 1775 and 1801, only eight were manufacturing firms.

The Revolution gave fresh impetus to such manufacturing as restrictive British laws had permitted in the colonies, but growth was uncertain, and American mills in 1800 were far from meeting domestic needs. The efficiency of a growing iron industry was limited by its continued dependence on water power and charcoal rather than steam and coal. Machine-operated cotton mills numbered only about a dozen by 1800; and most of the few woollen factories started before that year faltered. The rural family industry and the handicraftsman continued to supply most simple manufactured goods.

Labour organizations in the modern sense did not exist, in those first years, although skilled artisans, notably the printers and shoemakers, formed societies much like the guilds of medieval Europe; and strikes occurred as early as 1786. Unskilled workers were not organized, but labour was scarce and wages therefore higher than in Europe.

The economic depression of the mid-1780s convinced many American leaders that government under the Articles of Confederation could not provide a sound environment for economic progress. The framers of the 1787 Consti-

tution therefore gave government the power to arrest inflation, collect revenues, and control relations with foreign nations. The first Congress, at the recommendation of Treasury Secretary Alexander Hamilton, quickly established a tariff for revenue and gave some protection to infant industries. It provided also for a uniform monetary system based on the dollar, a banking system built around the Bank of the United States (1792), and sound public credit. The most controversial of Hamilton's measures was his proposal to fund the previous government's debt and to assume responsibility for all state debts dollar for dollar. Hamilton had his way, and these measures created trust in the new government and an encouraging climate for domestic and foreign investment. Thomas Jefferson, philosopher of agrarian democracy, felt that Hamilton's programme favoured the wealthy merchants and manufacturers at the expense of debt-ridden farmers, but by 1815 he too would recognize the need for encouraging industrial self-sufficiency.

The clash between Hamilton and Jefferson was symptomatic of a contest between political forces which had begun with the Revolution. Political control in 1775 had rested chiefly with the merchants, large landowners, lawyers, and some of the clergy in the established coastal counties. In some colonies, a substantial middle class—farmer-owners, shopkeepers, master journeymen, small planters—shared governing power; but property qualifications for voting limited the influence of small farmers and unskilled working men. Jefferson, though himself a member of the governing élite, championed the ability and right of common men to share in their government; and this put him at odds with Hamilton and others who believed that the nation's growth depended chiefly on the vigour of its entrepreneurs.

In these early political contests, however, as later through much of the nineteenth century, sectional interests outweighed class interests in determining positions taken on the major issues.[3] In most states at the time of independence the inhabitants of the established coastal areas controlled the state governments, while frontier counties were under-represented in the legislatures. The westerners in many colonies took advantage of the Revolution to increase their representation and to expand guaranteed civil rights; and they tended to be sceptical of the Constitution of 1787, which they feared would abridge these hard-won gains.

Local interests, however, more than either sectional or class allegiance, determined the political alliances in the voting on the Constitution. The small farmers of western Virginia voted heavily for ratification, but those of western Pennsylvania voted against it. In approving ratification the working men of eastern Pennsylvania voted with the commercial interests of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh against the small farmers of the western counties.

Transition to a national economy

The economic changes barely begun in the years before 1815 accelerated after the War of 1812. From the mid-1790s to 1815, Americans had been

heavily preoccupied with a desperate but finally unsuccessful effort to stay out of two decades of almost continuous European war. The conflict and, even more, the years of uncertainty preceding it had aroused them to the need for greater economic self-sufficiency, and Jefferson's purchase of the Louisiana Territory from the French in 1803 had expanded the nation's area by 140 per cent. Not until the years of relative peace from 1815 to 1861, however, did Americans begin to spread across the continent in great numbers and to build the base for a modern industrial economy. Even in 1861, four years of civil war remained before the political foundation for economic growth could be called complete.

As early as the 1790s Americans had taken the first steps in a three-phase expansion of transportation facilities—roads, natural waterways and canals, and finally railroads. Between 1815 and 1860, these improvements helped reduce freight charges by 95 per cent (less than half of this figure reflecting a general decline in price levels). The revolution in transportation was an essential ingredient in binding together disparate sections and opening new markets.

The roads in the eighteenth century had been very poor, and a widespread movement to improve them had begun about the time the new government was established. The network of rough rural roads improved; but turnpike building, which reached a peak between 1810 and 1830, was more important for long-distance hauling. Transportation was costly, however, and farmers could not ship bulky agricultural produce profitably more than about 150 miles. As business ventures, toll roads frequently failed to yield an adequate return on investment, and often earned too little even for maintenance and repair. The turnpikes, though important, were less than satisfactory as links between coast and hinterland.

Water transportation seemed a far more likely solution. The steamboat came into its own after 1815 and became a major factor in the growth of states in the Mississippi River basin (Pl. 64). The Appalachian Mountains, however, divided the eastern coastal states from the mid-West, and Americans began looking for canal routes to pierce this barrier. By 1830, canal construction reached 1,227 miles and, by 1850, 3,698. Although canals cost three or four times as much per mile to build as turnpikes, the financial success of the Erie Canal, which was completed in 1825 and which linked New York harbour with the Great Lakes, spurred canal construction. Few of the artificial waterways, however, were as successful as the Erie; and competition from the railroads contributed to a decline in canal-building after 1850.

The railroad, with its flexibility in covering great distances and surmounting natural obstacles, was ideally suited to American conditions. The railroad builders were fortunate in the availability of cheap land, in the fluidity of political boundaries in new areas, and in the relative absence of deeply entrenched opposing interests. Only 23 miles of track were operating in 1830, but that figure increased to 3,328 in 1840 and 30,626 in 1860. Although rail-

roading had been born in Europe, European track mileage in 1840 was only half that of the United States. The railroads expanded rapidly into the western states and territories, linking them primarily with the north-east; in 1861 only 29 per cent of the nation's track lay in the South.

To finance these internal improvements, Americans experimented with various combinations of private investment and governmental support. Most turnpikes were privately controlled, although state and local governments often invested heavily in their stock and the federal government contributed to a few inter-state roads. Government assistance to water transportation was meagre until states began building and operating the longer canals whose costs were too great either to attract or to allow private control. Eastern merchants and bankers bought state canal bonds, and Europeans invested extensively for the first time. National assistance in canal-building was limited to supplying the services of army engineers, granting land to the states, and distributing the federal treasury surplus of 1836 to the states.

When the railroad era opened in the late 1830s, the states, dangerously in debt, were willing to let private corporations do the job. Eastern financiers played a primary role, as did foreign and small western investors. (By 1853, 26 per cent of American railroad bonds were foreign-owned.) Most state and local governments limited their support to granting land, participating as investors, supplying credit, and granting legal concessions. Federal support before 1850 consisted of little more than land surveys by federal engineers and a reduction of tariffs on iron. In 1850 Congress authorized land grants to the states to support railroads; and loans for railroad construction began in 1862.

The precise extent to which the federal government should support these internal improvements was a major political issue throughout this 'middle' period. In 1808 Treasury Secretary Albert Gallatin had presented a plan for federally sponsored development; but when Congress appropriated funds for a similar programme in 1817, President Madison vetoed the bill—as Presidents Monroe and Jackson were to do in similar instances. Madison did not object to federal support but felt that the constitution could not be so broadly interpreted as to justify it. Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun opposed this narrow interpretation. Outlining what he called an 'American system', Clay perpetuated Hamilton's vision of a self-sufficient agrarian-industrial nation with new industries stimulated by the tariff and new markets created by improved transportation.

Behind the constitutional debate was serious sectional opposition to the West's desire for federal help. New England, geographically compact and bound together wih good roads, opposed improvements which would draw her people west or increase the commercial advantage of New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore. The South saw little benefit for itself and feared that increased expenditure would be used to justify higher tariffs, which southerners opposed because of their dependence on imports for most manufactured

goods. Two of the three sections found mutual interest in enough projects, however, to establish a substantial series of precedents for federal aid.

The great mid-century improvements in transportation had a sharp impact on agriculture, opening new markets to previously isolated mid-western farmers. Between 1815 and 1861, as fourteen new western states joined the Union, the centre of agricultural production moved from the Pennsylvania–Ohio–New York area into Illinois, Indiana, and Wisconsin. In the same period, subsistence farming was giving way to crop specialization and commercial agriculture. By 1860, the five north-central states between the Ohio and Mississippi rivers produced almost half the nation's agricultural output.

Americans, faced with scarce labour, falling prices, and cheap land, took the lead in developing farm machinery to increase *per-capita* production. Cast-iron ploughs with replaceable parts, steel ploughs, reapers, threshers, planting machines came into wide use after the mid-1830s. Southern agriculture lagged in mechanization because of the technical difficulty of devising machines to pick cotton and tobacco, and because capital was so heavily committed to investment in slave labour. The invention of the cotton-gin in 1793, however, had long since caused an immense increase in cotton production from 3,000 bales in 1790 to nearly 4 million bales in 1860.

As for manufacturing, new industries burgeoned throughout this period, initially under the impact of relative American isolation during the embargo of 1807 and the War of 1812. From 1815 to 1860 the volume of manufactures multiplied twelve times. Household manufacturing, which reached its peak about 1815, began relatively to decline after that date. The demands of the expanding market were increasingly met by shop production and a system for letting out work to individual craftsmen from a central assembly and distribution point. The factory system, which had begun to take hold by 1820, did not become typical until the 1850s. Although manufacturers used steam more and more after 1840, water remained the main source of power until the post-Civil War period, and this circumstance to some degree limited the rapid spread of large factories.

The United States imported many of its heavy machine tools from Britain but played a major role in developing lighter ones. American industry, also, beginning with the small-arms manufacturers, led in the development of interchangeable parts. The principle gradually spread to other fields, and interchangeable parts were in widespread use by the 1850s.

Skilled craftsmen increasingly, after 1815, formed societies or unions to cope with the merchant capitalists who were coming to dominate production. Although few of these unions survived the depression of 1819 and 1820, successor movements sprang up in the mid-1820s. Strikes became frequent, and a National Trades Union was organized in 1834. These early associations, which represented only a small portion of American working men, faltered again in the depression of the late 1830s, and no national union reappeared until 1852. The courts throughout the period were generally hostile, although

in 1842 a state court affirmed for the first time the right of labourers to organize and strike.

The growing political influence of working men came less from ogranization of their own political parties, which appeared in several states after 1828, than from the gradual abolition of voting restrictions. As individual voters, workers constituted an important element within the major parties and often controlled the balance of power in local elections.

With the end of the depression of 1837-43, one of the severest in American history, a period of unprecedented economic growth began and lasted until 1857. The chief stimulant was railroad construction, but the westward migration, the discovery of gold in California in 1848, population growth, and increased foreign trade also contributed. The magnitude of investment in railroads was unique. The amount invested between 1850 and 1857 was almost five times the total invested in canals from 1816 to 1840. The effect of railroad investment on the rest of the economy was also unique. The canals had increased the consuming power of labourers and local suppliers, but the need for rails, engines and cars stimulated heavy capital outlays for furnaces, rolling mills, foundries, and locomotive factories.

Industrial expansion was financed also by a sharp increase in investment by foreigners, by a rise in profits based upon price inflation, and by a rapid acceleration of exports. Western agriculture, aided by crop failures in Britain and Ireland in the 1840s, was at last in a position to take advantage of the European market; and agriculture bore the burden of paying for the heavy imports of the expanding nation. Although foreign credits and the earnings of the merchant marine helped bridge the gap in the balance of payments, exports remained the chief earner, with cotton accounting for more than half of these domestic exports between 1815 and 1860.

Perhaps the most important immediate result of the burst of economic growth between 1843 and 1857 was its accentuation of the differences among three increasingly distinct sections—the industrializing north-east, the cotton-growing South, and the small-farming West. The development of the steam-boat and the route down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers to New Orleans had seemed to bind West and South; but the more decisive factors, as it proved were the West's continued dependence on the north-east for manufactured goods, together with the uncertainties of river transportation and the successful piercing of the Appalachian barrier. On the four great political issues of these decades—land policy, federal support for internal improvements, protective tariff, and slavery—West and South gradually grew apart. The linking of West and north-east by rail confirmed a new alignment. Even after the Civil War, the conquered South remained a distinct agrarian region, marked by one-crop farms, by sharecropping, and by unique social problems that remained in the wake of slavery. Other regional groupings, too, would continue to advocate particular interests. Yet the war had cemented the political foundation for a national economy.

Development of an industrial society

Between the Civil War and 1905, a dramatic shift in the balance of trade signalled the rise of the United States as a rapidly maturing industrial nation. Beginning in 1874, the Americans enjoyed a favourable trade balance (though not a favourable balance of payments) in all but three years down to the end of the century. The relative importance of agricultural and manufacturing exports began shifting in the 1880s, with exported manufactures becoming nearly one-third of the total by 1900.

The changed composition of exports was a muted expression of the rapidity with which the farmer was falling to second place in the economy. The proportion of gainfully employed Americans working on farms fell from 59 per cent in 1860 to 37 per cent in 1900. The proportion of those who owned the farms they worked fell from 43 per cent in 1880 to 35 per cent by 1900 as tenant farming, sharecropping, and hired labour increased. Depressions in the mid-1870s and for almost a decade after 1886 were particularly severe for the farmers. They suffered increasingly from the fact that they sold in national markets which they could not control, while buying in industrial markets where manufacturers could often regulate production to keep prices high. Their growing discontent produced a series of dissident movements such as the Greenback Party, the free silver crusade, the Farmers' Alliances and co-operatives, and the Populist Party. Meanwhile, an industrial acceleration was raising the United States from fourth place to first place in value of manufactured goods.

Agriculture, in spite of its fall from predominance, experienced significant growth and technical development. The number of farms trebled, and the farmed acreage more than doubled. More land was brought under cultivation, in fact, between 1860 and 1890 than in the entire previous history of the United States. Agricultural output, while continuing to provide 76 per cent of all exports, was able to feed a population that increased by 235 per cent.

The key to this burst of expansion was the development of methods for farming previously untillable land. On the Great Plains, cattle grazing reached a peak in 1885, and then declined, as windmills, new machinery, and 'dry farming' techniques made cultivation possible. The federal government encouraged agricultural science and technology through the Morrill Act of 1862, which granted land for state agricultural colleges, and through a new Department of Agriculture, also established in 1862.

Industrial expansion, however, was far more striking. Railroad mileage expanded fivefold by 1893, and steel production, stimulated by the introduction of Bessemer and open-hearth processes, increased from fewer than two thousand tons of ingots in 1867 to more than 7 million thirty years later. The discovery of coal and iron-ore in Tennessee and Alabama slowly drew the steel industry to the agrarian South, where a modest textile industry was already growing.

While Europeans contributed most of the important innovations in steel-

making, Americans generally took the lead in developing applications of electricity—telegraph, telephone, incandescent light bulb, commercial generating stations, and the introduction of alternating current to make long-range transmission feasible and economical. The introduction of the steam turbine encouraged the replacement of water power with steam and electricity.

Discovery and intensified exploitation of natural resources resulted in the growth of a major iron–coal–steel complex in the north-central region. Ore boats carried iron-ore from extensive new fields in Minnesota over the Great Lakes to western Pennsylvania, where coal mined near by stoked the furnaces of the new steel mills around Pittsburgh. Producers then shipped steel to eastern markets. Discovery of petroleum in western Pennsylvania in 1859 also contributed to the vigour of this new industrial area. Far to the West, discovery of gold and silver in the Rocky Mountain states established western mining as a big business and created, briefly, one of the most colourful epochs in the development of the West. These western finds also led to discovery of new deposits of lead, zinc, and copper. The older copper deposits in Michigan and Montana, however, were alone sufficient to make the United States the world's chief copper producer by 1883.

Organization and management were as important to industrial expansion as technology. The factory system was a way of organizing workers and machines for efficient production, and Americans made a unique contribution to the industrial revolution in the field of scientific management. Frederick W. Taylor and other engineers analysed factory operations to achieve more economical production. Their studies argued the economies of large-scale operation, and of systematic research by company staffs to replace reliance on the individual inventor. They laid the groundwork for later assembly-line mass production. Higher schools of science and engineering, stimulated in part by the Morrill Act, provided an increasing flow of trained engineers to operate this highly specialized system, and new professional societies spread technical knowledge through their publications.

New tools of economic organization emerged with the advent of large-scale production. The corporation before the war had been an important device for marshalling capital through the sale of securities, and its growth after the war simply accelerated. The significant post-war development was the combination of corporations into trusts and holding companies and their informal co-operation in pools. Trusts were small groups of directors, usually leading officers from participating corporations, to whom several corporations by private arrangement 'surrendered' control as a means of co-ordinating policies. Holding companies were legally chartered corporations which held controlling interest in other corporations. Pools were private agreements to divide the market among the participating producers. By the turn of the century, these combinations and a high degree of centralization were common in oil, steel, telephone, railroads, and electric light and power.

John D. Rockefeller's development of the Standard Oil Company typified

the search for new ways of organizing. Rockefeller, who had built a profitable grocery partnership during the Civil War, incorporated the Standard Oil Company of Ohio in 1870. He experimented with pooling, railroad rebates and other methods of underselling rivals. By 1879 Standard controlled 90 per cent of the country's refining, but the various informal arrangements on which its control depended had revealed their weakness during the depression of the mid-1870s. So in 1879 Rockefeller established a trust whereby stockholders in 40 companies transferred their shares and voting control to nine trustees in return for dividend-bearing trust certificates. When the Ohio Supreme Court ordered Standard of Ohio to withdraw from the trust agreement, Rockefeller in 1899 transformed one of his other operating companies— Standard Oil of New Jersey—into a holding company, which survived until 1911 when the United States Supreme Court ordered it dissolved.

The rapid growth of large combinations like Standard Oil and the proliferation of new industries required more capital than the financial institutions left from pre-war years could supply. Most consolidations depended on issuance of new securities, and investment bankers quickly provided a mechanism for channelling the nation's increasing savings into these new securities. The financiers in return gained places in the directorates of the new corporations. Savings banks and insurance companies also grew rapidly, but a few investment houses gained substantial control over many of them. By the turn of the century, financiers challenged industrialists for control of much of the new business, and the public began to talk with growing concern of the 'Money Trust'.

J. P. Morgan and Company, co-operating with the First National Bank of New York, became the most important of the new investment bankers. Like many of its competitors, the House of Morgan began by simply underwriting railroad securities, but it soon sought a voice in corporate directorates and promoted consolidation to protect its interests from ruinous competition. As the number of these directorates increased, the same men appeared on the boards of more and more enterprises, creating an informal concentration of control. By 1900 a group headed by Morgan controlled 18 per cent of the country's track mileage. Co-operating with Kuhn, Loeb and Company, the House of Morgan helped form the General Electric Company in 1892. And in 1901 Morgan capped a decade of steel industry consolidation by forming the $1,400 million United States Steel Corporation.

The concentration of financial power in these combinations made them leading sources of political influence (although some historians have argued that businessmen were captives of the political process as often as they were its arbiters). The federal government had re-established a national banking system in 1864, and Congress continued the high protective tariffs levied during the war. Government participation of the regulative sort remained minimal until the end of the century.

Beginning in the 1870s, farm organizations, labour leaders, and political

reformers attacked the often illegal influence of the 'monopolies' (Pl. 67a). Attacks focused first on the collusive rate-setting practices of the railroads; and farm groups as early as 1870 pressed successfully for state regulation of rates. In 1887 the Interstate Commerce Act established a federal regulatory commission for the same purpose. The Sherman Anti-Trust Act in 1890 attacked over-centralization more broadly by authorizing the federal government through legal action to break up those combinations which hampered operation of the free market. The Sherman law was ineffective before the early twentieth century; but after 1900 Congress passed strengthening enactments, while President Theodore Roosevelt and his successors began vigorous enforcement.

The post-Civil War period saw, for the first time, a continuous evolution of labour unions. Wages were being held down by the heavy influx of immigrants; and the workers' concentration in rapidly growing cities made them more vulnerable than ever to the ups and downs of the business cycle. The National Labor Union, formed in 1866 more as a political organization than as a labour union, provided no effective remedy. In 1869, however, a group of garment cutters formed the Knights of Labor, which rose by the mid-1880s to a peak membership of 730,000. As the Knights declined, the American Federation of Labor, formed in 1886, rose to first place with a membership of over 1 million by 1901.

Labour leaders argued heatedly the extent to which unions should resort to political action. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, sedulously avoided politics. Others like Daniel De Leon and Eugene V. Debs, both influenced by Karl Marx, believed that organized labour should strengthen its political influence by forming political parties. Their respective vehicles, the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Party, were active but severely limited in influence. Unions chose in general to work through the major parties, and Debs himself acknowledged that most American working men would never resort to direct revolutionary action against the government so long as they had the free ballot, the right to organize industrially and politically, and a reasonable hope of improving their lot.

Many others besides the agrarian and labour leaders were concerned about the impersonality and often humanly damaging features in an environment of large factories and teeming cities. Earlier optimistic individualism gave way to a realization that men had to organize to be heard. Long before this era, observers had noted the American propensity to form and join associations, but this propensity became more marked in the 1870s. Organizations sprang up for farmers, businessmen, college students, and immigrants; and for the various professional, occupational and academic specialities. Recreational and social groups burgeoned. To the average American, such associations were quite evidently more meaningful than 'classes', or even parties, as units of social organization. The citizen tried to influence parties and government through interest groups in which he retained his individuality in which he also

found a vehicle for achieving some senses of mastery in an increasingly bewildering environment.

These associations were especially significant as agents of social reform and humanitarian relief. As early as the 1830s widespread social unrest and intellectual activity had spawned groups agitating for abolition of slavery, prison reform, asylums for the insane, education for the blind, and numerous other reform objectives. The increased social consciousness of the years after the Civil War revealed itself in such diverse organizations as the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (1874), the National Association for Women Suffrage (1869), the Women's Christian Temperance Union (1874), the National Civil Service Reform League (1881), the American branch of the English-born Salvation Army (1880), the American Red Cross (1881), and local women's clubs, church organizations, and settlement houses. Americans channelled much of their dissatisfaction and their reforming impulses into these organizations. Their ability to force the government to pass needed legislation deflated any significant impetus for a major political upheaval.

By 1905 reformers were attacking the dislocations of rapid industrialization on a front so broad that their aggregate effort is referred to simply as the Progressive movement. Between 1860 and 1905 *per capita* national wealth had more than doubled but was unevenly distributed. The standard of living had improved markedly, but Americans in some sectors of the society enjoyed less of this improvement than others. Americans were able to see these faults in their economy and society. Their encouraging record of development since independence had had the effect not so much of blinding them to difficulties as of creating an unprecedented faith in human ability to resolve them.

POPULATION IN RURAL AREAS, 1790–1900
(*percentages of total population*)

1790	94.9	1830	90.7	1870	71.9
1800	94.3	1840	88.8	1880	71.6
1810	93.0	1850	84.4	1890	66.4
1820	92.7	1860	80.0	1900	60.2

Based on U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957*, Washington, D.C., 1960. 'Rural areas' defined as communities under 2,500.

GAINFUL WORKERS IN FARM OCCUPATIONS, 1820–1900
(*percentages*)

1820	75.0	1850	63.6	1880	49.7
1830	71.8	1860	59.0	1890	42.5
1840	68.5	1870	52.7	1900	37.5

Based on U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957*, Washington, D.C., 1960.

4. NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

The men who framed the American political instruments of the 1780s were remarkably prescient in providing for the physical and institutional growth of the nation. By luck or ancestral wisdom or a combination of the two, they evolved sound and flexible provisions such as those for territorial expansion and for constitutional amendment. But even so, subsequent American development, geographic and otherwise, outstripped the founders' expectations; and the creating of an adequate political structure was therefore, throughout the nineteenth century, in some measure a work of improvisation. As in the classic 'Western' film, so also in the political drama, it was often necessary to run the careening locomotive and lay the track at the same time—while marauding bands attacked from all sides.

The most serious and persistent constitutional questions had to do with the strength of the great engine of national government. The problem, as James Madison had foreseen, was to forge a government strong enough to manage a sprawling nation, yet also held under sufficient restraint. 'You must first enable the government to control the governed,' Madison wrote, 'and in the next place oblige it to control itself.' The Constitution of 1787 had sought to balance state and national authority, and also to enable each branch of the national government to monitor—or if necessary restrain—the actions of the other branches. The Bill of Rights had been added as a means of limiting the federal government's authority over the individual.

A wracking disagreement, from the earliest days of the Republic, was the one between supporters of state sovereignty and those who stressed the ultimate authority of the national government. The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 held that the Union was a compact among sovereign states, and that those states had the right to judge when the national government had exceeded the powers granted to it. Delegates to the Hartford Convention of 1814, reflecting the same point of view, discussed a revision of the constitution to protect the interests of New England—some extremists arguing that if the other members of the Union did not accept such changes the assembled states should make a separate peace with Great Britain. But in these same years, equally potent forces were strengthening the position of the national government.

National power as expressed in the presidency grew almost from the beginning. At the outset there were but four officers of cabinet rank: the Attorney General and the Secretaries of State, Treasury, and War. Washington, however, used presidential powers broadly in such measures as the assumption of the debts of the states, the foundation of the First Bank of the United States, and the use of superior force to put down a challenge (the 'Whiskey Insurrection') to the taxes imposed by the new government. By the time of Andrew Jackson's administration (1829–37), presidential power was being further supported by the growing belief that the presidency, the only

office voted upon by the nation as a whole, was in this respect the most democratic in the land. It was also during the Jackson administration that the 'nullification' controversy, centring in a dispute over tariff policy, came to a head. John C. Calhoun of South Carolina revived the argument that the Union was but a compact among the states, any one of which might nullify the operation, within its borders, of a given federal law. Jackson answered the threat of nullification with an unequivocal assertion of the sovereignty of the national government.

The power of the national government was also strengthened by the interpretation given to the constitution by the Supreme Court, particularly during the long tenure (1801–35) of John Marshall as Chief Justice. Marshall interpreted broadly the clause in the constitution which gave to Congress the power 'to regulate commerce among the several states'. In the famous McCulloch v. Maryland decision, Marshall denied the right of the state of Maryland to tax the Bank of the United States, and gave classic formulation to the doctrine that the national government, and not the several states, was sovereign.

Lincoln during the Civil War posed in different language the problem earlier stated by Madison.

'It has long been a grave question,' he remarked in 1864, 'whether any government, not too strong for the liberties of its people, can be strong enough to maintain its existence in great emergencies.'

The victory of the North a year later gave the definitive answer in the American case; and a related issue was pressed toward solution as the 14th Amendment, ratified in 1868, imposed sweeping new restrictions on the power of the state governments.

'No state,' the Amendment declared, 'shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.'

Much of the subsequent constitutional history of the United States was to stem from these clauses.

The steady growth in the power of the presidency, at the expense of the Congress, owed much to the influence of such vigorous Chief Executives as Jackson, Lincoln, Theodore Roosevelt, and the lesser-known figures of Polk and Cleveland, but more fundamentally it reflected the growing complexity of the American economy and the increasing involvement of the United States in world affairs. Theodore Roosevelt's 'stewardship theory' put the case clearly.

'I declined to adopt the view,' Roosevelt declared, 'that what was imperatively necessary for the nation could not be done by the president unless he could

find some specific authorization to do it. My belief was that it was not only his right but his duty to do anything that the needs of the nation demanded unless such action was forbidden by the constitution or the laws.'

Other relationships within the government changed correspondingly. In the early part of the nineteenth century the House of Representatives was perhaps the most successful of the national institutions; by the end of the century it had undergone a gradual decline. In part this could be blamed upon the growth in House membership, which in turn reflected the enormous increase in national area and population. In part it was because more complex political and economic problems brought about diffusion of Congressional authority. The business of Congress came increasingly to be conducted by committees; and when Woodrow Wilson published his celebrated study of *Congressional Government* in 1885, he depicted it as committee government, lacking in centralized leadership.

The most important new political institution to emerge in the nineteenth century in the United States was the political party. President Washington had hoped to avoid partisanship, and the constitution itself had made no provision for parties. But the markedly 'Hamiltonian' policies of the Washington administration served to bring out the latent divergence in outlook. Jefferson, Madison, and their followers established the Democratic-Republican Party, later known as the Democratic Party. During Washington's second term (1793–97) factional lines were sharpened because of the American posture in relation to the French Revolution and the ensuing European wars. The Democratic-Republicans in general favoured the French cause, the Federalists the British.

The Democratic-Republicans, triumphant in 1800, enjoyed mounting successes in the elections of 1804 and 1808; and in the latter year the presidency passed from Jefferson to his trusted collaborator Madison. The Federalist Party, meanwhile, declined and after the election of 1816 disappeared from the national scene. The years immediately following the War of 1812 were known as the 'Era of Good Feelings', and the country was in effect under one-party rule. By 1828, however, an opposition had begun to crystallize; eventually it was to take the name Whig, in protest against what was claimed to be the 'tyranny of King Andrew the First'.[4] Although the Whigs had several distinguished leaders, such as Clay and Webster, the party was a loose coalition of many divergent interests. It contested its last major election as a national party in 1852, and was split asunder by the slavery question.

The slavery issue also gave birth to a new party which, taking for itself the name that had long since lapsed from the Democratic Party's label, called itself Republican. It was founded in 1854 in Jackson, Michigan, on a platform which opposed the extension of slavery into the territories. The Republicans held their first national nominating convention in Philadelphia in 1856

and chose John Frémont as their presidential candidate. Unsuccessful in this election, the Republicans were victorious in 1860, when Lincoln went to the White House as the first Republican president.

With the emergence of the Republicans, the American party system took the form it has retained to the present. Although protest movements were to arise both within the major organizations and outside them, no third party emerged that was powerful enough to offer a serious challenge on the national plane.

From the point of view of the Founding Fathers, with their severe apprehensions about 'factionalism', the rise of political parties was a thing to be deplored. Yet neither the major parties nor the more sectarian splinter groups exhibited the sharply divisive characteristics of which the opponents of party organization had been so fearful.

This calls attention to a fact about American political development that is quite fundamental, especially in the perspective of comparative history. This fact is the relative smoothness with which enormous practical adjustments were effected. The great exception, of course, is the eruption of the slavery and secession issues, which did produce sharply ideological parties and a politics of bloody conflict. Yet it can be argued that the Americans' retrospective fascination with their Civil War reveals what an uncharacteristic experience this was.

Whether in character or exceptional, the story of slavery, and of the political upheavals for which it was chiefly responsible, is crucial to an understanding of American nineteenth-century development.

5. THE SLAVERY CRISIS

In company with many other nations of the Western world, the United States found itself endowed at the close of the eighteenth century with a 'peculiar' and troublesome institution: human slavery. Unlike any other nation, however, America found the issue of slavery fundamental to its early evolution; the problem grew in importance and severity during the first six decades of the nineteenth century until a massive civil war and forced emancipation brought an end to the institution. Even after that war, the consequences of the slave system lingered on to complicate American life.

Up to about 1750, few persons in any of the colonies had expressed scruples against slavery in principle. In practical terms, however, the institution had been self-limiting: Indians made poor slaves, and the indentured whites who came from England were few in number and temporary in service. Only the Negro had proved satisfactory. The first Africans had been brought to Virginia in 1619 and had proved adaptable to the conditions of agriculture there. From this beginning the Negro slave population had grown, through both importation and natural increase, from the original twenty until it equalled about one-sixth of the white population at the outbreak of the Revolution.

By this time slavery had acquired what was to be its dominant and most ominous characteristic: geographic concentration. Negroes were highly useful in plantation agriculture that called for large amounts of unskilled labour in the production of cash crops, but they were almost without value in small-scale diversified and subsistence farming. This, coupled with factors of climate and land distribution, meant that the slave system prospered in the coastal plains of the South but withered and died in the north-east and the Appalachian highlands. Sectionalism, the root cause of the Civil War, thus had its birth even before independence.

In the North, Vermont led the way to emancipation; in its Constitution of 1777 (although the state was not actually admitted to the Union until 1791), slavery was forbidden. Other states followed quickly until by 1804 immediate or gradual abolition had been enacted throughout the north-east. The South, committed to the cultivation of tobacco and rice, strengthened the slave system. The invention of the cotton-gin helped rivet the slave institution on the southern economy, as did the growth and profitability of cotton manufacturing in England and New England.

The sectional split showed itself early. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 forbade slavery in the territory west of the Alleghenies and north of the Ohio River. In the Constitutional Convention the same year, the slave-holding interest was sufficiently strong to insist on a compromise recognition of its position. The constitution forbade any prohibition of the slave trade (against which popular resentment had been growing) by Congress prior to 1808 and another compromise provided that three-fifths of the slave population of a state should be included in the enumeration on the basis of which Congressional seats were apportioned.

The great political issue which eventually split the nation in two did not involve the legality of slavery in the states in which it existed in 1789, but rather the direction and the manner in which it should expand into new areas. Expansion was vital; tobacco and cotton cultivation rapidly exhausted the soil and forced planters always to look to new fields. Northern anti-slavery forces sought constantly to throw obstacles in the way of slavery's expansion. In these terms the great political battles of the half-century were fought.

The South, with its economy and society built on the institution, early saw the danger of becoming a hopeless minority in an anti-slavery nation. The early years of national growth, therefore, were marked by a working compromise to keep equal the number of free and slave states. In this way the South's equality in at least the United States Senate would be preserved. To the original six slave and seven free states were added up to 1820 the new slave states of Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Louisiana, thus matching Vermont, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois on the non-slavery side.

The abolition of the slave trade occurred in 1808 almost without controversy and for several years thereafter the pairing of slave and free states at admission served to keep the issue relatively subdued. It was not until Missouri—the

first state entirely west of the Mississippi—presented itself as a candidate for admission to the Union that the first open battle erupted over the limitation of slavery.

Anti-slavery forces struck at the institution in 1819 by proposing that no more slaves be introduced into Missouri and that all slaves born in the state be freed at 25 years of age. Southerners rallied and a bitter debate, featured by strong language on both sides, took place. Henry Clay's Missouri Compromise of 1820 saved the situation: Missouri was admitted as a slave state but paired with Maine, thus preserving the balance; and except in Missouri itself slavery was prohibited north of a line drawn westward across the Louisiana Purchase territory at 36° 30'.

Southerners were driven inexorably westward as the great profits in cotton cultivation forced the steady expansion of plantations and slavery. The 'old South' of Virginia and South Carolina, with impoverished soil and stagnant economies, lost southern leadership to the 'new South' along the Gulf Coast. The new breed of leaders was more militant and extreme, thoroughly convinced that slavery was a beneficent institution that uplifted the savage Negro and brought white culture in the South to a new and flourishing level. The political and social philosophy of slavery was best expressed by John C. Calhoun, who developed a constitutional doctrine that admitted the divergence of the South from the rest of the nation, but that defended this split as desirable and attempted to give the slave interest a veto on all national legislation that ran contrary to its wishes.

Southern pressure to the West reached fruition with the annexation of Texas in 1845, an event that completed the list of slave states. (Arkansas and Florida had entered the Union earlier.) In the meantime the North had kept pace by adding Michigan, Iowa, and Wisconsin. With the annexation of Texas the slave empire reached its geographical limits, for the topography and climate of the desert south-west did not suit cotton production. At the same time, two other trends were threatening southern slave-holders. The North was far outstripping the South in wealth and in population, and anti-slavery sentiment in the North was growing outspoken and active.

The war with Mexico (1846–48) was slavery's last opportunity to expand. Northerners unsuccessfully urged the 'Wilmot proviso', which would have prohibited slavery in any territory won from Mexico. The defeat of this menacing proposal was sufficiently difficult that southerners became convinced that their economy, their society, and their culture were under direct attack by the North. From the end of the war with Mexico until 1861 the South concentrated on national politics as its last resort in protecting itself in a steadily worsening situation.

The first test of this determination came in the dispute surrounding the admission of California in 1850. The South had many grievances: fugitive slaves were being aided on their way by abolitionists instead of being returned to their owners; there was no slave state to match California; and the North

was attempting to keep slavery out of the new south-western territories. Northerners, convinced that victory over slavery was in sight, refused to make any concessions to the South.

Henry Clay again saved the situation with a compromise. California was admitted as a free state; two new territories—New Mexico and Utah—were created with the right of self-determination on slavery; a stronger fugitive slave law was enacted; and the slave trade was forbidden in the District of Columbia. The crisis was averted, but a price had been paid. The South won more than it lost, and became convinced that extreme talk and strong political action could yet save it; the North, embittered, turned increasingly to its own abolitionist extremists. As the Whig Party split on the rock of slavery and sank for ever, the Republican Party—committed to the prohibition of slavery in the territories—arose to take its place.

Emboldened by the experience of 1850, slave interests continued political action. Their wilder schemes—the proposed annexation of Cuba and the re-opening of the foreign slave trade—won no support; but their more restrained projects bore fruit during the 1850s. Throughout the decade the general tenor of public discussion on both sides grew ever sharper as moderate men found themselves squeezed between those who insisted on the entire justi-fication of the slave institution and those who insisted on abolition.

The first great target of the southern militants was the line of the Missouri Compromise, which in their eyes unjustly obstructed the northward move-ment of slavery. Stephen A. Douglas in 1854 proposed and persuaded Congress to pass the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which declared the Missouri Compromise inoperative in these areas—Kansas and Nebraska were to decide for themselves whether they wished to organize as slave or as free states.

Open conflict broke out in Kansas as both northern and southern extre-mists resolved that an open test of strength was at hand. Each side sent in armed 'immigrants' as a prelude to violence and bloodshed. 'Bleeding Kansas' became a watchword as this preliminary round of the Civil War raged for several years. John Brown, an anti-slavery extremist, was responsible for a massacre that provoked retaliation, and tempers grew short on both sides.[5]

Northern hostility to the principle of slavery—already inflamed by abolition-ist agitators like William Lloyd Garrison and literary figures like James Russell Lowell—was intensified by the publication of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, by Harriet Beecher Stowe. After reading this enormously popular novel depicting the pitiful lot of the slave, few northerners were disposed to compromise ever again with the South.

The election of 1856 was won by Democrat James Buchanan, a pro-slavery Pennsylvanian, over John C. Frémont, the first presidential nominee of the new Republican Party. Buchanan hoped to end the slavery problem finally during his administration, and the Supreme Court (with Marylander Roger B. Taney as Chief Justice) made an effort to do exactly that. In 1857 the

Court gave its decision in the famous case of Dred Scott *v.* Sandford—another landmark in the history of slavery.

In essence, the Court declared the Missouri Compromise (and by extension, any attempt to prohibit slavery in a Territory of the United States) to be unconstitutional as an unjustified interference with private property. Thus the constitution was placed as an impenetrable barrier against any attempt to prohibit the spread of slavery. The South was jubilant.

The North on its part was even more determined. Northern extremists began to emulate southern 'fire-eaters' and prepare for a violent showdown; less militant leaders became convinced that the South's success with the national government indicated that direct action was necessary. The Dred Scott case served only to stiffen northern resistance to the pretensions of slavery.

The climax came in the election of 1860. Buchanan's ineffectual pandering to southern attitudes had split the Democratic Party hopelessly into pro- and anti-slavery wings, while the Republicans, clinging to their 'free soil' doctrine in spite of the Supreme Court's position, nominated Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln, although receiving only a minority of popular votes, won a clear electoral-college victory, and the South suddenly realized that for the first time an open opponent of their position on slavery was in control of the executive branch of the national government.

The South, facing the consequences of its forty-year record of constitutional interpretation, elected to secede. Lincoln could not and would not ignore the challenge. The Civil War began in 1861 as a struggle over the nature of the Union and the right of secession. Before long, however, Lincoln realized that at bottom the issue was slavery. Although tortured by constitutional doubts, he resolved to strike at the South by destroying its institutional base in slavery.

Congress abolished slavery in the Territories in mid-1862. The Emancipation Proclamation of 1 January 1863 freed all slaves in the states in arms against the Union but left untouched those in the loyal slave states. Late in the war the 13th Amendment to the Constitution, prohibiting slavery everywhere, was passed by Congress and secured sufficient ratifications to become part of the constitution in December 1865. At least at the level of national law the slavery question was settled.

But of course the problems created both by slavery and by the circumstances of its abolition lingered for decades. The verdict of the war, while it confirmed the demise of slavery and settled the most serious ambiguity in the instrument of 1787, did little to heal the sectional rift. In politics, in economics, in world outlook, and in racial attitudes the South was to remain 'unreconstructed' until well after World War II.[6] The racial problems spawned by slavery, especially those involving the terms on which the two races could live together in harmony, were only partially solved during the century following the war. The South attempted to evade the implications of emancipation by a variety

of techniques of segregation; the North was gripped by the less tangible but equally taxing problems of discrimination and prejudice. It could be argued that in many personal ways the Negro was less well off after freedom than he had been as a slave. The unsolved aspects to the issue of race relations in the United States added to the burdens the nation was to carry before the eyes of the world in the twentieth century.

6. CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT[7]

The nineteenth-century American, conscious though he was of his 'revolutionary' heritage, lived at great psychic as well as physical distance from the kind of social upheaval known to his European contemporaries. Little besides the slavery controversy gave him any clue to the meaning of an ideologically divided society. Only the Civil War, as Robert Penn Warren and others have said, acquainted the American with tragedy and gave him a history.

Seen from other angles, however, the American experience bears striking resemblance to that of other peoples who have emerged into national consciousness in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. From their initial search for unity against a common enemy, through successive campaigns for political, economic, and cultural independence, Americans strove consciously to provide models for others to imitate. Less willingly they provided instruction in the difficulties and ambivalences of the nation-building enterprise.

American expectations about the influence of their literary and scientific achievements were modest compared with their confidence about the spread of American democracy. Yet certainly they cherished hopes, especially at the outset, for a cultural vitality that would astound and shame the Old World. The most immediate goals were excellence, on one hand, and independence from European 'tutelage' on the other. Ambivalence arose because the means to either of these goals so often seemed to delay the attainment of the other.

The problem may have been a pseudo-problem. As Longfellow asserted through his character Mr Churchill, American letters would gain stature and independent recognition precisely by their ability to deal with the universals of human experience, not by preoccupation with the local or national. The desire for separateness, none the less, was sufficiently real that Max Lerner can plausibly see the American as engaged in a perpetual 'slaying of the European father'. The effects of this somewhat ambiguous impulse toward independence were evident, for good or ill, in every field of cultural expression.

Literature

In the years from 1775 to 1905 American writing reflected changing philosophical and aesthetic tendencies. The ideas of the Enlightenment flourished, then waned. Romanticism, beginning as an attack on rationalism, discovered

its own positive tenets, then gave way to a naturalism based largely on scientific thought. With these philosophical shifts came new literary forms. The carefully balanced eighteenth-century essay was succeeded by the organic prose of Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau. The epic, and the other conventional verse forms popular in the early years, succumbed to the experimental attacks of Edgar Allan Poe and Walt Whitman. But the major development of this period was the rise of fiction—a form which claimed the centre of the literary stage by the end of the nineteenth century and which brought with it important new strains of symbolism and realism.

Throughout these changing years the writer remained consistently interested in the economic, political, and social problems of his contemporaries and devoted to them an important part of his literary energies. From the debates over independence through the intense controversies over slavery and sectionalism, to the introspections of an urban, industrial America facing the twentieth century, the attention of the man of letters never flagged.

The constant movement toward cultural democracy, moreover, reshaped the literary scene to a degree impossible to ignore. In 1775 the man of letters was, typically, a gentleman of independent means who wrote without expectation of profit, and who addressed, through the written word, a relatively small fraction of his contemporaries. Had he wished to write professionally, he would have been handicapped by the absence of international copyright laws: publishers preferred to pirate the works of established foreigners rather than to buy those of untried native writers. By 1900, however, this situation had changed drastically. American authors, exploiting native materials, had created a vogue of their own, and since 1891 had enjoyed the protection of international copyright legislation. With the unrelenting rise of popular education, publishers had decided that books should not be luxury items, but should be put in the hands of the many. Thus the writer could pursue his craft without the necessity of private patronage—an institution that had never become established in America—or of separate income. His potential audience was practically unlimited.

The extraordinary political writings of the founding fathers, which constituted the first manifestation of literary genius in the new nation, reflected the secularism and rationalism which dominated European thought. The style of the revolutionary tracts and state papers astonished Europe; and some, such as the Declaration of Independence (written mainly by Thomas Jefferson) and the Federalist Papers of Alexander Hamilton, James Madison and John Jay have achieved a place among the world's political classics. Apart from this kind of writing, only one early book, Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography*, became popular and sold widely. A novel of greater historical than artistic merit, *Wieland* by Charles B. Brown (1798) attracted passing attention in England; but Sidney Smith's often-quoted jibe: 'Who reads an American book?' was still largely justified. Alexis de Tocqueville in 1835 noted the shortage of 'great artists, distinguished poets, or celebrated writers' in the

democratic society of the United States and wondered if equality inhibited creativity. But even as he wrote, the first flowering of belles-lettres was about to begin.

After 1775 the sense of America's mission raised a dilemma for the writer: on the one hand he felt his new-born nation cut off from the great English traditions; on the other hand, despite the absence of a national literary tradition, he felt impelled to produce masterpieces which could compare with those of the older peoples, rich in literature. Immediately after independence a Hartford literary group began to write grandiose nationalistic epics; but mature poetry with the musical purity of Poe, the homely rural serenity of John Greenleaf Whittier, the learned Victorian moralizing of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, the compact lines of Emerson, and the experimental metres of Whitman, did not appear until the years 1830 to 1860. The first to win European recognition in the new century were Washington Irving—essayist, satirist, and the first successful exploiter of American folklore—and the novelist James Fenimore Cooper, who created the frontier novel with an 'unspoiled child of Nature' as hero. Two great novelists, Nathaniel Hawthorne and Herman Melville, probed more deeply into psychology and ethics; and their symbolism carried universal meaning. The Scarlet Letter (1850) won Hawthorne an immediate reputation; Melville, although he achieved popularity with earlier works, received only scattered recognition for his masterpiece, Moby Dick (1851). Poe, because of his experimental prosody and his mastery of the short story, was widely read abroad, particularly in France. The transcendentalists, especially Emerson and Thoreau, gave America an important place in the romantic movement; while the cultivated writers of New York and Boston created a national tradition by drawing on the literature of many lands—the republic of letters. They had avoided what Margaret Fuller in 1839 described as the folly of slavishly copying European models, and equally avoided the opposite folly of patriotically disdaining the world's literary heritage.

The permanent character of American letters was to be more basically affected not by what was going on in the polite literary centres at mid-century, but by the growing stream of humorous and 'local colour' writing which began to pour forth from every region. In the South, Joel Chandler Harris and George Washington Cable drew on Negro and Creole customs; in New England, following the lead of James Russell Lowell's Biglow Papers, John Burroughs and Mary Wilkins Freeman recorded local scenes and speech patterns; in the mid-West Edward Eggleston, John Hay, and James Whitcomb Riley played sentiment against hard-bitten reality; and in the West Charles F. Browne (Artemus Ward), Bret Harte, and Joaquin Miller broadened the range of literary subject-matter far beyond the polite conventions of the time. At the crest of this wave rode two men from the border states: Abraham Lincoln, whose wit, grace, and economy of language gave him classic status; and Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain) whose Life on the Mississippi and Huckleberry Finn

elevated regional humour, characterization, and description to the level of great literature.

Against the vigour of this soil-rooted writing one may contrast the polished, often highly successful work of those writers associated with the East and with Europe. William Dean Howells discussed realism and socialism, but continued to write genteel romances; Emily Dickinson and Henry James, the two formidable talents of the era, wrote subtly and profoundly for the few; George Santayana and Henry Adams brought new grace to history and philosophy, verse and fiction, but did so with a marked resignation. Only William Graham Sumner, the famous Spencerian sociologist, and William James, philosopher and psychologist, wrote with the force and clarity traditionally associated with their region.

Thus it was not surprising that the literary naturalism which had its European flowering in the French and Russian masters should implant itself in the strong realities of farm, slum, and battlefield, rather than in the protected drawing-room. Between 1890 and 1905, this new genre became firmly established in the novels and stories of Stephen Crane, Hamlin Garland, Henry Fuller, Harold Frederic, Frank Norris, and Theodore Dreiser. The theme of the individual man pitted against natural, social and psychological forces also worked itself into the verse of Garland and Crane, Edward Arlington Robinson, and Edwin Markham. Among women novelists, Ellen Glasgow applied her realism in the naturalistic vein, while Edith Wharton stayed closer to the path where Henry James had led. The publication of *Souls of Black Folk* in 1903 by William E. B. Dubois indicated that the Negro was no longer to be merely a subject for the white writer, but was to make his own contribution to literature, scholarship, and social leadership.

Throughout the nineteenth century the social conscience of the writer contributed importantly to the literary picture. The story of the anti-slavery crusade cannot be told without Whittier, Lowell, Thoreau, and Harriet Beecher Stowe. Similarly, as America faced the task of adjusting her institutions to the conditions of modern life, the writers turned their attention to the problems springing from urban industrialism. Two were especially influential: the novelist Edward Bellamy with his dreams of a non-competitive Utopia; and the essayist Henry George, who proposed a single tax as the end to economic inequities. Crane, Norris and the other naturalists surveyed aspects of social problems, as did the leading journalists: Jacob Riis, Lincoln Steffens, Ray Stannard Baker, and the quotable Mr Dooley (Finley Peter Dunne). The young Jack London shifted his attention from the Yukon to the English slums, and David Graham Phillips began writing both 'muckraking' journalism and protest fiction.

In 1878 and 1897 America received from Moses C. Tyler its first important literary history. Tyler did not get beyond 1800 in his chronicle, but the unapologetic exuberance with which he surveyed the American literary past was—if sometimes undiscriminating—none the less symptomatic of the state

of letters as the twentieth century opened. The theatre was still largely derivative and undistinguished; the poetic experimentation of Whitman had not provoked its full consequences; but in general terms the apprenticeship was ended, and American writers felt ready to take their place alongside those of other nations.

The press and publishing

The first newspapers in the colonies had been published primarily to communicate business information to the literate merchant class in the trading centres. During the eighteenth century these papers had gradually become involved in politics as they sought to protect both the merchants' rights in trade matters and their own rights to free expression. By 1763 forty-three newspapers were in operation; by the end of the century there were 235, including twenty-four dailies. Men such as Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Paine, James Madison, and Thomas Jefferson all used the newspapers to communicate the political ideas which helped win independence for the colonies and a democratic form of government for the new nation.

After the War of Independence, the newspapers quickly became organs of political propaganda for the two parties. Since most publishers were Federalists, most of the papers were organs of that party; chief among these was John Ward Fenno's *United States Gazette* (founded 1789). Jefferson was instrumental in starting Republican papers so that a free press could represent different sides of all issues. Philip Freneau's *National Gazette* (1791) became the leading Republican paper.

The nineteenth century witnessed the emergence of the popular press. Earlier publications had been directed at the upper and upper-middle classes, and printers had been content to publish primarily the material submitted by their readers. But in the nineteenth century, reporters and editors made their appearance to prepare tailor-made reading material for the newly educated middle and lower classes.

In the newspaper field, Benjamin Day's New York *Sun* (1833) led the way by using men to gather news and boys to sell papers on the streets; also by increasing the press runs and reducing the price from six cents to one penny. James Gordon Bennett's New York *Herald* (1835) exemplified the popular paper whose information was to be gathered by aggressive reporters and far-flung correspondents with no political allegiance.

Bennett's political independence brought into wide acceptance the separation of fact and opinion and the separate editorial page. This in turn ushered in the era of 'personal journalism', a period of great guiding editors such as Horace Greeley of the New York *Tribune* (1841) and Henry Raymond of the New York *Times* (1851).

Magazines also began to reach larger, though still distinct, segments of the population. The multitude of popular religious publications displayed the combination of special and general appeal. But there were also popular women's

magazines such as *Godey's Lady's Book* (1830) and later the *Ladies Home Journal* (1883); literary magazines such as *Harper's* (1851) and the *Atlantic Monthly* (1857); literary journals such as New York's *Knickerbocker Magazine* (1833) and Edgar Allan Poe's *Southern Literary Messenger* (1834). Notable among a number of dignified general periodicals of scholarship and opinion were the *North American Review* (1815) and E. L. Godkin's *The Nation* (1865).

Popular books also were widely published in the nineteenth century and public libraries became widespread. Histories and biographies were given popular treatment for larger audiences. But most important was the appearance of inexpensive works of fiction, the 'dime' novels—stories of adventure and intrigue which were increasingly concerned with westward expansion and the frontier life of the United States.

After the Civil War, new printing and marketing techniques enabled publishing to keep pace with the general expansion of business and industry. Publishing houses were organized on a greatly enlarged scale; syndicates and press associations—Associated Press, United Press, and the forerunner of the International News Service—were formed; magazine empires grew, such as Frank Munsey's group of publications; and great newspaper chains were created by Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst. Pulitzer and Hearst brought to the press the use of pictures, comics and entertaining articles, together with large headlines and sensationalized news to sell more newspapers to the burgeoning post-Civil War urban population.

Toward the end of the nineteenth century publishers discovered that their readers eagerly purchased newspapers and magazines which exposed the many social, political, and industrial ills of the day. Thus the 'muckrakers' were indirectly responsible for government reforms and for the increasing control imposed upon Big Business after the turn of the century.

By 1904 more than 8,000 book titles were being published annually, together with over 16,000 newspapers and periodicals enjoying a total circulation of 50 million. The press and publishing had themselves become 'big business'.

The fine arts

American artists of the revolutionary generation were singularly stirred to define in their work the identity and aspirations of the new nation. In painting, the emphasis was still on portraiture, as it had been since the work of the first seventeenth-century limners. Stylistically, the range fluctuated between the harsh, unyielding realism of such painters as Ralph Earl to the fluid suggestiveness found in Thomas Sully's suave interpretations of American womanhood. Outstanding in the era were John Singleton Copley of Boston, unquestionably the leading American painter until his departure for Europe in 1774; and Gilbert Stuart, whose three portrayals from life of the older Washington fixed indelibly the visual image of the 'father of his country'.

In the broadening and maturing of American art in the early national period,

Benjamin West was a pivotal figure. Departing for Europe as a young man, West steeped himself in the newly emerging neo-classic school at Rome and then went on to England where, through a combination of political adroitness, personal charm and artistic ability, he catapulted himself into the first rank of English painters, even succeeding Sir Joshua Reynolds as President of the Royal Academy. A generous, sensitive individual, West opened his London studio to a number of young American artists. Charles Willson Peale, head of a remarkable family of artists, was one who profited by study under West, but who refused the temptation to compromise his own straightforward realism with European sophistication. John Trumbull, the founder of history painting in America, remained closest to West's principles in seeking the heroic and noble in art.

The search for architectural forms to express the new national spirit materialized in a classical revival inspired by ancient Greece and Rome. Led by Thomas Jefferson, the movement was launched in 1785 with his successful application of a Roman temple design to the new State Capitol in Richmond, Virginia. His plan for the University of Virginia in Charlottesville (1817-26), ultimately recalling an ancient Roman forum in its over-all scheme, remains an enduring lesson in spatial organization within the classical mode. Jefferson's home, Monticello, begun in 1796, reflects the degree to which a style noted usually for its formal austerity could be personalized on a more intimate scale.

Although there were several examples of city planning during the Colonial period, none was so complex nor so aesthetically satisfying as that devised by Major Pierre Charles L'Enfant for the city of Washington. Owing something to the Paris plan, to which its beauty is often compared, the L'Enfant design employed a baroque multiple-radial system over which a gridiron network of smaller streets was superimposed. The focal point was the Capitol building, first designed by William Thornton and subjected to many modifications, of which the most extensive was the addition of Thomas U. Walter's dominant Renaissance dome and outer wings during the 1850s and 1860s. Boston's first major professional architect, Charles Bulfinch, exhibited a strong English classicism in his elegant Massachusetts State House, completed in 1798.

American taste responded to the impact of many dynamic forces in the first half of the nineteenth century. The new feeling toward Nature and the challenge of the West, the increasing flow of immigrants from Europe and the growth of cities, the development of industry and commerce, the political and social problems faced by the young country, all had their effect. The circle of collectors and patrons widened. Comments about art activities appeared with some frequency in the growing number of newspapers and magazines. James Jackson Jarves, Henry Tuckerman and others formed the nucleus of an early school of American art criticism and art history. The first major art magazine in the United States, *The Crayon*, appeared during the 1850s. The organization and development of institutions such as the Boston Athenaeum, the American Academy, the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, the National Academy of

Design, and various museums, created centres of artistic leadership through their exhibitions and training facilities. The American Art Union afforded to any one willing to purchase a five-dollar membership the opportunity to acquire original works of art at annual distributions (Pl. 68a). After the introduction of lithography to America in the 1820s, printmaking flourished, especially with such firms as Currier & Ives and Sarony & Major.

The photographic technique successfully demonstrated in 1839 by Louis J. M. Daguerre was brought to the United States shortly thereafter by the inventor-artist Samuel F. B. Morse. He taught the technique to a number of pupils in the 1840s, among whom was Mathew B. Brady, later famous for his striking portrayals of the Civil War. The cumbersome wet collodion process was improved upon by a dry gelatin method in the early 1870s, and in the next decade George Eastman made photography widely available with his invention of paper roll film and the Kodak camera. Serious practitioners who recognized the art potential in the medium formed societies and organized exhibitions. By the end of the century new leaders in the movement, such as Alfred Stieglitz, succeeded in establishing a firm position for photography within the fine arts.

Architecture by the 1830s was reflecting the romantic revisions of classicism, and also was aspiring to a place in the democratic movement. Richard Upjohn's Trinity Church, built in New York between 1839 and 1846, set the style for the Gothic Revival. Popular taste in domestic architecture shifted to painted wood Gothic houses or picturesque Italian villas. While no nineteenth-century city plan could match the merits of L'Enfant's, the city park movement represented a notable trend; it was led by the landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted with his design for New York's Central Park.

The expansive nature of America's progress after the panic of 1857 and the Civil War set the stage for the appearance of some of the most pretentious examples of eclectic architecture on the one hand, and on the other witnessed the emergence of a native school which provided solid contributions for public and domestic architecture. Inspired by the French Renaissance, Richard Morris Hunt built lavish urban palaces and country estates for the Vanderbilts and other merchant tycoons. The busy firm of McKim, Mead and White offered a selection of derivative styles but were at their best in such adaptations from the Italian Renaissance as the Boston Public Library.

The triumph of the eclectic method was marked by the buildings of the 1893 Chicago World's Fair; yet, paradoxically, the same city also spawned an indigenous school whose greatest expression was the skyscraper. Spearheaded by James Bogardus' earlier use of iron skeletal frames and stimulated by the rich creativity of Henry H. Richardson, the movement flourished during the 1880s and 1890s. Among its outstanding early examples, perhaps the most satisfying blend of construction technique, sensitive order and restrained decoration was the Wainwright building (1890-1) in St Louis, designed by Dankmar Adler and Louis Sullivan. After 1900 New York became the centre

of a skyscraper school obsessed with the power of great heights. Meanwhile, Frank Lloyd Wright had left the employ of Louis Sullivan, whose famous axiom that 'form follows function' doubtless aided in the crystallization of Wright's concept of organic architecture. Before he left for Europe and eventual international fame in 1909, Wright had already conceived his horizontal, clean-lined 'prairie' homes and, in the massive simplicity of the Larkin building (1904) in Buffalo and Unity Church (1906) in Oak Park had demonstrated his mastery of large-scale design.

Painting, too, as represented by a new enthusiasm for landscapes beginning in the 1820s and by the flourishing of a popular genre tradition at mid-century, reflected romantic and democratic tendencies. The American landscape school of Doughty, Cole, Durand and others portrayed the mountainous regions of the eastern seaboard, particularly of the Hudson River valley. In the next generation, the range of vision broadened to include the rugged, undefiled scenery of the American West and the natural phenomena beyond American shores. Frederick Church, noted for his famous 'Niagara Falls' (1857), travelled to South America, Labrador, the West Indies, Europe and Palestine in his quest for the spectacular in nature. Albert Bierstadt and Thomas Moran specialized in large canvases of the Yellowstone and Yosemite. More intimate or introspective facets of the style appeared in the harbour scenes of John Kensett, in the luminous paintings of George Inness, and in the sea paintings of the visionary mystic, Albert Pinkham Ryder.

Among the genre artists, subject-matter ran the gamut from William Sidney Mount's portrayal of rural eastern types and Richard Caton Woodville's urban interiors to the riverboatmen and frontier politicans of George Caleb Bingham, the rustic anecdotes of Eastman Johnson, and the western scene paintings of George Catlin and Frederick Remington. The group owed a technical debt to Düsseldorf, which had become the training centre for a number of American artists. Raphaelle Peale's meticulous and deceptive still-life paintings stimulated a trend of which the 'magic realism' of William M. Harnett was a later manifestation.

Continuing the tradition of the native genre school but rising far above it were two artists who made the most original and powerful contributions toward a new realism in the second half of the century. Winslow Homer, largely self-taught, saw Nature in bold juxtapositions of fresh colour whether in Civil War drawings, genre paintings, or monumental renditions of the sea (Pl. 68b). Unlike Homer, Thomas Eakins had extensive professional training, including a sojourn at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Notable for his medical, sporting, and portrait paintings, Eakins was preoccupied with problems of three-dimensional form, particularly as presented in the human figure.

Several American painters distinguished themselves in Europe at this time. John Singer Sargent developed an enthusiastic following among European society. Frank Duveneck arrived at Munich's Royal Academy just as that school was reacting against a weary classicism and advocating in its place a

Hals-like bravura style. Duveneck, adapting himself quickly to the new manner, won the acclaim of his European teachers and stimulated other American artists to study in Munich. James A. McNeill Whistler was accorded some notoriety in Paris through his relationship with Courbet and his participation in the famous Salon des Refusés, but developed his greatest personal expression in England, where he formed a style of rare tonal subtleties, reducing detail and literal content to a degree which anticipated later abstract art. Mary Cassatt resided in France and became associated with the French Impressionists, although never relinquishing a personal sense of draftsmanship and colour. Others were more amenable to the Impressionist style, probably attracted as much by the surface effects produced by the broken colour and light palette as by the style's theoretic basis. Theodore Robinson, J. Alden Weir, John H. Twatchman and Childe Hassam were the leading American Impressionists.

The development of sculptural expression, while less impressive than that of either architecture or painting, followed a somewhat parallel path from an early nineteenth-century patriotic orientation to the emergence of a new realism late in the century. The first highly accomplished professional sculptors appeared in the 1820s, encouraged by the demand for works that would perpetuate the memory of national heroes and would enhance the new public buildings. Horatio Greenough in 1832 received the first significant sculptural commission (for the controversial 'Washington') which the Congress awarded to an American. Hiram Powers won international fame for his classical 'Greek Slave', displayed at the Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851, and William Wetmore Story, with his 'Libyan Sibyl' and 'Cleopatra', gained a similar accolade at the Paris Exposition of 1862.

After 1850, realism and the French Beaux-Arts academic tradition were the new trends which gradually supplanted Italian classicism. Augustus Saint-Gaudens, trained in France and Italy, is usually cited as the major sculptor of this period for his 'Lincoln' in Chicago (1887), 'Admiral Farragut' in New York (1881) and the untitled Adams Memorial in Rock Creek Cemetery, Washington, D. C. (1891). Others who made significant contributions were Daniel Chester French, George Grey Barnard, and the carver of whole mountains, Gutzon Borglum.

Music

The Europeans who settled in America brought with them the musical traditions of their homelands. Psalms, hymns and folk-songs were the earliest musical imports since they came with the immigrants and required no specialists and little expense. The *Bay Psalm Book* was still in use in 1775. By this time enough wealth and leisure had accumulated to support a few professional musicians and some rather talented musical amateurs. Francis Hopkinson, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, was the first native American composer. William Billings, a tanner and an organizer of singing

societies, in 1770 produced his *New England Psalm Singer*, the first sacred music collection composed by an American. Among the earliest to develop a music-loving audience were the Moravians at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, who by 1780 had an extensive library of scores for orchestra.

Throughout the ensuing romantic period the United States produced no great masters, though by the mid-nineteenth century citizens were taking pride in some accomplished performers such as the romantic pianist and composer, Louis M. Gottschalk (born in New Orleans but trained abroad). Musical output in the United States remained largely in the form of hymns and folk-songs—work songs of sailors, canal-boatmen, railroad workers, slaves, western farmers and cowboys. Some hymns achieved enduring fame as churches moved west and missionaries went overseas. The untaught Stephen Foster made a lasting contribution with such songs as *My Old Kentucky Home* (1851), a romanticized melody of southern Negro life. Folk-songs from many nations became part of the common stock as they were brought in by immigrants—German, French, Scandinavian, and Latin American.

Minstrel shows began with Thomas (Jim Crow) Rice around 1820. The banjo was invented in the early 1830s, probably by Joel W. Sweeney. In 1843 Daniel D. Emmett, composer of 'Ole Dan Tucker' and 'Dixie', organized the first minstrel band, forerunner of the ragtime and jazz bands. By 1893 at the Chicago World's Fair Scott Joplin and other Negro pianists were playing ragtime for large audiences.

The widening basis for appreciation of the great European masters dates from the early decades of the nineteenth century. The founding of the Philharmonic Society (1810) and the Handel and Haydn Society (1815)—both of Boston—and the Philharmonic Society of New York (1842) attested the growth of muscial interest, as did the popularity of German singing clubs in the Mississippi Valley and the reception of Italian and French opera in New York and New Orleans. Lowell Mason, originator of music education in the schools, by the 1850s had a teacher-training school, the New York Normal Institute, supplying music teachers for the nation. After 1848, a procession of artists from Europe—Ole Bull, the Norwegian violinist, Jenny Lind, Sweden's great singer who enchanted the whole nation, and other performers who followed them—made music lovers familiar with the highest musical standards.

The appearance of good orchestras and conservatories before 1850 indicated a widening interest and maturing of taste, but it provided the groundwork rather than the actuality of a distinctive contribution to the outside world. The rise of a school of composers dates from late in the nineteenth century. Edward A. MacDowell's orchestral pieces became famous, and in his *Indian Suite* he experimented with native themes. Reginald De Koven is known for his *Robin Hood* (1890) and other light operas, and the immigrant Victor Herbert for highly successful operettas, composed after 1895. The careers of Leopold and Walter Damrosch demonstrate the enriching process of continuous interchange within a culture. Leopold Damrosch, a young German concert

violinist who had received personal encouragement from Liszt, in 1877 founded the Symphony Society of New York, and in 1884 successfully introduced German opera to the Metropolitan. His son Walter, who soon became a revered national figure, succeeded his father as conductor, composed several operas (one on the French theme of *Cyrano de Bergerac*), and formed a German opera company which appeared under his direction in many cities of his adopted country.

Careers of singers in the United States show the same cultural interchange. The famous Schumann-Heink, after her New York debut in 1898, made the United States her home. Emma Eames, who trained first in Boston and then in Paris, after her début in 1889 divided her appearances between Paris, London and New York. Mary Garden, an immigrant child from Chicago, trained in Paris and also made her first appearance abroad (Paris, 1900). The nineteenth century in fact saw the firm establishment of the great musical traditions of Europe in the United States. The indigenous musical elements for which the country eventually became known were the twentieth-century manifestations rooted at once in this broad cultural tradition and in folk-music.

The educational system

By the end of the colonial period education in America had become a self-conscious task which increasingly was looked upon as belonging chiefly to the school, instead of being left in large part to family, church, or community. Sponsorship varied from the tax-supported schools of many New England towns to the sectarian institutions of the Middle Colonies, the private tutoral schools of the southern planters, and the arrangements for paupers and apprentices in all sections. Nine colleges had been founded by 1775, eight of them under religious auspices.

Independence and the desire to further the sentiment of nationalism imposed new tasks for the schools and colleges of the young republic. The central government, whose commitment to public education had been demonstrated in the provisions of the Land Ordinance of 1785, began in 1802 to offer federal land to each new state for the establishment of state universities, of which there were to be seventeen by the year 1860. Professional education, meanwhile, arose chiefly in such private universities as Columbia and the University of Pennsylvania. The latter, as Franklin's 'College of Philadelphia', had pioneered both in medical education (1765) and in the gradual movement toward a broadening and secularizing of educational curricula.

The growth of democratic social and political ideas, especially in the middle years of the nineteenth century, resulted in a strong movement for public, tax-supported schools as a means of promoting equality of opportunity and an informed citizenry. The states of the north-east, under such leaders as Horace Mann and Henry Barnard, were forward in the public-education movement, and the new states to the west of the Appalachians and north of the Ohio followed their example. The South lagged, some states of the region not

accepting, until the Reconstruction era, the obligation to provide public schools. The poverty of southern-state treasuries and the inferiority of Negro education brought an actual decline in the southern literacy rate after 1870. The efforts of reformers did begin to take hold, however, after 1890, and Negro literacy rose from 55 per cent to 70 per cent in the first decade of the twentieth century.

The main emphasis of the public school movement of the mid-1800s was upon elementary education. Private academies provided most secondary schooling (Pl. 66a), before the zeal to establish public high schools swept the country late in the century (Pl. 66b). The four-year high school not only offered a college-preparatory curriculum but also met popular demands for 'practical' education. At the same time, rising standards in the teaching profession, the lengthening of school terms, and the adoption of compulsory school-attendance laws were improving the quality of elementary and secondary education for ever greater numbers of people. The span of education increased as Mrs Carl Schurz brought the kindergarten to America (1855) and such enthusiasts as Josiah Holbrook and Peter Cooper contrived variously to bring public lectures to the adult population.

The American stress upon useful knowledge and equal opportunity likewise influenced formal higher education. The Morrill Act of 1862 made its grants of federal lands to the states specifically to finance colleges which would 'teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts ... in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes'. Eventually sixty-nine colleges and universities would be founded under this act, among them some of the nation's foremost institutions. Yet public education at the higher levels did not overwhelm the private institutions either numerically or in influence. Public and private institutions shared equally in the epochal development, after 1860, of graduate instruction on the German model. John Dewey led his revolt against educational formalism from posts at the private University of Chicago and at Columbia. Harvard under President Charles W. Eliot influenced numerous institutions to adopt the 'elective system' in preference to the older rigid curricula. President Eliot and Edward Lee Thorndike (Columbia) contributed significantly to the beginnings of educational testing and the relative standardizing of college entrance requirements.

Varying greatly in the quality of the training they offered, American educational institutions of the nineteenth century none the less performed similar functions for the society they served. The primary and secondary schools in particular inculcated democratic principles of liberty and equality, fostered national patriotism and the idea of a special mission for America in the world, and transmitted a secularized form of the Puritan ethic of industry, thrift, and earnestness. Education served a unifying purpose in providing common traditions and aspirations for a rapidly expanding and extremely mobile society.

Scientific research

At the time of her revolution, America was a provincial outpost of the European scientific tradition; and in many ways it remained such an outpost throughout the nineteenth century. In the colonial period Franklin and other Americans had been members of the Royal Society, and had contributed articles to British scientific journals. From the close of the revolutionary war until the middle of the nineteenth century, France, her scientists, and her scientific institutions increasingly supplanted the mother country as the principal exemplars of the scientific life. In the later 1800s more and more Americans went to German universities and modelled their work on the expanding outputs of *Annalen* and *Zeitschriften*.

American scientists, however, reacting to the same forces which influenced science in Europe, strove to achieve more than provincial status. Following the examples of Europe they founded learned societies. both national and local, to stimulate and direct research. The oldest was Franklin's American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, founded in 1743. John Adams took the lead in establishing the American Academy of Arts and Sciences in Boston in 1780. After two abortive attempts in Washington to found scientific societies with possible claims to federal funds, the bequest of James Smithson, an Englishman, in 1846 brought into existence the Smithsonian Institution. Its secretary, Joseph Henry, was an effective, quiet worker for the development of the sciences. The American Association for the Advancement of Science was founded in 1848. In 1863 the National Academy of Sciences was chartered, mainly through the efforts of Alexander Dallas Bache; but it did not achieve significant status as a force for research until World War 1. Although rich in natural resources, the United States was poor in institutions which could foster research and, more importantly, provide suitable careers for the scientific-minded. Expanding the institutional base for their profession was a principal task of many American scientists in the nineteenth century.

Concurrent with the growth of institutions was a change in the composition of the body of workers in science and technology. As in eighteenth-century Britain, America started its national life with a considerable number of amateur practitioners. In the nineteenth century these amateurs, some of whom were quite talented, were gradually supplanted by men with training and, often, with doctoral degrees. By the end of the century the newly founded industrial research laboratories were manned by university graduates; and the independent amateur-inventor like Thomas Edison (whose Menlo Park Laboratory presaged this development) would become a rare anachronism in the twentieth century. The growing importance of the doctorate, especially after the founding of the Johns Hopkins University in 1876, coupled with the influx of scholars educated in European universities, effectively extinguished the amateur tradition in science in the United States.

One legacy of amateurism was that America entered the twentieth century regarded by many, such as the German biologist Heinrich Waldeyer, as the

equal of Europe in the biological sciences. Natural history earlier had attracted hosts of amateur practitioners whose enthusiasm created a base for scientific growth. The federal government sponsored exploring expeditions which brought back specimens of rocks, flora, and fauna. American botanists like John Torrey and Asa Gray had international reputations in their time. The Swiss-American zoologist Louis Agassiz rode the crest of this popular enthusiasm to found a notable museum at Harvard. The geologists James Hall and James Dwight Dana were also international figures. The latter's *System of Mineralogy* was a standard work in Europe for many decades after the first edition of 1837. In the latter half of the nineteenth century the three great palaeontologists, Joseph Leidy, O. C. Marsh, and E. D. Cope, contributed much to their field— Marsh's work on the evolutionary development of the modern horse being recognized as important evidence in support of Darwin.

By the end of the century the old taxonomy-oriented biology was clearly giving way to an experimental and quantitative science. The growth of agricultural research in the latter decades of the century and the stimulus to medical research of the European work in bacteriology and physiology replaced natural history—the enthusiasm of the amateur taxonomist—as bases for the future growth of the biological sciences.

The physical sciences developed very unevenly. There was little work in the pure mathematics. Pure chemistry was greatly neglected until the latter decades of the nineteenth century. In meteorology, a field where amateurs did flock, William C. Redfield, Elias Loomis, Joseph Espy, and William Ferrel are regarded as among the founders of the scientific study of the weather. But after this promising start, American contributions faltered. A more spectacular growth occurred in astronomy. In 1832 there were no observatories in America; in 1882 the United States possessed 144, many with the most advanced equipment of the day. Americans were very active in the development of astronomical equipment and in the spread of astrophysical research. Two father-and-son combinations, W. C. and G. P. Bond at Harvard and J. W. and H. Draper at New York University, were notable pioneers in astrophysics. But the leading American in the field was the mathematical astronomer Simon Newcomb.

Physics was a rare preoccupation in nineteenth-century America. But Joseph Henry vied with Faraday for the first place in the study of electromagnetism in the 1830s; and by the end of the century America could boast of three leading physicists. Henry Augustus Rowland of John Hopkins was known for his studies in optics and electromagnetism; A. Michelson of the University of Chicago had behind him the Michelson-Morley experiment, several velocity-of-light determinations, and other investigations characterized by imagination and precision; J. Willard Gibbs of Yale had completed monumental work in statistical mechanics and thermodynamics. Far removed from the gentlemen-amateurs of the early Republic, such scientists were unmistakable precursors of the future trend.

Philosophy[8]

Philosophical development in the century after the American Revolution may be divided into three stages: the union of the enlightenment with Protestantism in the early years, the romantic idealism of the mid-nineteenth century, and the pluralist empiricism and pragmatism of the latter part of the century.

The philosophy of the Declaration of Independence, combining theistic and enlightenment motifs, derived all basic rights from natural law and divine law and made them the justification for revolution. The right of revolution did not justify a *coup d'état*, but only the establishment of a government which would respect the individual's inalienable rights as eternal limitations on governmental power. Although Thomas Paine declared that what a people chose to do they had a right to do, this unlimited sovereignty of the majority was not the historic tradition of the United States. Jefferson, whose idea of progress was based on a belief in God's will, insisted upon right reason and inalienable rights as limitations upon the will of the majority. To be right a majority must be reasonable, as he said in his inaugural address; to be reasonable, a majority must respect the equal rights of the minority. On this universalization of rights was based every later attack on discrimination and inequality of race, colour, religion, political opinions, sex, caste, or class.

Many factors contributed to the blending of enlightenment and religious elements. One of these was Protestant individualism, particularly the dissenting tradition, which combined the idea of fundamental law with that of the freedom of the individual. The logic of the dissenting tradition prescribed not mere toleration but religious freedom and equality under the law, since the individual conscience was regarded as having been placed beyond the power of the state both by natural and by divine law. Other factors were the enlightenment's concern for earthly affairs, its Newtonian emphasis upon the rational order of the universe, its belief in human rights as self-evident truths. And finally, operating upon and through these more formal influences was the practical humanism of a land where men were scarce and neighbourliness a common need and virtue.

Before the age of Darwin and Comte, philosophical and scientific thought were regularly regarded as resting upon supernatural assumptions. Christian metaphysics existed alongside Lockean empiricism in a pre-supposed harmony. The most notable synthesis of this kind appeared in the idealism of the great philosopher and theologian Jonathan Edwards, in the mid-eighteenth century. The work of Edwards, together with that of the Berkeleyan Samuel Johnson, implanted in the formal philosophical tradition a strong element of empirical idealism.

'Rational religion', fashionable in the Deism of the late eighteenth century, renewed its strength in Unitarianism at the opening of the nineteenth. Far more widespread, however, was the Scottish philosophy of 'common sense' realism which James McCosh had brought to America in the eighteenth

century, and which now became the front line of defence against both philosophical and religious scepticism. The Lockean philosophy, as revised by the Scottish school, remained the academic 'orthodoxy' into the 1860s.

Transcendentalism, which also flourished between 1830 and 1860, was the highest expression of romantic idealism to appear in the United States. It was Kantian in its acceptance of intuition and the transcendent reality of ultimate truths, pantheistic in its emphasis on spiritual response to the beauties of nature individualistic and democratic in its rejection of social conformity, formalized religion, and political authoritarianism. The most important thinkers in the transcendental movement were Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau. Emerson, who was drawn to Quakerism, Platonism, and the mysticism of the East, resigned from his ministry in the Unitarian Church and developed his philosophy of individual freedom and moral choice; his *Nature* (1836) was the seminal work on transcendentalism. Thoreau, who was more of a reformer than Emerson, emphasized symbolic action as a means of protest. Both men insisted on the responsibility of the individual to judge for himself and act on his principles. Thoreau, however, in a celebrated essay on 'Civil Disobedience' (1849) added to his concept of philosophic anarchy the political technique of passive resistance. Transcendentalism eventually contributed significantly to the school of absolute idealism represented by Josiah Royce, and to the Hegelianism promoted after 1867 by William T. Harris and others at St Louis.

The hundred years beginning in 1848 brought a world-wide intellectual crisis and a radical break in philosophical continuity. The attempt to digest the urban-industrial and scientific revolutions, especially Darwinism, resulted in a profound shift in philosophic interests and problems. The scientific stage in world thought, proclaimed in the historical materialism of Marx and the positivism of Comte, was reflected a generation later in America in the pragmatism of Peirce, James, and Dewey. Darwin had a greater influence in the United States than Marx; Comte had an influence but few followers. Although orthodox supernaturalism as an explanation of man and the cosmos retained its hold, secular humanism and 'rational religion', exemplified in the United States by Robert Ingersoll and Lester F. Ward, became increasingly important, as did naturalism, which was rendered in the tentative and experimental spirit of the pragmatists rather than in a dogmatically deterministic form.

The pragmatists, faced with a changing cosmos which displayed flux and chance, turned away from universal values and immutable natural law. The new science posed difficult questions. Were man and Nature ruled by blind forces ? Or were democratic assumptions still tenable, based as they were on a philosophy of progress and a belief in the reality of free moral choice ? To the Americans, pragmatism came as a liberating solution. Its central principle was announced in 1878 by a scientist-logician of Harvard, Charles S. Peirce, whose position was that the real meaning of an idea is established only by

discovering its consequences. William James, a Harvard colleague, and John Dewey, who was at the University of Chicago and later at Columbia, related pragmatism to Darwin's concepts of variation, mutation, and adjustment. They insisted that man must look at the cosmos unprejudiced by the assumptions of traditional philosophy. It was not a closed but an open universe, James said. Fixed beliefs and a closed system of thought did not accord with reality and did not permit adjustment to change. Novelty, probability, fallibility became the pragmatic concepts, challenging the usefulness of the age-old search for certainties. Thus the pragmatists attempted to develop a philosophy which would have methodological continuity with the sciences, and which would provide an empirical science of value. This also called for a pragmatic reinterpretation of the problem of truth.

In *The Will to Believe* (1896) and other works, James asserted that the purpose of philosophy was 'to help change the world'. Dewey, in *Studies in Logical Theory* (1903), introduced the term 'instrumentalism'. James emphasized a widening range of choices in a pluralist universe and called for bold experiments in individual creativity. Dewey, in attacking anti-democratic absolutes, emphasized the application of organized social intelligence in the social process, and the testing of ideas by their consequences. Pragmatism thus attempted to overthrow static absolutes in economics, law, and politics in the United States. Abroad, it attracted philosophers and scientists such as W. Ostwald in Germany, Bergson and J. H. Poincaré in France, Papini in Italy and F. C. S. Schiller in England.[9]

The next major development in American philosophy was forecast at the start of the twentieth century by the publication in 1905–6 of *The Life of Reason* by George Santayana. This anticipated the appearance of a school of realistic philosophy soon to appear under the leadership of such figures as Alfred N. Whitehead, Roy W. Sellars, and Arthur O. Lovejoy.

Religion

Despite the well-known diversity of American religious life, the majority of faiths in the United States are traceable to a common heritage. At the end of the colonial period, fully 90 per cent of the religious life of the country was shaped by a tradition which was Christian, Protestant, and Calvinistic (or Reformed). The revivals of the eighteenth century, moreover, had imparted to most religious bodies the common stamp of evangelical pietism, binding them together in a core of shared convictions even while each continued to affirm certain distinctive tenets. Thus while one may document the devious courses of the many channels in which the religious stream flows, he must not fail to account for the force of the stream itself.

After independence had been won, the churches of the new nation faced three major problems: securing full religious liberty, completing their organization independent of parent bodies in Europe, and evangelizing a largely unchurched population. For the first task they had some guidance from colonial

experiments in Maryland, Rhode Island, and Pennsylvania. The theological justification for freedom of conscience had been articulated by Roger Williams, who drew upon two fundamental doctrines of the Calvinistic-Puritan tradition: the sovereignty of God and the sinfulness of man. Because God is sovereign, Williams had argued, and because he has given his Son to redeem man and be the head of his redeemed community (the Church), then men must be free to respond to divine grace and the church must be free to determine its own life under the lordship of Christ. Furthermore, all men are sinners and are always tempted to exalt themselves over their fellows (if not over God himself!); but since they are finite and fallible, they must not be permitted to yield to this temptation and impose their own religious opinions upon others.[10]

The ideals of the enlightenment provided an indispensable ally to the theological argument for liberty of conscience. Men who personally were indifferent to the various institutional forms of religion emphasized the 'natural rights of man' as 'self-evident'. Thomas Jefferson's 'Act for Establishing Religious Freedom', enacted by the Virginia legislature in 1786, provided that 'all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain, their opinion in matters of religion, and that the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities'. This became a pattern for similar acts in other states until the last vestige of churchly privileges was swept away in Massachusetts in 1833. On the national level, the Constitution provided at the outset that 'no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States'. And the First Amendment, reflecting the desire of dissenters for a more adequate safeguard against some of the discrimination they had known in the days of establishment, added that 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting free exercise thereof'.

The corollary of religious freedom is the voluntary church, and one of the distinguishing characteristics of American religion is the voluntary principle. Churches may argue theologically that they are divinely constituted, but before the law they are no more than voluntary associations of private citizens. This means that they must depend entirely upon their own resources to perpetuate their inner life and community witness, and must rely upon persuasion to win members and exert a moral influence in the society. The effect of such a situation has been to transform every church, regardless of its heritage of establishment, into a gathered sect, and every 'sect' into an autonomous church. The proper name for the resulting group is 'denomination', a distinctively American form implying that each Christian group is free to order its life according to its understanding of the true Church.[11]

As the American churches completed their organization as autonomous bodies, they did so with a high degree of adaptiveness. The Episcopalians, who had been seriously handicapped all through the colonial period by the lack of a resident bishop, had a 'republican episcopacy' and a united organization

by 1789. The Methodists, newly emerged from Anglicanism, gained independent status under Francis Asbury in 1784. The Presbyterians, who had formed one of the earliest connectional bodies in the colonies (the Philadelphia Presbytery, 1706), now completed their system with the General Assembly in 1788. The Lutherans likewise enlarged the number and size of their regional synods and formed the General Synod in 1820. Even the Roman Catholic Church modified its tradition of papal appointments to permit the American clergy to propose to the Holy See 'the one whom they deem most fit' to serve as bishop. The Moravians remained under European jurisdiction until 1857, but the rest of the American religious bodies made full and immediate use of their liberties in the new nation.

Thus organized, the churches addressed themselves to the task of evangelizing an unchurched population. Faced by 'infidelity' in the East and 'barbarism' on the western frontier, they prepared to launch a counter-offensive to persuade Americans to accept the Christian gospel. The revival known as the Second Awakening began in the 1790s and by the turn of the century was in full swing, both in the cities and colleges of the East and on the frontier (Pl. 69a). At Yale, for example, President Timothy Dwight's massive assaults on infidelity turned the college into 'a little temple', and raised up a whole new generation of evangelical ministers. About the same time the revivalism of the Carolina back-country moved over into Kentucky and the boisterious camp meetings were earning their reputation as 'religion's harvest time'. Converts and churches multiplied; and through the ministries of the Baptist farmer-preacher, the Methodist circuit-rider, and the Presbyterian pastor-evangelist the frontier was given a measure of evangelical faith and moral discipline.[12]

Whereas this spontaneous ministry sustained the fervour of popular evangelicalism along the southern frontier, the area north of the Ohio River was penetrated by more formal missionary devices. In 1801 Congregationalists and Presbyterians entered into a plan of union to facilitate church planting in the new settlements of New York and the trans-Allegheny West. Other denominations likewise engaged in domestic missionary work. But the major instrument of the churches for the winning of the West was a vast complex of voluntary societies, the chief of which were the American Bible Society (1816), the American Sunday School Union (1824), the American Tract Society (1825), and the American Home Mission Society (1826). Such groups were all closely related: their members belonged to several societies, their directors were often the same people, and they employed common agents in the field. In 1829–31 they conducted a saturation campaign in the Mississippi River valley, attempting to provide a Bible for every family, a school for every district, and a pastor for every thousand souls. Meanwhile, a group of praying college students had prompted their elders to form the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1810, and various other denominational and co-operative bodies came into existence shortly afterwards to send increasing numbers of Christian missionaries to foreign shores.

'Evangelicalism' emphasizes a conversion experience as the beginning point of the Christian life, and revivalism continued to be the chief means of inducing that experience. From George Whitefield (1714–70) to the present time the revival has been one of the outstanding manifestations of religion in the United States, although the professional evangelist was little known until the days of Charles Grandison Finney (1792–1875). In 1737 Jonathan Edwards, the theologian of the Great Awakening, had marvelled at the unexpected and 'surprising work of God in the conversion of many hundred souls'; but in 1826 Finney argued the case for Jesus Christ just as he formerly had argued in New York's law courts, and made conversion turn upon a simple decision of the human will. So successful were his 'new measures' that later evangelists refined his techniques and sought to promote revivals by organization and publicity. Dwight Lyman Moody, the last of the great nineteenth-century evangelists, was a man of enormous energy and unquestioned sincerity, but his simple, non-theological piety left to such successors as Billy Sunday only a technique to be copied—if not caricatured.

Along its turbulent course through the nineteenth-century revivalism spawned a number of new American denominations. To meet the urgent shortage of ministers on the expanding frontier, revivalistic Presbyterians in Kentucky and Tennessee lowered educational requirements and enrolled ministers who could express only a qualified reception of the church's doctrines. When the Synod of Kentucky, controlled by anti-revivalists with strict dogmatic standards, objected, the Cumberland Presbytery organized independently in 1810. It grew rapidly in the south-west.

Barton Warren Stone, leader of the famous Cane Ridge camp meeting of 1801, renounced the Westminster Confession and the Presbyterian system in 1804. Along with several of his followers he took 'the Bible only' as the sole basis of authority in an effort to establish a non-sectarian group of 'Christians'. In another development Thomas and Alexander Campbell (father and son), extremely conservative Scotch Presbyterians, formed in 1809 the 'Christian Association of Washington (Pennsylvania)' on the principle of strict biblical authority. After a brief relationship with the Baptists (1813–30), the followers of Campbell began to call themselves 'Disciples of Christ'. In 1832 they merged with the followers of Stone to form the Disciples, or Christian, denomination. Within two decades they were the sixth largest religious body in the nation.

Upstate New York, the home of Finney and many of his imitators, was swept by the fires of revivalism so frequently in the 1830s that it came to be called 'the burned-over district'. Out of this region have come several religious groups marked by rather wide divergence from the traditions of the older denominations. Biblicism, pietism, emotionalism, perfectionism, communitarianism, millenarianism, prophetism, spiritualism—all seemed to concentrate here and to combine in various ways to produce many unusual cults and movements.

Joseph Smith, uneducated son of a family of frontier drifters, experienced

a revivalistic conversion in 1820. Three years later he saw in a dream the angel Moroni, who told him of secret golden plates hidden in Ontario County, New York. In 1827 Smith was permitted to unearth the plates and translate their message, using magic spectacles he found with them. This was published as the *Book of Mormon* in 1830. A curious amalgam of the King James version of the Bible and the folklore of the region, the book purports to be a history of America; it tells of early settlers from the Tower of Babel, all of whom were destroyed except the faithful Mormon and his son Moroni. In the fifth century A.D. the latter collected the records and buried them in Cumorah hill until a true prophet should discover them. On the basis of this revelation, Smith gathered followers and organized them in 1830 as the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-Day Saints. The next year they moved to Kirtland, Ohio, built a temple, and won several converts, among whom was Brigham Young. After a stormy stay they moved on in 1837 to Caldwell County, Missouri, and then to Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1839. Upon initiating the practice of polygamy—which was enjoined in a new 'revelation'—Smith was jailed and murdered by a mob. Young led the majority of the group on to Utah, where they built a garden in the desert and established themselves permanently as a strong and prosperous community. Federal law forced them to abandon the practice of polygamy in 1890, when Utah was admitted into the Union as a state.

Another group originating in 'burned-over' territory was the Adventists. William Miller, a Baptist preacher, became absorbed in the prophetic scriptures and predicted the return of Christ in 1843. A following of perhaps 50,000 waited with him in eager expectancy through that year and most of the next. When his prophecy failed to materialize, Miller revised his calculations and organized those who survived the disillusionment into a denomination in 1845. This group has suffered schisms; the main body embraced the so-called Sabbath Law and continued to grow as Seventh-Day Adventists.

While the evangelicals were addressing themselves to the winning of the West, and revivalism was multiplying converts and fragmenting churches, the liberal tradition was flowering in the East. With its roots far back in the seventeenth century, liberalism had grown vigorously in the warmth of rationalistic opposition to the Great Awakening. Denying the traditional concepts of God's wrathful judgement and man's inherited propensity to sin, liberals spoke increasingly of the benevolence of the deity and the innate goodness of man. The Universalists had their first church in America at Gloucester, Massachusetts, in 1779, and another at Philadelphia in 1785. Hosea Ballou became their national leader, and they organized as a denomination in 1790.

Whereas Universalism arose mainly among liberal Baptists and tended to attract the middle and lower classes, Unitarianism arose almost entirely among the Congregationalist élite in eastern Massachusetts. Rationalistic Arminianism had been growing silently around Boston for a long while, and when open

controversy erupted in 1805 the Liberal party was strong enough to install Henry Ware solidly in Harvard's chair of divinity. Fourteen years later William Ellery Channing plainly declared the beliefs of a 'Unitarian Christianity' in a sermon at the ordination of Jared Sparks in Baltimore. A court decision in 1820 opened the way for church properties to pass into Unitarian hands by simple vote of the parish, and within a few years 125 of the Congregational churches in eastern Massachusetts had declared themselves Unitarian.

Leftward movements nearly always generate more centrifugal force than they can control, and Unitarianism was no exception. In 1832 Ralph Waldo Emerson resigned from the pulpit of the Second Church in Boston to follow the promptings of intuition unfettered by the Unitarians' attachment to the Scriptures. When Theodore Parker, pastor at West Roxbury, not only followed him into philosophical idealism but reduced religion to essentially humanistic terms, hitherto-tolerant Unitarians joined Andrews Norton in branding transcendentalism 'the latest form of infidelity'.

Standing as something of a mediator between the romanticized evangelicalism of the revivalists and the idealistic pantheism of the transcendentalists is Horace Bushnell (1802–76), 'the American Schleiermacher'. Working from a basic conviction as to the contextual nature of reality, he sought to develop a pastoral theology based less on dogmatic argument than on religious experience—experience, however, that unfolded within a community of faith embracing both the family and the church. He argued that a child should be nurtured in the faith so as never to remember when he had not been a Christian. With the optimism of the age, Bushnell envisaged a divine society eventually overcoming 'the organic depravation of humanity' and opening into the kingdom of God. He thus became an important forerunner of the concern dominant in the social gospel.

At mid-century, it was still unquestionably appropriate to speak of 'the cultural dominance of Protestantism' in the United States. Beyond the pervasive influence of the churches in each community stretched their educational enterprises, their ubiquitous evangelists, and the far-flung work of their voluntary societies. Yet the pattern of religion was already beginning to shift. Immigration, industrialization, and urbanization were strong forces making for rapid social change, with far-reaching effects on the churches.

Immigration greatly augmented the membership of the Roman Catholic Church. This was not an unmixed blessing, for, as Monsignor Ellis has said, it 'gave to the Church a foreign colouring that at once baffled its friends and exasperated its enemies'. Bafflement was due chiefly to the rise of nationalistic tensions within the church: early Catholics had been English, most of the missionary priests during the colonial period French, and the bulk of the immigration up to the 1840s Irish. During the two decades preceding the Civil War increased immigration came from northern Europe, and toward the end of the century a veritable flood came from southern and eastern Europe.

While the Roman Church was struggling to assimilate these diverse peoples and minister to them under enormous handicaps, its enemies arose in a nativistic reaction. The 'Protestant Crusade' was at its height from 1834, when a mob burned the Ursuline Convent in Charlestown, Massachusetts, to 1854, when the Native American (or 'Know-Nothing') Party controlled several state legislatures. Anti-Catholic propaganda ranged all the way from S. F. B. Morse's *Foreign Conspiracy against the Liberties of the United States* (1835) to degenerate and depraved imitations of *The Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk* (1836), which alleged shocking immoralities in nunneries. The Roman Church weathered these storms, and by 1860 was the largest single religious body in the United States.

Immigration immediately before and after the Civil War was heaviest from northern Europe, and included many Jews. The liberal beliefs and linguistic oddity of these newcomers made them unwelcome to Jews who were already well established in American society. Under the leadership of Isaac Mayer Wise (1819–1900) the new liberal elements inaugurated Reform Judaism, forming the Union of American Hebrew Congregations at Cincinnati in 1873. The Conservatives, led by Isaac Leeser, opposed the radicalism of the Reform group; but even their moderate position held little appeal for rigidly orthodox Jews from eastern Europe who came in increasing numbers at the end of the century. The Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations, founded in 1898 by conservatives, was soon captured by the East European Orthodox. B'nai B'rith, organized in 1845 by German Jews in New York, endeavoured to foster unity on cultural, rather than religious, grounds. The Society for Ethical Culture, a left-wing movement in Reform Judaism, was formed by Felix Adler in 1876.

The slavery controversy and the Civil War brought about a most unfortunate disruption of the churches. Before 1800 all the churches North and South had made strong pronouncements on the evils of human slavery and on the desirability of emancipation. But ecclesiastical pronouncements on slavery from 1800 to 1830 became increasingly milder, provoking a radical party in New England to separate itself from the churches and demand immediate and total abolition. Southern churchmen responded with a defence of slavery on biblical grounds, thus presaging a long-standing cultural division: Bible Belt literalism *v.* 'infidel rationalism'. Moderates soon found themselves in an impossible position between the pro-slavery Christianity of the South and the anti-Christian abolitionism of New England, and were unable to prevent either schism in the churches or fratricide in the nation. After the war, Roman Catholics and Episcopalians, whose division had been due purely to political necessity, reunited immediately; but where acrimonious controversy had preceded painful schism, rapprochement was slow, and some divisions still persist.

For the Negroes, emancipation made it desirable to organize their own churches and denominations. The African Methodist Episcopal and the African Methodist Episcopal Zion churches, both northern bodies, had been

formed in 1816 and 1820 respectively, but before the Civil War most Christian Negroes had been content to be in white churches. After the war they withdrew into separate churches, and eventually formed their own denominational bodies. The vast majority of coloured people preferred to remain either Methodist or Baptist, following well-known patterns of revivalism and popular evangelicalism.

After 1865, as the industrialization of the North proceeded apace, urban areas mushroomed and social disruptions increased. Churchmen were not insensitive to these new social problems, and while Roman Catholics took the lead in espousing the cause of the working man, Protestant evangelicals launched an urban counter-offensive with as much zeal as they had shown against the infidelity and barbarism of earlier years. Among the various forms of city missions was the institutional church, which used its facilities continuously for all kinds of service to the community, offering recreation, sewing classes, manual training, reading rooms, day nursery, night school, and choral society. At first the motive of the churches in urban missions was evangelistic, but in many instances the work gradually became simple humanitarianism, scarcely distinguishable from secular welfare projects.

The rise of social concern in the churches prompted an effort to understand and redeem a society whose very structure permitted the conditions which made rescue missions and welfare work necessary. The 'social gospel' began with a critique of *laissez-faire* economics. It protested the profit-makers' disregard for human values, demanded justice and fair treatment for the workers, and attacked social evils in the cities. Among many articulate exponents, the most profound was Walter Rauschenbusch (1861–1918). In spite of opposition from businessmen whose 'gospel of wealth' precluded collective and environmental approaches to social improvement, and by revivalists whose other-worldly approach offered an individual salvation through divine grace rather than human effort, most of the American denominations adopted social creeds in the early 1900s. It was largely to implement this concern that the Federal Council of Churches was formed in 1908.[13]

All the while something had been happening to shift the focus of American Protestant thought. Evolutionary theory, along with new investigations in the natural sciences, began to gain wider attention. Rationalistic historical and textual studies of the Bible began to shift from Germany to the United States. And the influence of immanentistic theology in the tradition of Schleiermacher was growing. The 'New Theology' stressed a doctrine of incarnation, interpreted as divine immanence, which sanctified the 'natural man' and invested the society itself with intrinsic redemptive powers. In the more liberal churches, in fact, Protestant 'cultural dominance' had come by the end of the century to look more like 'cultural accommodation'. Roman Catholics and Jews were subject to something of the same processes of acculturation as the descendants of the immigrants progressively domesticated themselves in American society.

Many of the Eastern Orthodox churches had founded congregations in the United States by the latter nineteenth century. The Greek branch established itself first at New Orleans in 1867. Russian Orthodoxy began work in Alaska in 1824, pushed slowly down the west coast, and founded a bishopric at San Francisco in 1872; four years later a church was formed in New York City, and the bishopric was transferred there in 1905.

Unique to America are several cultic movements of the latter nineteenth century. Christian Science is a form of philosophical idealism influenced by experiments in hypnosis and psychotherapy. Mrs Mary Baker G. P. Eddy, influenced by a hypnotic healer named Phineas P. Quimby, cured herself of 'paralysis' in 1866 and began to write *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures* (published 1875). In an extreme form of pantheistic idealism she suggested that God is All, existing in a trinity of Life, Truth, and Love, and that salvation comes through understanding sickness and death to be merely illusions—spirit alone being real. She gathered a society of followers in 1875, and four years later they formed the First Church of Christ, Scientist, in Boston.

The group which came to be called 'Jehovah's Witnesses' followed a chiliastic scheme originated by Charles Taze Russell, a former haberdasher of Allegheny, Pennsylvania. He gathered a group of 'International Bible Students' at Pittsburgh in 1872, and began to publish *Zion's Watch Tower*. The tenets of the group came to centre in the supposition that Christ has returned and revealed himself secretly to his faithful saints. The final great cataclysm is imminent, hence the slogan, 'Millions now living will never die!'

Because only a small number of Orientals entered the United States, Asiatic faiths made relatively little impression. Chinese and Japanese peoples reacted differently to life in America. While the former sought to maintain their own traditions, the latter deliberately adopted American methods. Japanese Buddhist temples were built with gymnasia, libraries, and game rooms, probably in imitation of the Protestant institutional church; in 1898 the Young Men's Buddhist Association was established at San Francisco. Tibetan Buddhism was brought to New York by Madame Helena P. Blavatsky, who organized there a Theosophical Society in 1875. Baha'ism, a Persian offshoot of Islam, came to America in 1893. The Vedanta Society, an American adaptation of Hinduism, was introduced also in 1893.

At the end of the nineteenth century the American churches were numerous, prosperous, and influential. They had much on which to congratulate themselves: popular pulpiteers preached to crowded auditories in costly buildings, public esteem was universally high, humanitarian enterprises were proliferating, crusades and movements were in high gear. It was a halcyon era of contagious enthusiasm, moral idealism, and ethical activism. Even the taunts of a few sceptics like Robert Ingersoll were met by boasts of church extension agents: 'We're building two a day!' Problems loomed on the horizon, but there was unbounded confidence that these would be solved, that progress

would continue, and that the kingdom of God would surely come on earth. Few churchmen were prepared for the shocking crises of war and depression in the twentieth century—crises that now mark the Victorian Age as the end of an era.

7. FOREIGN RELATIONS

American preoccupation with internal construction, while it could not preclude active political relationships with the rest of the world, did considerably influence the nature of those relationships. The most important developments affecting external relations were America's continental expansion; her profession of aloofness from Europe and assumption of a kind of protectorate over the New World; and the first stirrings, at the end of the period, of her return to more active involvement in world politics. Though each of these moves in foreign relations represented a distinctive strategy, all alike were interfused with the sense of American separateness and of unique national mission.

By the terms of the Treaty of Paris in 1783, spacious boundaries had been allotted to the new nation: to the east, the Atlantic; to the west, the Mississippi; to the north, Canada; to the south, Florida. The first great addition to this original territory came with the acquisition of Louisiana in 1803. President Jefferson, hoping to buy enough land at the mouth of the Mississippi to assure free transport of American goods, opened negotiations with France to achieve that end. To the surprise of the Americans, Napoleon (in need of finances and aware that the temporary peace in Europe was soon to end) offered to sell all of Louisiana. The Americans took advantage of his offer and the size of the United States was thereby more than doubled.

By 1810 numerous Americans had moved into the Spanish area known as West Florida. When the settlers staged a revolution and applied to the United States for annexation, President Madison issued a proclamation extending American jurisdiction. In 1817 and 1818 John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State under Monroe, attempted through diplomacy to acquire the rest of Florida; but a raid made into Florida in 1818 by Andrew Jackson, in part to counteract Indian attacks upon American settlements, was the chief catalyst in these negotiations. In a treaty ratified in 1821 Spain agreed to cede Florida to the United States; in return the United States agreed to settle the western boundaries of the Louisiana territory on terms favourable to Spain.

The next phase of America's continental consolidation came with the annexation of Texas. Although the Mexicans proclaimed their independence from Spain in 1821, they continued the policy begun under the Spanish of encouraging Americans to migrate to Texas. With the attempt of the Mexicans to establish a tightly centralized government in 1835, the Texans rebelled. They were victorious over the Mexicans in the battle of San Jacinto in 1836 and successful in achieving their independence. When the United States in 1845 accepted Texas' offer and annexed the territory, this, along with boundary disputes and American property claims, was a factor in bringing about the

war with Mexico which soon followed. The expansionist mood of the nation in this era was seen in the emphasis put upon America's 'Manifest Destiny' by such publicists as John O'Sullivan, and in the outlook of President Polk, who had been elected in 1844 on an expansionist ticket. By the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, the American title to Texas was confirmed, and the United States acquired California and New Mexico.

It was also during Polk's administration that the question of control over the vast Oregon territory was finally resolved. Over the years the claimants to the territory had been narrowed to Great Britain and the United States, and the area in dispute to that between the Columbia River and the 49th parallel.

The last major step in the acquisition by the United States of additional holdings in North America came with the purchase of Alaska in 1867. It was under Secretary Seward, who had an ambitious view of the possibilities of American expansion, that the purchase was made. The Tsarist Government, which did not wish to take over the expenses of the foundering Russian-American Company, sold Alaska to the United States for $7·2 million.

A second major strand in American foreign policy in this period concerned the Monroe Doctrine. By 1822, both the United States and Great Britain had developed an important trade with the former Spanish colonies in the Western hemisphere, and were apprehensive about possible reimposition of the old colonial system by the Holy Alliance. John Quincy Adams, the American Secretary of State, was also concerned about Russian pressures downward from their holdings in Alaska. Adams rejected an offer by the British to join in a common understanding to block such action, instead prevailing upon President Monroe to make an independent declaration. The Monroe Doctrine was put forth in a presidential message of 1823. With reference to the negotiations with the Russians in the north-west, Monroe stated that the American continents are 'henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers'. With reference to the rumours of pressure by the Holy Alliance, he pointed out that 'the political system of the allied powers is essentially different . . . from that of America . . . We should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety'. Monroe stated, furthermore, that the United States would not interfere with the existing colonies of any European power, nor would it take part in European wars.[14]

The most serious nineteenth-century challenge to the Monroe Doctrine occurred when Napoleon III in 1863 sent a force of some 38,000 men into Mexico. The initial American reaction to this venture was one of caution, for fear that a strong stand against France would drive the latter into an alliance with the southern Confederacy; but when the American Civil War drew to a close, Seward took a firmer line, and General Grant ordered 50,000 troops to the Mexican border. By the spring of 1867 the French troops had been withdrawn from Mexico, and the Monroe Doctrine had been greatly strengthened.[15]

A third major strand in American foreign policy in the nineteenth century

was the expansion of America's interest beyond its own shores, particularly the expansion of its involvement in the Pacific. Although the United States had had commercial relations with the Orient even before the ratification of the constitution, it was with the mission of Caleb Cushing in 1843 and 1844 that her relations with China were put on an official basis. The Treaty of Wanghsia was signed in July 1844; by its terms the United States was granted commercial privileges similar to those Britain had won from China by warfare. In the years following this treaty, trade between the United States and China was vigorous.

As their commerce in the Orient increased, Americans became interested in the exploration of markets in Japan; they also wished to make some provision for sailors shipwrecked on Japanese shores, and to see whether arrangements could be made for coaling stations in Japan. In 1854 Commodore Perry signed a treaty with the Japanese Government which was in the main a convention for shipwrecked sailors, but which also made provision for coaling stations; and two rather remote Japanese ports were opened to American trade. In the years after Perry's mission, and especially under the consul Townsend Harris, concessions to the United States were greatly enlarged.

The American position in the Pacific was fundamentally changed as a result of the Spanish-American War. The coming of that war reflected a general rise in nationalist and expansionist sentiment in the United States; but its specific origins may be traced to prolonged unrest in Spain's Caribbean possession, Cuba. Americans had shown relatively little interest in the revolution which broke out in Cuba in 1868; but when revolt flared up again in 1895 the mood of the United States had changed. Reports of the destructive course of the revolt were dramatized by American journalists, and American public opinion was aroused. Public sentiment was further agitated when the American battleship *Maine* was mysteriously sunk in Havana harbour in 1898. The cause of the sinking remains to this day undetermined, but many Americans assumed that Spain had deliberately blown up the ship. Many important business interests in the United States were, however, opposed to war with Spain since it would disturb their economic interests in Cuba and in the Cuban trade.

Although the Spanish Government showed a willingness to modify its policy in Cuba, and although diplomats sought a compromise settlement, these did not come in time to halt the pressure in the United States for intervention in Cuba. The war began in 1898, and it was settled in America's favour in a few weeks. By the terms of the settlement Spain ceded Puerto Rico and Guam to the United States; and after a searching debate the United States decided to annex the Philippines. The United States did not annex Cuba, but on the basis of the Platt Amendment of 1901 made her a virtual protectorate.

Under the administration of Theodore Roosevelt the 'Roosevelt Corollary' to the Monroe Doctrine was put forth. Roosevelt had been disturbed by the inability of certain Latin American states to honour their obligations to their

European creditors. He feared that, in order to vindicate their claims, the European states would intervene, occupy American territory, and in this manner undermine the Monroe Doctrine. Roosevelt therefore developed a doctrine of 'preventive intervention': the United States would intervene where necessary to prevent conditions from coming to such a pass as to invite European involvement. It was on this basis that subsequent American interventions, particularly in certain of the Caribbean states, took place. Roosevelt's aggressive policy in Latin America had been previously illustrated in 1903 in the support he gave, through immediate recognition, to the revolutionary régime which established Panamanian independence from Colombia. The new Panamanian Government granted isthmian transit rights, and the United States could therefore move on with its plans for the construction of the Panama Canal.

At the end of the nineteenth century the American position in the Pacific was extended through the acquisition of Hawaii and a part of Samoa, as well as through the annexation of the Philippines. American influence in Hawaii had been prominent for many decades before 1893, when an American-supported revolution took place in those islands. The anti-imperialist Cleveland, however, refused to consider annexation, and from 1894 to 1898 an independent Republic of Hawaii was in existence.[16] With the upsurge of expansionist sentiment at the time of the Spanish-American War, Hawaii was annexed. In Samoa a three-power protectorate had existed since 1889; in 1899 this was ended, and the United States annexed a part of the Samoan Islands. Finally, in the years after the Spanish-American War the commercial interests in the United States which had favoured the annexation of the Philippines desired to preserve economic opportunities in China, in the face of the increasing imperialist pressure with which China was confronted. In the two Open Door notes of 1899 and 1900, Secretary of State Hay declared that the United States stood for the territorial integrity of China and for the preservation of commercial equality in China. Hay requested the support of the other leading powers for these principles but their replies were evasive, and they showed little inclination to support the principles he had set forth. Thus the Open Door notes had little effect in the accomplishment of their professed goals.

8. CONCLUSION

The upheavals of the early twentieth century—economic depressions, wars and threats of war, barbarism and mass murder on new scales of efficiency—were not entirely to eradicate that optimism and future–mindedness which had been characteristic of the nineteenth-century American. But these events were to induce in him a heightened realism about human nature and human society. At the same time, advances in technology would make it impossible to sustain a serene isolation from international realities. The Moroccan Crisis of 1905 was an early signal of the disruptions in the European state system

which eventually would draw the Americans, despite their Monroe Doctrine, actively into European affairs. The announcement in 1904 of the 'Roosevelt Corollary' already had committed the country to a stronger hemispheric role. Foreign policies were to go through shifting stages of internationalism and isolation, of imperialism and empire-liquidation, in the years after 1905; but through all of these changes the world beyond the oceans would be and remain a disturbing actuality, touching the lives of individual Americans in unprecedented ways.

The slackening, in the twentieth century, of the overriding concern with American internal development was to be doubly noticeable because of the virtual ending of the 'frontier' experience. The Census Bureau in the 1890s announced that it was no longer possible to define even an irregular boundary between settled and unsettled land. The 'land of opportunity' ideal would continue to have meaning in twentieth-century America; but the disappearance of the frontier, together with the steady movement from farm to city, would give an increasingly remote and wistful sound to the traditional mystique of land, soil, and farmstead.

After 1914, world events and domestic pressures would force another change in the real and emotional content of the 'land of opportunity' ideal; for the day of unlimited immigration would come to an end. The ideals, therefore, of movement, change and opportunity would require, and achieve, new embodiments in the twentieth century. American liberals in the 1930s were to urge with some success that the United States should continue to be an asylum for the oppressed; and American presidents from Theodore Roosevelt to John F. Kennedy were to summon their followers to 'new frontiers'. The familiarity of the phrases would frequently cause Americans themselves to forget how markedly the world of the nineteenth-century American had changed.

Besides international involvement and the changed context of American idealism, the new century would bring an upsurge in cultural initiative. Decreased preoccupation with the purely physical and political tasks of the nineteenth century would help to produce a sharp increase in the number of American writers, artists, and scientists making highly original contributions and achieving international recognition.

In the period after 1905, therefore, the Americans were to share an experience familiar to other youthful nation-makers before and since. They were to become less naïvely certain that they alone could perfect 'the great circle' of a humane civilization, but paradoxically were to become more able than before to contribute to that consummation.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XX

1. N. N. Bolkhovitinov, Doctor of Historical Sciences, remarks that the whole of the chapter betrays the influence of the theory of Frederick Jackson Turner, about the role of the 'frontier' in the history of the United States of America.

The 'Promised Land', the melting-pot wherein the immigrants were forged into real Americans—such is the picture presented in this chapter of the United States of America, with its 'open frontier', 'free land', democracy, equal rights, and so on. The authors are obviously impressed by the famous prophecy of Hector Saint Jean de Crèvecoeur, that it is in America that the dream, not of Europe alone, but of the whole of mankind, will be fulfilled.

The determining factors in American history, it is averred, are the specific conditions of environment which immigrants to North America encountered, the conditions of life on the western frontier, the geographical milieu. It is, of course, true that the environment into which immigrants entered was an extremely important factor in the shaping of American society; but the deciding factors, none the less, were the methods of production, the level of development of the forces of production and the character of production relations. See, in this connection, A. V. Efimov, 'Problems of the existence of various types 'of production in the work of Turner' (*Voprosi Filosofii*' [Questions of Philosophy] (Moscow, 1956), no. 5 and N. N. Bolkhovitinov, 'The Role of the "Frontier" in the History of the USA' (A Critical Analysis of the views of F. J. Turner) (*The Soviet Review*, Volume 1 (New York: Spring, 1964), pp. 22–33).

The author's position is that the chapter eschews single-factor explanations of the course of American development, whether such schemes offer the frontier, the methods of production, or some other factor as 'decisive'. The introduction (p. 837) lists seven major interpretations, of which the once popular 'frontier thesis' is but one. The author's belief in a pluralistic scheme of interpretation is reaffirmed throughout the succeeding sections of the chapter.

Professor Bolkhovitinov also partially misunderstands the references to Crèvecoeur and others who proclaimed a Promised Land, a melting-pot for the races of mankind, and a fulfilment in America of the highest human ideals. Our intention in quoting Crèvecoeur was not to describe an actuality so much as to show how the Americans conceived of themselves and of their mission. As we wrote at the very outset, 'it is easy . . . to see how far ideals exceeded realities'. In the sections on Negro slavery and Indian policy, and at countless other junctures, the authors portray a society whose achievements, great as they were, fell far short of their aspirations.

2. N. N. Bolkhovitinov asks: But why, in fact, should the Indians have been required to accept Christianity when adopting European agricultural methods? It should be stated frankly that the main responsibility for the deterioration of friendly relations lay with the white settlers, for it was they who were imposing Christianity and their way of life on the indigenous population. The wars against the Indians, in view of the superiority of their arms, assumed the character of cruel, punitive expeditions.

The authors agree entirely, and do not understand how their text could be read as affirming any other position.

3. N. N. Bolkhovitinov comments that the present chapter persists in arguing that, in the history of the United States, at least until the last third of the nineteenth century, the principal role was played not by class but by sectional interests. In this connection it must be pointed out that in the United States class interests were often concealed behind sectional interests and that, moreover, there often existed within each sector, conflicts and class differences.

In the author's opinion it is true that class interests were sometimes concealed behind sectional ones, though it is also quite possible to contend that class interests—as expressed, for example, by John Taylor of Caroline—concealed essentially sectional ones. It was not the intent of the chapter, however, to minimize the class interests discernible in a particular state or region. The point we would make is that, in this period before the emergence of a national economy, men most often saw their interests in the context of the smaller sectional economies that determined their prosperity, rather than in that of a class consciousness cutting across sectional lines.

4. N. N. Bolkhovitinov points out that, concealed under the cloak of well-being of the 'Era of Good Feelings' there lurked acute internal conflicts. It was no mere chance that the

elections of 1824 were fought by four main candidates—A. Jackson, John Quincy Adams, W. Crawford and H. Clay; and already in 1819, the country suffered fiom an economic crisis. Serious conflicts also existed in the political life of various regions. See for instance, J. A. Kehl, *Ill Feeling in the Era of Good Feelings. Western Pennsylvania Political Battles 1815-1825* [Pittsburgh, 1956]; G. Dangerfield, *The Era of Good Feelings* [New York, 1952].

Internal conflicts did exist behind the façade of the 'Era of Good Feelings'. The text is meant to affirm this, but the authors are glad to have the point further emphasized.

5. In this connection, N. N. Bolkhovitinov writes, 'Every impartial scholar, even if he condemns John Brown's punitive measures at Pottawatomie, where five partisans of slavery were executed, is forced to admit that this constituted in fact a reply to the acts of terror committed against Missouri by the pro-slavery faction. It is indicative that O. G. Villard, the well-known biographer of John Brown (who inherited the passive-resistance philosophy of his grandfather W. Garrison) whilst condemning the action at Pottawatomie, cites numerous circumstances to show that John Brown's action was a revenge for the pogrom at Lawrence, and for the systematic murder of members of the anti-slavery faction' (Dawe, R. Brown, Collins, Stuart, Johns, and so on). See M. N. Zakharová, *Narodnoe dvizenie v SSA protiv rabstva, 1831-1860* [The popular anti-slavery movement in the USA], 1831-60 (Moscow, 1965); O. G. Villard, *John Brown, 1800-1859* (2nd ed, New York, 1943).

In the author's opinion, much has been learned about the Pottawatomie massacre since Villard wrote his biography of Brown in 1910. The exhaustive and authoritative account by James C. Malin (*John Brown and the Legend of Fifty-Six*, Philadelphia, 1942) confirmed the innocence of the five men and boys whom Brown murdered, and demonstrated the damage done by Brown to the anti-slavery cause.

Though the looting of Lawrence had caused but one accidental death, and thus had scarcely been a 'pogrom', it is certainly true that Brown was reacting in his own misguided way to various outrages committed by pro-slavery men. It is also true, as Malin remarks, that the Pottawatomie incident was 'not unique' in its brutality. But no other act so weakened the moral position, theretofore unassailable, of the free-soil faction. See Allan Nevins, *Ordeal of the Union*, vol. II (New York, 1947).

6. In Professor Asa Briggs' opinion it is still unreconstructed in the nineteenth-century sense, but there have been other enormous changes.

7. N. N. Bolkhovitinov considers that too little is said, in the section 'Cultural Development' about the influence of Western European culture on the United States and points out that there is no mention at all of Russo-American relations. In this connection it would, in our opinion, be perfectly in order to mention the visits of the United States of Anton Rubinstein in 1872-3, P. I. Tchaikovsky in 1891 and, in particular A. Dvorak who, in the 1890s, was head of the Conservatory in New York. Another subject which deserves mention is the influence on American literature of the Russian nineteenth-century school of critical realism. In particular, something should be said about Russo-American scientific contacts, which in the eighteenth century led to the development of the first principles of the theory of electricity. M. W. Lomonosov, G. V. Rikhman, F. U. T. Epinus and D. A. Golitsyn in Russia knew and valued the work of B. Franklin, and themselves made a valuable contribution to the development of the theory of electricity and magnetism. For their part, the American scientists B. Franklin, J. Winthrop and C. Stiles had a very high opinion of their Russian colleagues, whose achievements they respected. For further details on this subject, see N. N. Bolkhovitinov, *Stanovlenie russko-amerikanskih otnosenij, 1775-1815* [The rise of Russo-American relations, 1775-1815] (Moscow, 1966), pp. 220-68; E. Dvoichenko-Markov, 'The Pulkovo Observatory and some American astronomers of the mid-nineteenth century', *Iris*, vol. 43 (September, 1952), pp. 243-6.

The author feels that it is difficult to know how to respond to Dr Bolkhovitinov, since the European influence upon American culture, and the contacts between America and Europe, are stressed throughout the chapter, and particularly in the sections to which he refers. The eighteenth-century scientific contacts he mentions would, for the most

part, be beyond the scope of this volume (the astronomer John Winthrop, for example, died in 1779;) but the brief section on science does allude to the influence of European training, the example of European learned societies, the work of such immigrants as Agassiz, the beneficence of Smithson, the opinions of Waldeyer, the European reputation of Dana, the American response to European advances in biology, and several other expressions of the transatlantic relationship. As for literature, the part played by the Russian naturalist writers is noted explicitly in one place (p. 874), and indirectly elsewhere. The pages on music acknowledge some form of European contact in nearly every sentence. Hundreds of significant European musicians visited, conducted, toured, or emigrated during the nineteenth century; the text refers to the Damrosches, Herbert, Schumann-Heink, Lind, and others as celebrated examples. In any comprehensive listing, Dvorak, Tchaikovsky, Carl Bergmann, Theodore Thomas, Pederewski, Calve, Melba, Caruso, and perhaps 200 others would need to be included.

8. N. N. Bolkhovitinov notes that the section on philosophy does not trace the beginnings and development of the materialist theory, and there is only a passing mention of the fact that Darwin had a greater influence in the United States than Marx.

The author points out that although a number of Americans were acquainted with eighteenth-century philosophical materialism, the school had a miniscule following in the early Republic. See Merlc Curti, *The Growth of American Thought* (2nd edn., [New York, 1951], pp. 161-3). Marxian historical materialism, at the end of the next century, fared somewhat better, and unquestionably had begun as early as 1900 to exercise its eventually considerable influence upon American thought. But acknowledged Marxist intellectuals were few at the end of the period treated by this volume; and materialism, as distinguished from other forms of evolutionary naturalism, had virtually no advocates, up to this time, among American philosophers. (See Stow Persons, *American Minds*, [New York, 1958], pp. 324-30.)

9. Not sufficient attention has been paid, either, to the strong liberal and democratic tradition in the history of American philosophy, the leading exponents of which were Roger Williams, Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson. But, as opposed to this, the part played by pragmatism, which is represented, as it were, as the key to a happy solution for the Americans, is much exaggerated.

The authors emphasize that seventeenth- and eighteenth-century figures such as those named can of course receive little attention, and pragmatism necessarily receives considerable attention, in a history concerned mainly with the nineteenth century. The authors also, however, would see far more continuity than the critic apparently discerns between the democratic thought of Franklin or Jefferson and that of John Dewey.

10. In the opinion of A. A. Kislova, Candidate of Historical Sciences, to say that Roger Williams, on the strength of the fundamental doctrines of Calvinism, preached freedom of conscience is not sufficient. It is essential to point out that the demand that the Church be separated from the State was, first and foremost, the expression of Williams' progressive social and political opinions. He criticized the theocracy of Massachusetts, which he called a 'political monster' on the grounds that it represented a combination of the tyranny of Church and State, exercising absolute control over both the minds and the affairs of the colonists. It should be mentioned also that there is some doubt as to whether Roger Williams was an orthodox Calvinist (as implied in the text). In the famous controversy with John Cotton (*Bloody Tenet of Persecution for Cause of Conscience*), Williams expressed certain opinions which were clearly at variance with Calvinism: he denied the divine character of State power, and proclaimed the existence of the sovereign will of man as well as the sovereign will of God (Arminianism). This position led to Williams' repudiation of the strict religious discipline characteristic of the Calvinist-Puritan church. See in this connection J. J. Ernst, *The Political Thought of Roger Williams* (Washington, 1929); V. L. Parrington, *Main Currents in American Thought* (New York, 1927), vol. I.

The authors, however, note that Ernst and Parrington have been corrected by more recent and more responsible scholarship. Many of the older interpretations of Williams viewed him chiefly as a precursor of the eighteenth-century enlightenment or of nineteenth-

century romanticism, but fresh studies have made it clear that Williams was essentially a Calvinist-Puritan in all major doctrines except ecclesiology, and even here his views are little more than an extension of the prophetic individualism fostered by Puritanism itself. See Mauro Calamandrei, 'Neglected Aspects of Roger Williams' Thought', *Church History*, XXI (1952), 239–58; Perry Miller, Roger Williams: *His Contribution to the American Tradition* (Indianapolis, 1953); and the Introduction to Williams' *Experiments of Spiritual Life and Health*, ed. by Winthrop S. Hudson (Philadelphia, 1951).

11. A. A. Kislova comments: 'When describing the character of the American church, the first point mentioned must be the congregation: a self-governing, independent and autonomous community. This is the main feature in the organization of any of the national churches of America. As to the "sects" and "denominations" about which the author speaks, this is a matter, as it were of the theological pecularities of each specific cult.'

In the author's opinion A. A. Kislova's depiction of the congregation as 'a self-governing, independent and autonomous community' would apply only to groups espousing a 'congregational' polity. But it is true, as the authors attempted to make clear (p. 889), that however the American churches (i.e. denominations) order their internal life, 'before the law they are no more than voluntary associations of private citizens'.

12. A. A. Kislova writes: Unfortunately, the author does not give a sociological analysis of the 'Second Great Awakening'. We consider it essential to emphasize that the 'Great Awakening' of the nineteenth century was connected with the growing European migration to the United States, and the endeavour of the American churches to bring the immigrants under their influence. The slogan of the 'Second Great Awakening' was to 'Americanize' the organization of the churches and reinforce the spirit of Calvinism in religion. It was precisely the 'Second Great Awakening' that led to the establishment of the fundamentalist type of church, based on the ideal of the 'American way of life' and an unshakable belief in the letter and the spirit of the Scriptures. See W. W. Sweet, *Revivalism in America: Its Origin, Growth and Decline* (New York, 1944).

The authors, however, point out that immigration had little or no relation to the revivals of this period. In the first place, the so-called Second Awakening (1790s–1830s) had largely spent itself before immigrant groups became numerically significant. Secondly, the immigrants who did come in increasing numbers during the 1830s and 1840s were mainly Irish, and solidly Roman Catholics; among Protestants they aroused some scorn and hostility, but little evangelistic zeal.

On the Second Awakening see Charles R. Keller, *The Second Great Awakening in Connecticut* (New Haven, 1942); Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America* (Nashville, 1957); Bernard A. Weisberger, *They Gathered at the River* (Boston, 1958); and William G. McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham* (New York, 1958). For the problem of acculturation, see Winthrop S. Hudson, *The Great Tradition of the American Churches* (New York, 1953). For fundamentalism, which is a post-Civil War phenomenon and therefore irrelevant in this context, see Ernest R. Sandeen, 'Towards a Historical Interpretation of the Origins of Fundamentalism', *Church History*, XXXVI (1967), p. 66–83.

13. A. A. Kislova points out that the social programme of American Christianity was, in its essence, the antithesis of the theory of proletarian socialism. Many American churchmen and protagonists of Christian socialism, in order to put their ideal of 'God's Kingdom on Earth' into practice, went into the workers' movement, and joined the Order of Knights of Labor and subsequently, the American Federation of Labor. By the end of the nineteenth century already, Christian socialism had its own movement, the 'Brotherhood of the Kingdom', of which the famous Walter Rauschenbusch was a member. For further details on the subject, see Charles H. Hopkins, *The Rise of the Social Gospel in American Protestantism, 1865–1915* (New Haven, 1940); J. Dombrowski, *The Early Days of Christian Socialism in America* (New York, 1936).

'The authors would agree that the "theory of proletarian socialism" had made little progress within the churches at this time, but would add that the same was true outside the churches. Forms of socialism less influenced by Marx, however, had made considerable gains in both

these quarters—so much so that it was not usually necessary, as A. A. Kislova's comment suggests that it was, for reformers to remove themselves from the churches in order to join the workers' movements or to engage in Christian socialism. The Brotherhood of the Kingdom was established by men who remained Baptist ministers all their lives. The leader of the Knights of Labor, Terence V. Powderly, was a Roman Catholic layman.'

14. N. N. Bolkhovitinov comments that, in speaking of the history of the proclamation of the Monroe Doctrine, mention should be made of the fact that there was, at that period, no real danger of interference by the Holy Alliance in Latin America. As to the 'non-colonization principle', this was directed rather against England, in possession of Canada in the North American hemisphere, than against Russia. The Monroe Doctrine was designed to strengthen and extend the power of the United States in the Western hemisphere. In the end, the Monroe Doctrine proved to operate not in defence of Latin America but against it, as well as against Great Britain and other European countries in so far as they were rivals to the United States for influence in the Western hemisphere. A corollary to the Monroe Doctrine, at the end of the century, was the Olney Doctrine (1895), which in fact proclaimed United States hegemony in the Western hemisphere. See D. Perkins, *A History of the Monroe Doctrine* (Boston–Toronto, 1955); N. N. Bolkhovitinov, 'K voprosu o real'nosti ugrozy intervencii Sviascennogo Soiuza v Latinskuju Ameriku' [Was the threat of intervention by the Holy Alliance in Latin America a real one?] *Novaja i novejsaja istorija*, no. 3; Moscow, 1957, N. N. Bolkhovitinov, *Doktrina Monro (Proshozdenie i harakter)* [The Monroe Doctrine. Origins and character] (Moscow, 1959); L. Y. Slezkin, *Rossija i voina za nezavisimost' v Ispanskoj Amerike* [Russia and the war of independence in Spanish America] (Moscow, 1964); M. Kossok, *Im Schatten der Heiligen Allianz* (Berlin, 1964), pp. 110–11.

The authors point out that it is now generally agreed that the threat of intervention by the Holy Alliance in Latin America was exaggerated. In part we can make this judgement through the scholarship of men like Dexter Perkins who have investigated the archives of the European powers. Also by the Polignac Memorandum in October 1823 the French 'abjured . . . any design of acting against the Colonies by force of arms'. However the leaders of the American Government did not have access to the archives of the European powers; nor did they know the terms of the Polignac Memorandum. They had seen numerous examples of intervention by the European powers in the affairs of other states, including the dispatch of a French army into Spain in the spring of 1823. It is understandable that most leaders of the American Government felt the danger of intervention in the Western hemisphere to be real. The non-colonization principle was in good part an outgrowth of American disputes with both Russia and Great Britain over delimitation of boundaries in north-west North America. The phrase from the Monroe Doctrine—'the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers'—closely follows the wording of John Quincy Adams to the Russian minister in Washington, Baron Tuyll, in July 1823. These words were in response to the imperial ukase of 4 September 1821 by which the Tsar had assumed the right 'to exclude all foreigners from trading or fishing within 100 Italian miles of the north-west coast as far south as 51' north latitude' (S. F. Bemis, *A Diplomatic History of the United States*, 1955, p. 205. Many of the relevant documents are found in Ruhl Bartlett, ed., *The Record of American Diplomacy*, 1952, chapter 10). This question was amicably adjusted by treaties among the United States, Great Britain, and Russia.

15. N. N. Bolkhovitinov wishes to draw attention to an example of another kind of application of the Monroe Doctrine: invoking the Monroe Doctrine, President Polk, on the pretext of defending Texas' 'sovereign' right to self-determination, seized more than half the territory of Mexico as the outcome of the war of 1846–8.

In the author's opinion, in his use of the Monroe Doctrine, President Polks' main concern was to warn European powers that California was not open to their colonization and that a voluntary union of the United States and California was not to be subject to European interference. The causes of the war between the United States and Mexico are complex and cannot be described in a brief phrase.

16. N. N. Bolkhovitinov thinks it essential to point out that President Cleveland decided not to have the seizure of the Hawaiian Islands confirmed by Congress because of the accentuation of class conflict due to the crisis of 1893, and also because of the anti-imperialistic mood of the people.

· The author's point of view is that President Cleveland decided against annexation when his independent investigations convinced him that a majority of the native Hawaiians were opposed to it, and that the role of the American Minister in the revolution had been improper.

CHAPTER XXI

LATIN AMERICA

I. THE EMERGENCE OF REPUBLICS IN HISPANIC AMERICA[1]
BY EUGENIO PEREIRA SALAS

LATIN AMERICA emerged from the colonial era and began its independent life with a population created by the age-long crossing of heterogeneous racial stock. Its basis was the old American Indian race, subjected to the imperial bondage of the European *conquistadores*, and the Negro race, transported bodily into new surroundings, to which they had to adapt themselves rapidly, losing their own language and their ethnographical cultural values, although their religious spirit endured in syncretisms of relative importance.

The demographic figure for America was calculated by A. von Humboldt in 1808 and corrected by the expert work of Angel Rosenblat in 1825, with the help of extensive miscellaneous information.* This amounts to some 20 million inhabitants, who were distributed ethnographically into four zones: 1. The predominantly white creole countries—Argentina, Uruguay, Chile and Costa Rica; 2. The predominantly *mestizo* countries—Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, Panama, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and Paraguay; 3. Those with a triple *mestizo* mixture—some parts of the Caribbean and the Antilles; 4. Those with a Negro majority, such as Haiti and some European colonies in the Caribbean.

In the course of the centuries of colonial rule, this ethnic formation had produced a new social stratification. Already in the seventeenth century the creole of white origin had been detected as a specific human type, a social class that had retained the Spanish character, the heroic and ascetic sense of life, but with whom the desire to possess land and the abuse of slave labour had brought about its transformation into a real agrarian semi-feudal aristocracy.

It was these creoles who lived by, sustained or aspired to the occidental idea of culture, consisting of adherence to the Catholic belief, the cultivation of Spanish traditions and capitalistic forms of economic enterprise. The Venezuelan historian Mariano Picón Salas has portrayed the Indo-American legacy, defining it in terms of a conception of history as fatality and catastrophe that leads to an attitude of stoicism, humility and melancholy in the face of events.

* The table is as follows: Mexico, 6,800,000; Antilles, 2,843,000; Central America, 1,600,000; Captaincy of Venezuela, 800,000; New Viceroyalty—Granada, 1,978,000; Guiana, 251,/11; Viceroyalty of Peru, 2,448,000; Viceroyalty of La Plata, 3,362,000.

The *mestizo* is the type more representative of the Hispano-American community, both urban and rural. He produced popular types, the *cholo* and the *zambo* in Peru; the *huaso* and the *roto* in Chile; the Argentine *gaucho*; the Ecuadorean *montuvio*; the Venezuelan *llanero*; and the *pelado* and *charro* in Mexico, all of whom are used as racial symbols of nationality in creole literature.

The physiognomy of the continent at the beginning of the process of independence was a strange one. The life of the people was rooted in aboriginal customs. Their food consisted of a transformation of the pre-Colombian products, mainly the trilogy of maize, beans and potatoes, into the Spanish forms of soups, stews and pot roasts. The variety of fruits the land produced —tomatoes, chilis, pumpkins, etc.,—gave regional diversity to the cooking.

Chicha was the drink of the Andes, cane sugar alcohol that of the tropical zones and the local wine that of the temperate countries.

In spite of the baroque impulse that led to the building of wonderful religious monuments, the regular, gridiron town, traced out with a line, was just an encampment. The main square was the people's meeting-place and forum. The horsemen with their impressive *ponchos* or multi-coloured cloaks processed down the narrow streets past the merchants crying their wares. Festivities were religious in tone—processions, pilgrimages and visits to sanctuaries. The influence of the *conquistadores* was to be seen in the violent riding exercises, the bullfights and the cockfighting. The refinements of European court life were a heritage from the ruling minority.

The psychological factors that provoked the outburst of the conflict had been accumulating throughout the course of the eighteenth century.[2] A psychosis of oppression on the part of the wealthy classes, who regarded the Iberian governors with fear and suspicion; the conscious or unconscious desire to base political power on the distribution of wealth; the aspiration to share the functions of government with the Spanish officials and an enlightened ideology that served like a sharpened sword. The process was partly an internal evolution, demonstrating Hispano-American strength, and partly a revolution, with indigenous factors, that seized the sovereign power and placed it in national hands.

Contemporary historians placed greater emphasis on the social and economic aspect of the conflict and interpreted the problem of the independence movement more as a bellicose struggle between Spain and her colonies, internal strife on a larger scale, manifesting two very clear ideological tendencies, the one represented by the rising Hispano-American bourgeoisie and the other by the traditionalists, firmly attached to the autocratic principle.

Three clearly defined stages are visible in this historical process. Between 1809 and 1810 there was the struggle between the *cabildos*, or town councils, which represented the creole class, and the *reales audiencias*, or royal courts of jurisdiction, responsible to the Spanish Crown, a conflict that ended in the establishment of the first national government councils in Hispanic

America. It was called by such names as the *Patria Boba* or *Patria Vieja* period (*bobo*: foolish; *vieja*: old). The year 1814 marked the triumph of the Spanish reaction, with a reconquest that embraced the whole continent.

Between 1817 and 1826 South America fought heroically on the battle-field, obtaining its freedom by means of two great movements, that of Simón Bolívar in the north, which successively won independence for Colombia, Venezuela and Ecuador, and that of José de San Martín and Bernardo O'Higgins in the south, which ensured the autonomy of Argentina and Chile. The final blow was struck when the two movements converged, under the unifying action of Simón Bolívar at the battle of Ayacucho, putting an end to the rule of the Spanish monarchy. The Mexican independence movement, initiated by the priest Hidalgo, has popular aspects that distinguish it from those of the rest of America.

These three movements have certain original characteristics. The insurrection of the *cabildos* was a juridical battle, started by the mutiny of Chuquisaca on 25 May 1809. The intellectual precursors discussed American rights in the light of the Napoleonic invasion of Spain. The 'loyalists' accepted dependence upon the Peninsular *Juntas* or councils. The *juntistas* decreed, with a certain subtlety of thought, that just as the Spaniards had of their own accord formed a Regency *Junta* for the duration of the captivity of Ferdinand VII, the legitimate King, so they, Americans, had the right to set up provisional independent *juntas*. Next followed the insurrection of the *caudillos*, or military leaders, realistic and dynamic personalities who disregarded juridical controversies and took the cause to its extreme, rousing popular feeling with the cry of freedom. Finally, the synthesis was achieved with the so-called *Padres de la Patria* or 'Founding Fathers', who not only fought with arms in the heroic undertaking, but also strove to find ways of organizing the various countries of Latin America to form an independent political system.

Once the fighting was over, three different underlying trends appeared. One was the Bolivarian ideology, which was characterized by the aspiration to form a confederation of the Hispanic peoples. This had already been dreamed of by the precursor Francisco Miranda who had proposed to the British Minister Pitt in 1790 the formation of a vast independent state, to stretch from Canada to Patagonia. The same ideas were proposed later, in 1808, by the United States statesman Hamilton, whose plan was to divide the continent into four republics, according to their geographical nature, but united by commercial and political ties. Under the influence of Miranda, William Thornton worked out a unitarian constitution dividing America into five states on the basis of its natural zones. This Bolivarian idea was in the minds of most of the great figures of the independence movement—Mariano Moreno in Argentina, Bernardo Monteagudo in Bolivia and Juan Egaña and Manuel de Salas in Chile.

San Martín's idea was realistic. Its object was to avoid anarchy by installing

constitutional monarchies on the European style in America. During his campaign in Peru, San Martín sent emissaries to Europe to look for some prince among the reigning houses who would accept the offer.[3] The monarchical idea was mixed up with the Napoleonic complex and some attempts were made to form empires in America. In Mexico Agustín Iturbide succeeded in forming the ephemeral first Mexican Empire. Haiti witnessed a tragic procession of Negro emperors.

A third idea triumphed—the republican cause. Iturbide was shot; in the tropical zone political anarchy continued; the Bolivarian idea of American unity died at the Congress of Panama and the great state of Colombia broke up a little later,[4] but in the meantime independent American republics were coming to life.

By about 1830 the old Hispanic colonial Empire was divided into eighteen republics. The centrifugal forces only succeeded momentarily in keeping Mexico united with Central America and Bolívar's Greater Colombia with Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador. The nationalistic republican impulse triumphed and a new page of history began, based territorially on the administrative divisions of the Empire. During its early years the development of Latin America presents the sombre picture of the difficulty of adaptation to an unfamiliar political formula.

Anarchy reigned everywhere and the pattern of this period is one of a cruel struggle between conflicting ideas and achievements. The partisans of the federal régime, imitated from the United States, fought against the unitarians, inheritors of the centralized Spanish system. These two ideas were supported by two political parties, the liberals, who inherited the spirit of the enlightenment and came from the town bourgeoisie, and the conservatives, the land-owners, who followed the inspiration of the Catholic Church. Militarist and civil factions were other aspects of this internal strife.

Caudillismo as a Hispano-American political phenomenon arose out of individualistic necessity. The *caudillo* (military leader) was an extension of the psychology of the Spanish *conquistador* and the creole *encomendero* (official in charge of the *encomiendas* or large estates). He was not an isolated phenomenon, but rather the logical outcome of the historical climate of this era of ferment. In order to explain his appearance it must be borne in mind that the peoples had not been brought together within a solid constitutional structure and protected by administrative institutions, but round a leader. As there was no public opinion to act as a moral force and as the idea of nationhood had not yet taken shape, coexistence was precarious. It was difficult to make the complicated mechanisms of North American or European democracy function, since they were not institutions created by the collectivity, as the outcome of an internal evolution, but transplantations from a foreign régime. As the *caudillo* was sometimes a very elementary type he could only recognize as valid the idea that he symbolized or believed himself to represent. This explains the intensity of the strife between factions, the

DOMINION OF CANADA

UNITED

STATES

ATLANTIC

OCEAN

GULF OF
MEXICO

MEXICO

CUBA

UNITED PROVINCES
OF CENTRAL AMERICA

PACIFIC

OCEAN

VENEZUELA

COLOMBIA

GUIANA

ECUADOR

Manaos

PERU

BRAZIL
(1828)

BOLIVIA

PARAGUAY

Rio de Janeiro

Santiago

URUGUAY

CHILE

Montevideo

ARGENTINA

Hispanic-American
Republics in 1828

The Spanish dominions
in 1795

LATIN AMERICA
IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Cartography Hallwag Berne

aristocratic 'Frondes' in Chile, the Argentine 'gauchocracy', the *cristeros*, the 'friends of Golgotha' in Mexico and Colombia ... *Caudillismo* is a general phenomenon, though appearing at different times, but in each country it developed in its own way, as a result of the influence of the permanent factors: geographical features, racial complications, civic culture and the actual circumstances of the conflict.

Mexico organized its political life in 1824, with the coming into power of President Guadalupe Victoria, but the serious internal problems that had continued since colonial times prevented the normal functioning of the government and soon the country fell into the hands of a strong personality, the *caudillo* Antonio López Santana, who remained at the centre of the country's turbulent political life until 1855. The period was unsettled and depressing for the cause of nationhood. The conflict with the United States seriously dismembered Mexican territory. The state of prostration seemed to be overcome by the Government of Benito Juárez, who led the country with skill and moral force during the period called the Reform. The constitution adopted a structure for the republic based on principles of liberalism. Some opportune structural changes were made; Church property was regulated under the Lerdo Act; finances were organized and plans for the reform of education studied; but this progress was checked by the conservative reaction and above all by the French invasion, which placed Maximilian I of the House of Habsburg on the throne of a new Mexican empire.

The union of the Central American countries did not last long (1821–38). Rivalry between the two *caudillos* Francisco Morazán and the separatist Rafael Carrera ended with final division in 1838. Guatemala saw the triumph of the conservatives, who dominated the country until 1871; from that year until 1875 the Government of Justo Rufino Barrios continued its anti-clerical reforms. El Salvador and Honduras continued their independent existence. The course of Nicaragua's destiny was interrupted by the intervention of the filibuster William Walker. Costa Rica achieved greater stability.

The dissolution of Gran Colombia brought three republics to the historical surface of America. Venezuela organized itself under the benevolent tutelage of the famous plainsman José Antonio Páez who kept national feeling alive. Tragic years of anarchy followed with the succession of the Monagas brothers and the federalist war of 1858 that prepared the way for the dictatorial régimes we shall study later. Colombia's first organizer was Francisco de Paula Santander. His death was followed by bitter strife between conservatives and liberals. Tomás Ciprianio Mosquera stands out as the most important figure of the period. Ecuador came into being as a republic in 1829 through the work of Juan José Flores. The so-called Florian epoch roused the opposition of the progressive Vicente Rocafuerte, who defeated his adversary and took power in 1835.

The republic of Peru elected its first president, José de la Riva Aguero, in 1823. Historical tranquillity was lost in the conflicts provoked by the strife

between four *caudillos*, Augustín Gamarra, José Orbegoso, Salaverde and, especially, Marshal Andrés de Santa Cruz. The latter gave impulse to the republic of Bolivia. Simultaneously with his progressive juridical work, Santa Cruz pursued his fundamental ambitions towards Bolivarian unification, which he combined with a romantic fervour for his Inca ancestors. Enlisting the support of organizations of a Masonic type, he inculcated a Pan-Peruvian doctrine. Little by little he organized the Confederation of Peru and Bolivia, which came into being in 1836. Although he succeeded in gaining recognition from the European powers, Argentina under Rosas and Chile under the régime of Portales were opposed to this ambitious undertaking which threatened the balance of power, the political basis of the American continent. Preparing for a possible struggle against the nations opposed to his totalitarian designs, Santa Cruz began his work of propaganda, inspiring the aboriginals with a sense of messianic purpose, the illusion of rebuilding the Andean Empire. To promote trade he developed the port of Cobija, that came to be a rival of Valparaiso, the key to trade via the Pacific Ocean. The aggrandisement of the Confederation of Peru and Bolivia hastened on Chilean defensive action and in two campaigns, one led by Admiral Blanco Encalada and the final one by General Manuel Bulnes, Santa Cruz's confederation was brought to an end by the battle of Yungay on 20 January 1829. Bolivia and Peru became separate nations again.

After the enlightened government of Bernardo O'Higgins (1817–23), which set the pattern for future development, Chile's remarkable evolution was interrupted by a brief period of anarchy. Up to 1830 political instability prevented the experiments in constitutional formulas from working effectively. Rivalry between the *pipiolos* ('novices') and the *pelucones* ('bigwigs'), liberal and conservative forms, respectively, of the aspirations of one and the same social class, faded out with the appearance of a very outstanding personality, clever and creative—Diego Portales—who succeeded in strengthening the notion of State and impersonating authority, thereby putting an end to anarchy and *caudillismo*. Supported by an oligarchy with conservative tendencies, he was the inspiration behind the Constitution of 1833, which gave the country a structure suited to the realities of the time. From 1831 onwards, when President Joaquín Prieto came into power, there was no interruption in the presidential succession, parliamentary life functioned normally and the juridical system was strengthened. The decades of conservative oligarchy (1831–61) and liberal oligarchy (1861–91) were a time of positive achievement that gave the Republic a model aspect in that period of vacillation and experiment.

The evolution of the River Plate republics was marked by problems common to the other countries of America, but also certain other special ones, due to their geographical features. After the Viceroyalty, independence resulted in the birth of three separate countries: Argentina, Uruguay and Paraguay. The crucial point at issue between them was the struggle between

political unitarism and federalism, complicated by international rivalry. In Argentina, with Bernardino Rivadavia, the early, as yet unorganized democracy had an enlightened and constructive governor who nevertheless did not succeed in establishing political ties between the capital, Buenos Aires, which tended to attract everything towards it, and the individualistic *gauchos*, dispersed over the vast expanse of the agrarian *pampa*. Uruguay, brought into being by the heroism of José Gervasio Artigas, organized itself after a spirited fight for the Constitution of 1830. Political life split into two groups, white people and coloured, under the personalistic banners of Fluctuoso Rivera and Manuel Oribe. Paraguay achieved an organization *sui generis* in the dictatorial hands of Dr Francia.

In some countries anarchy led to the rule of the dictator, the tyrant in the terminology of that time, or the 'necessary policeman' in the partial sociological explanation of Vallenilla Lanz. In the period of *caudillismo* it was the spontaneous elements, primary forces, physical energy, that held sway, and the men animated by the epic fire of the revolution for independence thought in terms of the only possible field for settling disputes and gaining glory, that is to say, the field of battle. The epoch of *caudillismo* was an epoch of strife and its representatives were men of the sword. Ideas were handled with animosity or with enthusiasm; doctrines were not seen as positive achievable elements—their adepts submerged themselves in them, as though intoxicated. Topics were approached from an absolutist point of view, with the result that the path of religion led to the most anti-Christian measures, and that of liberalism to demagogy. Dictatorships changed the scale of values. For the Hispano-American dictator ideologies had a relative value; they were things that could be made use of for the benefit of himself or the community. The supreme objective was order, praetorian order, which suppressed the need to fight against adversaries and annihilated opposition.

The dictatorship period coincided with the introduction of machinery in the field of economy. The application of steam power to industry and the progress of techniques made it possible to mine a number of metal reserves in Latin America that had remained untouched until then. Unfortunately the industrial revolution was a transplantation. The mentality of those responsible for putting this new progress into operation was, in a sense, pre-capitalist. Specialized labour was insufficient, the number of entrepreneurs was small and the lack of available capital meant that most of the work was financed by international banks.

The fortunes accummulated in the countries by these companies led to the formation of a new social class. Until then the old-established *latifundistas*, aristocratic in origin and paternalistic in mentality, had been the most powerful element, without any other to counterbalance them. The plutocratic class that had arisen with the discovery of mines or the opening up of business, on the other hand, manifested a superior economic mentality and

thus were able to displace the agrarian leaders. As a result there appeared in Chile the oligarchy of copper and nitrates; in Argentina the plutocracy of the refrigerator and frozen meat; and in Peru that of copper and *guano*, and lastly, that of petroleum in Mexico and Venezuela.

The dictators took support from the prestige of the new moneyed classes. The opposition found its home among the liberal bourgeoisie in the towns and the intellectual classes that had arisen with the development of the universities and secondary education.

In spite of the similarity in the manifestations of this political phenomenon, varying in degree from the paternalistic régimes to the most abusive impositions, there were radical differences between them, which indicated the individuality of the Latin American countries, in spite of the uniformity of the origins.

The most typical case is undoubtedly that of Mexico. On 15 July 1877, Benito Juárez put an end to French domination (1862–7) and made a triumphal-entry into the capital. The political task facing him was harassing and difficult: to re-establish the democratic machinery of his reforms, which had been destroyed by the imperial régime. Unfortunately he was unable to achieve the vast programme he had planned, and although intellectually he was capable of the task, the times were not favourable to him. On his death, after a period of transition, Porfirio Díaz became President, in 1877, and his term of office was to be ended by force 32 years later. The 'Porfiriato' as Daniel Cossío Villegas had called it, attempted to achieve a system of 'scientific dictatorship'. Díaz, a man of mixed blood, clear-sighted, resolute in action and extraordinarily energetic, gave to his government the positivist motto: 'Order, Peace and Progress'. His slogan 'little politics and much administration' was put into practice, but his system of *'pan o palos'* (bread or the stick) invalidated many of his achievements. Don Porfirio transformed the Mexican state into a great public works contractor. Dazzled by North American technical achievements he adopted many material improvements, opening roads, extending railways . . . The financial plan of his minister Ives Limantour was boldly conceived. The progressive thought of his leading intellectual, Justo Sierra, gave vigour to the university and schools. However, the economic changes were not accompanied by corresponding social reform and the urgency of the agrarian questions, the maintenance of the *latifundio*, or large landed estate, and the sharecropping system, invalidated many of the reforms achieved. The Mexican revolution brought his long reign to an end.[5]

Similar types of efficient dictatorship were those of Justo Rufino Barrios in Guatemala and Tomás Guardia in Costa Rica. The eighteen years of rationalist dictatorship of Antonio Guzmán Blanco in Venezuela took a different form. A cultured man, sybaritic, extremely vain, of international origin, Guzmán Blanco endeavoured to graft reforms on to old-established traditions and customs. Although he stimulated the coffee trade by means of

timely economic measures, achieved improvements in education in the universities, colleges and schools and did much to beautify the capital, he wasted his energies in sterile conflicts with his enemies and in anti-clerical measures, endeavouring to organize a national church. This long period of dictatorship in Venezuela ended with the unscrupulous rule of General Cipriano Castro (1899–1908) during which the moral tone of the nation was allowed to decline and civic life became corrupted.

There was an even greater contrast between the irreligious activities of Guzmán Blanco and the theocratic aspirations of Gabriel García Moreno in Ecuador (1860–5). His ascetic, messianic personality, which endeavoured to give his country an American form of the medieval state, in which religion had a political and social function, still remains an enigma. His administration achieved a great deal of material progress, but he came up against the opposition of the individualist and thinker Juan Montalvo, and was assassinated by the hand of a fanatic. The ideological antithesis of García Moreno was President Eloy Alfaro, who tried from 1895 to 1911 to give a liberal structure to Ecuador by means of education and the benefits of progress.

The incentives that enabled the Government of Juan Manuel Rosas to hold Argentina in its iron grip were different. Its objective, from 1829 to 1853, was to reunite the country and achieve a strict political unity. His methods were tyrannical. The famous *mazorcas* (mazorca: ear of corn—the name of a kind of repressive police) went through town and countryside with the cry of 'Down with the Unitarist savages!' and the red cockade of federalism was the banner for a cruel and merciless combat. The intelligentsia of Argentina emigrated to Uruguay and Chile whence they set to work with their outstanding qualities to forge his downfall and think out future deomocratic solutions for their country, the first step towards which took place with the fall of Rosas at the battle of Monte Caseros.[6]

Paraguay in the nineteenth century witnessed a succession of ultra-nationalist dictatorial régimes whose objective was to preserve the independence of their small country, threatened by its neighbours. Dr José Gaspar Rodríguez Francia strove until 1840 to discipline the Paraguayan-Guaraní people after the Spartan model. Between 1864 and 1870 Francisco Solano López led the tragic Paraguayan war, in which the population of the country was decimated and even women and children gave proof of superhuman suicidal heroism.

Economic conditions

The colonial economy had been governed by the two basic ideas of Spanish colonization: the search, first, for gold and precious metals, and secondly, for tropical products suitable for international trading. For this purpose, wealth is visible in those countries where the mineral strata crop out at the surface or in those where the tropical products—coffee, sugar, cocoa, etc.—grow and flower. But only the boundless advance of the Spanish *conquistador* brought

work to the agricultural countries of the temperate zone which consequently had only a languid historical existence.

Agriculture continued to be the basis of the regional economy in the early years of the nineteenth century. Although the cultivable area was entirely out of proportion to the vastness of the territory, with its almost inaccessible high mountains, inhospitable tropical selvas and barren desert areas, the market open to a Europe overpopulated as a result of the industrial revolution, led to the cultivation of crops on a larger scale than needed to meet the immediate local requirements in food, which were easy to satisfy, owing to the sparseness of the population and the low standard of living.

The national governments continued to exploit their traditional products. Coffee, which had been introduced in the eighteenth century, came to be the basis of some national economies. Mexico and Venezuela had exported it since 1774. The high-altitude types of Bucaramanga and Medellín in Colombia were added between 1875 and 1880. Central America, especially Costa Rica, supplied the ever-increasing demand in Europe and the United States for fine grains. Cocoa from Venezuela, Colombia and Ecuador almost exclusively satisfied the demand until its industrialization by the Dutch aroused competition. Cocoa is a tropical plant, difficult to grow, and the crop is irregular, which caused crises in the supply. Tobacco also continued to be a profitable crop for the Latin American economy. The temperate zone had wheat crops to supply the Pacific coast and Chilean wines achieved renown. Sugar provided the largest excess crop for export and in spite of the rudimentary methods of its plantations, Cuba produced as much as 1 million tons in 1894.

The supply for local domestic markets was already assured, but the coming of the economic revolution made extensive transportation possible. The technological era of steam power was characteristic of this early period of economic change on the Ibero-American continent, where the invention was applied to river navigation. The river arteries could transport more men and goods. With the arrival of paddle-boats in 1824 transport along the Magdalena, the only way from the Caribbean Sea to the Colombian Andes, was speeded up. The Orinoco was navigable from 1826 onwards and river traffic on the River Plate began in 1833.

The most important stage in this technological process was the laying of railways. The first railways to run were in Cuba, where the Spanish régime had put in the Havana lines in 1837. The Copiapó–Caldera line in Chile, planned by a great United States contractor, was completed just before the Callao–Lima railway (1850). Thanks to the indomitable energy of Henry Meiggs, Chile and Peru conquered the Andean escarpments and trains linked Santiago with the port of Valparaiso and that of Lima with La Oraya which was connected with the Peruvian copper mines. In 1855 Aspinwall's lines reached Panama, precursors of the Interocean Canal. This slow initial progress, which has been described by the historian Fred J. Rippy, increased in speed as the century went on and the railway won supremacy over the

complications of Hispano-American geography. The introduction of technology had its pioneers and its martyrs. The laying of the Puerto Limón line in Costa Rica left a monument to 4,000 workers who died of yellow fever and malaria. Work on the line between La Guayra and Caracas (1877–93) was also very difficult.

In almost all the countries the building of railways was a State enterprise, done with a view to connecting mining centres with ports of embarkation, or capitals with supply centres, or for military purposes. Steamships were an immense help to international communication. English capital, stimulated by the foresight of Wheelwright, founded the Pacific Steam Navigation Company and in 1840 the steamships *Chile* and *Peru* docked at Valparaiso and Callao, opening up a new era. Not long afterwards, in 1850, the Royal Mail Line linked the American Atlantic ports with Europe and by the end of the century German, Italian and French lines had begun to compete in the transport of goods. The Compañía Sudamericana de Vapores, of Valparaiso, was the first national Hispano-American service. The triumph of steam power was not immediate; throughout these decades the silhouettes of clipper sails were still to be seen carrying coal and nitrates to California and the Orient.

Internal and international exchange was enormously increased as a result of the possibility of transmitting news, with the introduction of telegraphy, started by Wheelwright in 1853. By 1890 it had been extended to almost all the Hispano-American countries. John Proudfort laid the first submarine cable in the River Plate estuary and within a period of about thirty years international connections were completed. In 1866 the Cuba–United States line was completed and in 1882 the United States–Hispano-American line. The process involved the expenditure of vast sums by the big companies responsible. The telephone made its appearance in 1880 as an unfamiliar novelty, but in fact little was done to extend its use before the twentieth century.

The existence of high-quality minerals made it possible to continue mining by the technical methods of the eighteenth century. Until the end of bimetallism, silver was mined intensively in Mexico, Peru and Chile and the discovery of some minerals—for instance, at Chañarcillo, Chile, in 1839—caused a real economic fever. Copper, which had been of relatively slight importance in colonial times, increased in importance in the nineteenth century after the free trade decrees opened the American ports to international trade. English capitalists and technical experts began to mine the deposits in Mexico in 1821; but both the Compañía Real del Monte, and the Anglo-Chilean Company in Chile, were a financial loss. For some years the eastern market was the most important and the Calcutta merchants monopolized the Pacific trade. The high-quality copper from the outcrops of the Chilean cordillera became an important commodity between 1850 and 1880. The Urmeneta family opened the Tamaya refinery and, thanks to the enterprising spirit of Augustín Edwards, Chile became one of the largest world

producers. Peru also became important in this respect, as a result of the arrival of the railway in the La Oraya region. In Mexico mining increased in importance from 1873 onwards.

In 1910 the country was a world producer. Most of the mining work was undertaken with the help of local capitalists. The exhaustion of the reserves of high-quality copper and the mining of porphyritic copper transformed the industry into an international undertaking. In 1894 William Braden located and began to work the Teniente mine (Rancagua, Chile). In 1908 the Guggenheim brothers controlled the business. The very rich Chuquicamata deposit was opened up in 1899. United States engineers engaged in similar activities in Mexico and Peru, floating companies that were to monopolize copper mining in those countries.

Coal attracted attention from the economic point of view because of its use for steamships and railways. Coal from the Lota and Coronel mines in Chile served to provide fuel for the return voyages of the Pacific Steam Company's ships. In Mexico coal mining began in 1882 and became important from 1900 onwards.

Another metal that was to transform industry, tin, appeared as a reserve in Hispanic America and mining of it began in a small way in Bolivia in 1860. Platinum and emeralds were the monopoly of Colombia.

The industrialization process in Hispanic America in the nineteenth century was very slow; in many countries it did not develop beyond the stage of supplying the immediate needs. The historian George Wythe described it as consisting of work with local raw materials and the provision of direct services in the form of manufactured articles for domestic consumption. In the course of the century some industries attained importance and then died out because of foreign competition. One of these was rubber (hule), the product of the resinous gum from certain American species of tree, in particular the *Castilloa elástica* and the *Hevea brasiliensis*. Found in various parts of the Amazon selva, it led to the organization of extraction centres at Manaos and Iquitos from 1865 onwards. In 1898 the application of the process of vulcanization was the origin of the great urge to explore the selva. But competition proved fatal. The sensational stripping of the trees, cultivated in series in the Malayan plantations, led to abandonment of the hard task of the rubber workers in the Amazon.

The industry based on the treatment of cinchona bark, the basic product for the production of quinine, the essential febrifuge, reached its peak between the years 1860 and 1885. Colombia exported this product. Quebracho wood for dyeing became the main product of the Paraguayan economy from 1879 onwards, and continued as a rationally organized industry in Argentina. The *yerba maté* of Paraguay, a popular drink before the introduction of tea-drinking as a custom in Hispanic America, was an important product in the South American countries. It was the drink of the *gaucho*, the Chilean *huaso*, and both country and townspeople.

The abundant fruits of the earth served only for local consumption, except for some that were exported in dried form (peaches, etc.). Around 1870 one kind of fruit, the banana, came to be the basis of the economy of Central America. It was introduced into Costa Rica as an industrial crop in that year and methodical plantation was extended to El Salvador and Guatemala. An alert capitalist, Minor Cooper Keith, foresaw its importance and took control of the production. In 1890 the United Fruit Company was formed and had complete monopoly of the production, distribution and sale of the fruit in the United States.

The agrarian industries brought very important economic activity to Argentina and Uruguay. The pasturelands of the pampa lent themselves to to stock-breeding; millions of head of cattle were produced and the dried salted beef industry was started, reaching its height in 1895. Progress was made in colonizing the pampa after the introduction, in 1848, of barbed wire for separating the livestock and the agricultural areas. The types of cattle were improved by adapting the Durham breed, which replaced the *criollo*. In 1860 Lincoln sheep were introduced. Specialized companies, like the Rural Argentina, worked to improve the stock. 1876 was the date of a decisive event, with the arrival at the port of Buenos Aires of the frigorific ship, equipped with the Tellier system, which enabled Argentine meat to be transported to Europe. Between 1882 and 1884 the British installed the first refrigerators in Buenos Aires, setting in motion the frozen meat industry. The introduction of Liebig's system at Fray Bentos in Uruguay brought the livestock industry in that country into a position of great importance. The great rise of the livestock industry in Spanish America made it possible to supply overpopulated Europe, and by 1890 Argentina ranked as a world supplier.

At the same time the development of the fertilizer industry made it possible to put new life into land impoverished by the new intensive agricultural methods. The fertilizer industry began in Peru, with work on the *guano* deposits. This word, almost unknown, designates the excrement of the innumerable seabirds (*huanayes*) that live on the Pacific coast, which is washed by the Humboldt current. The analysis made by Frezier (1716) and especially Baron Liebig (1840), showed the fertilizing properties of the nitrogen contained in these droppings. In 1834 the industry increased, with the exploitation of the Chinchas Islands, where concessions were given to private companies. In 1842 Ramón Castillo declared *guano* to be national property. A contract for the trade was granted to the British firm of Gibbs and Company, causing diplomatic disputes with the United States, which commercialized the product in 1844. The year 1847 marked the height of its importance.

The saltpetre (sodium nitrate) fertilizer industry was more important than that of *guano*. Its chemical properties, which had a dual use—for the manufacture of gunpowder or for agriculture—were made known in the eighteenth century, but methodical extraction did not begin until the era of independence.

The process consists in reducing the *caliche*, or ore, a nitrous crust, and round about 1830 the historic *paradas* for this purpose grew up, using a primitive system of heating the materials in order to produce crystallization of the nitrate.

As its use increased the search for deposits in the immense desert region was intensified. The Zavalax brothers were pioneers in the Iquique area; and Diego de Almeyda and José Santos Ossa at Antofagasta, the city of that name being founded in 1866 as a result of the explorations of Ossa.

The discovery of borax by George Smith in 1866 and the process of obtaining iodine worked out by Pedro Gamboni gave further impulse to these undertakings. International trade in nitrate began in 1830 when the first agreements were signed with France and Italy. Two years later England took the initiative for its distribution. It was only in 1888 that the United States showed interest in the product, which they wanted as fertilizer for the cotton plantations in the South.

Nitrate provoked international rivalries. In 1875 the Peruvian Government ordered the expropriation of the mines, which until then had been worked by Chilean capital and miners. In 1879 war broke out between the two countries. Chile won the war and organized the trade in 1880, making the export duties one of her main sources of revenue. The rising curve of production was not checked until the 1914 war with the competition caused by synthetic nitrates. At the beginning nitrate mining was financed by British capital, the Germans being the next to compete. United States undertakings only came into the picture after the revolution of 1891.

The nineteenth century was the era of the avid search for oil, the basic fuel for the new industries. The opening of the United States oil wells in 1859 and the extensive application of the properties of oil transformed oil prospecting into a problem of world-wide implications from 1867 onwards.

In 1870 we have record of Hispano-American precursors in the persons of Diego de Lama and Faustino Piaggo in Peru, Ildefonso López in Mexico and Antonio Pulido in Venezuela. Their separate national efforts were of only passing importance, however, as oil became one of the pivots round which the economic imperialism of the century revolved. The first episode in the struggle began in Mexico during the administration of Porfirio Díaz. The dictator and his 'scientists' welcomed with open arms the English advances in the person of Weetman Pearson and those of the United States in that of Edward Doherty. Concessions were possible owing to the fact that the Spanish legislation which gave the State the control of mineral wealth, had been changed by the amendments of 1884 and 1892. Anglo-American rivalry, one of the episodes in Porfirio Díaz's administration, produced unexpected results. The insignificant production figure of 10,345 barrels for the year 1901 rose to the impressive one of 13 million in 1911. An industry destined to change the aspect of some of the countries of the continent had come into being.

The range of immediate consumer goods provided scope for a preliminary stage in the slow industrial development of Spanish America. Articles sought after in the domain of food, clothing or luxury—shoes, articles of clothing, soap, cigarettes, biscuits, chocolates, etc., formed the basis of this development. In Argentina the years 1880 to 1890 were a decade of intensive manufacturing development. A similar and sometimes even more marked period of development occurred in Mexico from 1892 to 1905 with the rise of the woollen and cotton industry. Chile showed a steadily ascending curve of development.

Heavy industry made some preliminary modest signs of development. In 1899, with the aid of French capital, Chile tried to start an iron and steel industry at the Corral blast furnaces. Mexico started hydroelectric work in 1893 and the first steps towards electrification were made with plants at San Ildefonso (1895) and Monterrey (1900). The Compañía Fundidora de Hierro (iron-smelting company) was founded in the latter city in 1900.

By the beginning of the twentieth century the public transport services in most of the capitals of Spanish America were run by electricity.

The economic changes described above were spasmodic, the consequence of internal circumstances or a favourable general state of affairs; they were not the result of any active planning. The theoretical ideas of the leaders and the party platforms were based on the theoretical principles of the liberalism of the Manchester school, *laissez-faire*, the doctrine of the power of natural economic forces, markets and activity being governed by the law of supply and demand. There were prophets of free trade even in university circles, as in the case of Gustave Courcell-Seneuil, who held an American Chair in Chile.

The necessary protectionist key that opened the door to certain industries was the sometimes very opportune handling of customs tariffs by governments. Countries built up their national incomes with these small duties and tended to transform themselves into monoproductive countries, thus laying themselves open to the disastrous effects of the violent fluctuations in the world market. As we have indicated, tax legislation established protective tariffs on agricultural products, fixed high import duties on rival products, made special concessions for those they could produce within the country and fixed moderate duties on machinery that could serve to speed up the process of industrialization. Nevertheless, fear of the lack of permanent markets led some countries to establish monopolies, lease services to foreign companies (Callao docks in 1887), and institute government monopolies on cards, alcohol, etc.

The economic backwardness was partly due to the semi-feudal structure of the agrarian economy. The *latifundio* continued to prevail and governments continued to lease land, which further aggravated the problem. In some cases, wrote the economist Alberto Baltra, it was unconditional cession; in others sale by auction, and in others, very long-term leases. In Mexico,

Porfirio Díaz's dictatorship, after 1883, gave 12 million hectares of land to seven individuals and in the state of Durango two persons owned two and a half million hectares.

The weakness of domestic markets, due to the low consumption of manufactured goods, delayed the emergence of industry. In addition, there were few technical experts and most of the promoters were foreigners, some with a very outstanding capacity of achievement, such as the Barcelonistas in Mexico, Wheelwright and Meiggs in Chile and Peru and Keith in Costa Rica.

The governing class were occupied in the traditional agricultural tasks, but the attractive mirage of foreign lands produced the phenomenon of absenteeism, causing landowners to go and live in Europe, leaving the work in the hands of majordomos, administrators, foremen, etc. The plutocratic mining minority maintained its prestige but as soon as the high-yield deposits were exhausted they had to have recourse to foreign capital. Because of the fluctuations in the rate of exchange, savings did not build up reserves of any importance. The banks were established on the British pattern. After some national attempts by private individuals—the Banco Colonial Británico of Leandro Miranda in Venezuela, the Banco de Rivadavia in Argentina or that of Antonio Arcos in Chile—privileged banks came into being which controlled credit.

Foreign investments in the Latin American countries have been estimated to amount to about $8,500 million at this time. $3,700 million came from Great Britain, $1,700 million from the United States, $1,200 million from France, $900 million from Germany and $1,000 million from other countries. It can be said that in the domain of foreign competition, the English brought the capital, the machines and the technical direction. Foreign loans were another source of capital, and their history is one of failure and foreign intervention in the economic process.

The economic progress indicated had its counterpart in the ethnic question, which was very acute in the Ibero-American countries during the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, some valuable ethical progress that took place indicates that governments had broadminded doctrines on the subject.

The Afro-American population formed by the bringing in of slaves under licence (1493–1595) or by contract (1595–1785) and the free trade in slaves (1785–1820) remained in a position of enforced servitude during the early years of the century. Their freedom, one of the humane principles incorporated in the ideology of the French Revolution, was achieved slowly. The first step towards emancipation was taken in the Republic of Chile with the proposal made before the National Congress in 1811 by the economist and philanthropist Manuel de Salas. This 'right to be free-born' (libertad de vientre) was made absolute and definite by law of 1823, which granted full independence to Negro slaves. This 'right to be free-born' became general, but, as Angel Rosenblat wrote, manumission was long in coming: in 1854 in

Venezuela and Peru; after Caseros, in Argentina; in 1825 in the United States; and in 1888 in Brazil; and it took a certain time to put these government measures into operation.

The political objective of the republican governments was to give the indigenous inhabitants the legal status of citizens. 'Neither Indians, nor natives, but Peruvians' were the words with which San Martín summed up this tendency. But beyond the legal truth stood the South American reality, and there is no doubt whatsoever that between the civilized creole population and the aborigines there was a world of difference. In some countries—Bolivia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Mexico and Peru—the Indians formed an imposing mass, that had retained its own customs and its Amerindian language. Of the total American population in 1825, 25·1 per cent were native. Sociologically, Spanish America seemed to live a double historical life: whilst the towns showed the progress characteristic of urban existence and had some resemblance to the civilized life of Europe or North America, the people in the aboriginal areas continued to live below the level of recorded history, in a state of promiscuity, in their insalubrious hovels, undernourished, with their pittance of maize, wheat, beans, potatoes and quinoa, victims of parasitic, respiratory or heart diseases. Alcoholism was explainable psychologically as an evasion and physically as compensation for an inadequate diet. In the Altiplano, the high plateau region, coca chewing weakened the population or caused it to sink into anti-social ways of life. The illiteracy figure in the nineteenth century was 86 per cent in Bolivia, 80 per cent in Guatemala, 70 per cent in Ecuador, 63 per cent in Peru and 57 per cent in Mexico.

The old-established communities, vestiges of the Ayllu system of the Incas or the Mexican Calpulli, were awaiting the hand of economic progress. Some governments took a benevolent attitude, but in the absence of an anthropological policy to lead to social contact, they were unable to solve this difficult problem. Hispano-American legislation attempted to arrest the process. Colombia tried to divide up the communal land among families. Mexico tried to create landowners and passed legislation concerning the communities in 1876. Chile in 1864 adopted the system of settling converted Indians. Attempts were also made to raise the standard of living of the aboriginals by education but insufficient attention was given to the problem and so the work done by the Government, and by some religious orders, was not on a large enough scale.[7]

Among the Creole population the most important factor as regards ethnic change was immigration. The arrival of a foreign element profoundly altered the racial structure of Argentina and Uruguay, had some influence on the southern part of Chile and caused a new racial crossing in Peru.

In Argentina the motto of Juan Bautista Alberdi—'To govern is to populate'—was put into practice. The 1853 Constitution gave immigrants fundamental rights and there was space to accommodate them in the uninhabited lands of the pampa that were suitable for agriculture. The population

increased rapidly. In 1869 it numbered 1,737,000; in 1895, 3,394,911: 25·4 per cent were foreigners.

The major element in the immigrant population was Italian, mainly the agricultural worker from northern Italy, strong and industrious.*

They adapted themselves easily, owing to their identity of origin. 'Gallego' (inhabitant of Galicia, Spain) came to be a synonym for immigrant. Belgian and French immigration was also considerable.† German immigration, which was considerable between 1888 and 1890, is indicated in the figures provided by Jorge Hecher.‡ In spite of their small numbers, the English came to have a predominant influence in the extent to which they spread British ways of life among the upper social classes.

The process was not as dynamic in Chile as in Argentina and Uruguay; in the latter country the population figure rose from 150,000 in 1850 to 1,042,686 a few years later. Chilean census centres showed a normal population increase: 1,010,322 in 1835; 1,083,801 in 1843 and 1,439,120 in 1854.

The sparse population of the country, and the increase in geographical area by the occupation of Magallanes in 1843 and the pacification of the Araucanian Indian region in 1880, made the government decide to attempt to increase the flow of immigrants. Thanks to tenacious work on the part of Bernardo Phillippi, the difficulties were overcome. The first German families came to Corral in 1846. Vicente Perez Rosales started colonization of the province of Llanquihue. A total of about 15,000 Germans from the south-west spread throughout the territory. The pacified Araucanian region took in 2,570 Swiss, 1,816 French, 924 Germans and 616 Spaniards between 1883 and 1890. It is estimated that Chile received some 32,302 foreign colonizers between 1851 and 1894.

In addition to the European immigrants, easily assimilable with the Latin American creole, this period saw the arrival of Asiatic elements. There was a contingent of some 60,000 Chinese in the island of Cuba in about 1862, but their penetration into Peru was more marked. The coming of 'coolies' was due to some extent to the lack of manpower in the *guano* industry. Under pressure from landowners the government passed the so-called 'Chinese Law' of 1849. Watt Stewart, who has studied this question, distinguishes two immigrant groups: the first entering between 1849 and 1856, the second between 1861 and 1875. They came from Macao, as a result of the Taiping Rebellion. Oriental immigration has been estimated at 87,247 and according

* The figures for Italian immigration are as follows: 1857–60, 6,742; 1861–70, 49,638; 1871–80, 37,225; 1881–1900, 365,568. Total, 459,173.

The astonishing flow of Spanish immigration began in 1897, later equalling the Italians. The figures are these: 1857–60, 1,819; 1861–70, 15,567; 1871–80, 24,696; 1891–1900, 131,570. Total, 173,652.

† 1857–60, 578; 1861–70, 4,292; 1871–80, 10,204; 1881–90, 69,363; 1890–1900, 126. Total, 84,563.

‡ 1857–60, 162; 1861–70, 682; 1871–80, 2,070; 1881–90, 9,858; 1890–1900, 4,243. Total, 17,015.

to the 1876 census Peru had a population of 2,699,106, of which 1·9 per cent was of Chinese origin.

The immigratory movements between the Latin American countries are of no demographical importance but they gave rise to curious phenomena, such as the flow of Chilean workers into Peru, engaged to work on railway construction, the attraction of the California gold rush and above all the coming of Negro labour from the Antilles to Panama, drawn by the need of workers for the building of the Canal.[8]

Cultural developments

Generally speaking, education in Latin America during the nineteenth century followed the pattern given by the French Revolution. It was a process in the hands of the State, lay in tendency and liberal in spirit, governed by a philosophy concerned with the formation of an élite; in other words, the final objective of the educational process was to train men for politics and for the bureaucracy and later, technicians.

As regards the various grades of education, primary education received stimulus from the English educator Joseph Lancaster. His system of monitors and 'mutual' education made it possible to multiply the number of teachers. It was introduced into Chile, Argentina and Peru by the Scotsman James Thompson, who was welcomed by the intellectuals, in spite of being a Protestant. Fray Sebastian Moro was the instigator of progress in Colombia and Lancaster himself brought the doctrine to Venezuela, at the invitation of Bolívar. At this time there was also a resurgence of the educational philosophy of Rousseau, and the influence of *Emile* is clearly evident in the curious personality of Simón Rodríguez, Bolívar's teacher, and the Frenchman Carlos Ambrosio Lozier, who also opened a picturesque public school intended to maintain the close relationship with nature advocated by Rousseau.

Primary education had difficulty in performing its essential tasks. The isolation caused by the geographical conditions of the continent made the development of education in the agrarian areas difficult and the ethnic make-up of the population itself was an obstacle to systematic work. The task of teaching reading, writing and the four basic arithmetical operations was only half achieved and the illiteracy figure still remained very high. During the second half of the century governments made efforts to train specialized teachers, in order to further educational work. The number of primary schools in Colombia was increased from 500 to 1,000 during the Santander régime.

Worthy of note for the wide influence of his educational creed throughout the continent is the personality of Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, who devoted his life to the establishment of teacher-training institutions. In exile he received the help of President Manuel Montt and on 18 February 1842 he opened a teachers' training school. It provided a three-year course, to

include teaching methods, reading and writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, drawing and history. The school became a model, copied in a number of countries. The Government of Ramón Castilla founded a similar school in Peru in 1859. The Bolivian Education Act of 1879 laid great stress on primary education. In Argentina, under the presidency of Sarmiento and his successor Nicolás Avellaneda, outstanding progress was made. In Uruguay, thanks to the strong personality of José Pedro Varela, reforms were introduced from 1860 onwards which placed that country in the ranks of the pioneers in primary education.

The figures provided by J. J. Johnson as proof of the progress made in education in Hispanic America during this period are significant. In Argentina, which took the lead in primary education, the number of qualified teachers rose from 1,300 to 7,200 in 1890 and the school attendance figure from 300,000 to 780,000 in the period 1890–1912. In Chile the rate of increase was similar, the numbers rising from 95,000 in 1891 to 240,000 in 1909. In spite of the fact that education improved during these years, absenteeism and drop-out was enormous. The first law making primary education compulsory, promulgated by Guzmán Blanco in Venezuela, was an indication of future trends.

Secondary education was given at establishments that were called either *lycées*, colleges, gymnasia or institutes, according to the models on which they had been based. It was humanistic in character but included the sciences and arts, in order to give it the encyclopaedic nature of this kind of education. The teachers were persons versed in their own specialized branches but lacking adequate training for teaching. The pupils came from the wealthy families, the town bourgeoisie and the leaders of the intellectual class were formed from among their number. Each country had its traditional establishment. In Chile it was the Instituto Nacional, founded at Santiago in 1813; and thanks to the timely reforms of Manuel Montt and Diego Barros Arana it became the Alma Mater of liberalism. In Argentina, President Mitre founded the Colegio Nacional in 1863, which served a similar purpose.

Technical education was introduced in the middle of the century, with schools of arts and crafts, trade schools, etc., but as the educational ideals emphasized the humanities, these schools were not well attended.

Some schools for the training of teachers for secondary education were created at the end of the century. For instance, as a result of the influence of German teachers, the Instituto Pedagógico was established in Chile in 1889. From that time onwards in the various countries, teaching was in the hands of qualified persons.

The Hispano-American universities underwent important organizational changes during this period. The ecclesiastical tutelage characteristic of the colonial period was relaxed and the teaching and subjects acquired a more scientific tone. As far as the northern countries were concerned, the ancient University of Mexico suffered a serious crisis in 1833 and was only saved by

the timely reforms of Justo Sierra who reorganized it on more modern lines. The University of San Marcos in Lima was basically changed by regulations passed in 1861, giving it new life. In Colombia the Republican universities of Medellín and Cauca were opened in 1822. In Bolivia Marshal Santa Cruz created the University of La Paz. In Argentina the University of Buenos Aires was founded during the enlightened presidency of Bernardino Rivadavia. A university opened its doors in Costa Rica in 1843. In Chile, under the inspiration of the great Venezuelan humanist Andrés Bello, the University of Chile was established, in 1843 on the ruins of the colonial University of San Felipe, and the inaugural address of that great and learned man gave the pattern for the new conception of the university in Spanish America, which was thenceforward to devote itself to disinterested intellectual and teaching work and to scientific research.

The universities on the Latin American continent were of a professional nature, concerned with the training of lawyers, doctors, engineers, architects, etc. The teaching was based on memory and for some professions the installation of laboratories was belated. Law and jurisprudence were at the top of the sociological ladder as careers, lawyers forming the ruling class, in the political world.[9]

For purposes of explanation, and without, we think, altering the true picture, we have divided the process of the trend of ideas into two main stages: the first receptive, and the second critical.

After independence, Europe (in the wide sense, or in the restricted sense of France alone) became, intellectually, the model, the mirror into which America looked for the reflection of her own mental conduct. The attraction was spontaneous, the effect of prestige; at that time it was not a question of the influence of intellectual machinery or directed action, but simply that the authentic values which Europe represented were introduced and sometimes digested in the imponderable process of the assimilation of ideas. The heroic saga of the independence movement hastened the entry of these values, opening the doors to free international contact.

'The influence of French Encyclopaedism on the Ibero-American republics was multiple and heterogeneous', wrote the Mexican thinker Francisco Larroyo. It was felt throughout the continent, affecting mainly the political creeds, on which it had a liberalizing influence. Miranda, Nariño, Belgrano, Salas and others fed upon the books of Rousseau, Montesquieu, Voltaire and Diderot, whose influence is easily visible in the thought of the *Padres de la Patria*, the founding fathers, and is imprinted in the preambles or the texts of the first independent constitutions.

In the Caribbean region, the democratic writers of the United States, Paine and Jefferson in particular, also had a profound influence.

The predominant intellectual influence of France was even more visible through the philosophical system of ideology, which originated with Condillac

and had its instrument of expression in the Paris Academy of Moral and Political Science and its codifier in the person of Destutt de Tracy. Ideology acquired immense prestige in Ibero-America; it was the weapon used by enlightened circles to combat the imperious dogmatism of the universities. Its influence can be said to be at the very roots of the continent's philosophical awakening.

Ideology took root in the whole of Ibero-America and maintained its virtual predominance until the first half of the nineteenth century, for it was by nature synonymous with the philosophy of independence and liberalism. In Argentina it followed a continuous and clearly defined course. It found its way into the thought of Cosme Angeerich (1808) and Francisco Planes (1810) and began to have the force of doctrine with the attractive, self-taught personality of Juan Crisóstomo Lafinur, a fine mind and a lover of music and poetry, whose *Curso Filosófico* was given in 1819. It was a kind of introduction to the revised ideological philosophy and roused a polemic at the Colegio de San Carlos. Manuel Fernández Aguero gave it fuller programmatic content in his lectures entitled *Principios de Ideología Elemental*, and lastly, Diego de Alcorta expanded its doctrinaire aspect in masterly classes which sounded a note that heralded new theories.

In Uruguay, Salvador Ruán from his Chair of Logic paid homage to the teacher de Tracy, but he was probably a closer follower of Condillac.

In Chile, where Lafinur was living in exile because of his daring and rebellious spirit, ideology penetrated into the official programmes of the Instituto Nacional. In Ventura Marín's book, *Elementos de Filosofía del Espíritu humano*, it is easy to see the imprint of Destutt de Tracy. There was greater philosophical range in the teaching of the renowned Hispanic thinker José Joaquín de Mora, given at the Liceo de Chile, his philosophical expositions showing a marked scientific precision. Mora combined his widely varying intellectual work with the function of arousing uneasiness in Argentina, Chile, Bolivia and Peru, where he published his *Cursos de Lógica y Etica* in 1831. This veritable craze for ideology influenced the decree approved by Marshal Santa Cruz in Bolivia in 1827, introducing this philosophical trend as a government policy. In Cuba the study of these disciplines took on a remarkable creative originality, as a result of the activity of Prebendary Félix Varela y Morales, 'the one who first taught us all to think' as Roberto Agramonte said of him. Varela made the system known and in his *Máximas Morales y Sociales* (1817–18) he gave more than a mere exposition, showing that he was capable of putting forward personal theories in the domain of thought.

Varela's apostolate was continued with consummate teaching skill and writer's talent by José de la Luz Cabellero, 'master of all the sciences' as his grateful contemporaries said of him. He showed masterly ability in directing the polemics that roused the island between 1838 and 1840. In the course of these discussions the propositions of Condillac and Destutt de Tracy were

examined and judgement of value passed on eclecticism which was already spreading through the continent. The writings of Caballero were very extensive and among them, his *Miscelánea Filosófica* served to lead Cuban intellectuals into the realms of lofty speculation.

Even before the reign of ideology had ended in Hispanic America new trends were coming from Europe, the most important being the spiritualism of Laromigiuère, English empiricism and the eclecticism of Victor Cousin. In Argentina eclecticism attenuated ideological naturalism, in Adolfo Alsina, for instance. Its chief exponent was one of the disciples of the French teacher Amedée Jac. The *Manuel de Filosofía* contains traces of apprenticeship, but it is possible to discern doctrinal divergencies leading towards positivism, as the critic Ricaurte Soler has done. The same process was visible in the teaching of Victorino Plaza at the Colegio Nacional of Buenos Aires. José Zacarías and Manuel Gonzales del Valle, in Cuba, kept to the convenient position of eclecticism; and in Peru, as Augusto Salazar Bondy said, empiricism and sensualism were replaced by this gentle type of spiritualism.

The most important book in this initial period was undoubtedly the *Filosofía del Entendimiento* published by the humanist Andrés Bello, in Chile in 1844. Educated in Scholasticism by his master Prebendary Rafael Escobar, nourished in England by reading Locke and Bentham, Reid and the Scottish psychology, Bello's book was an example of the high level of ideas that Latin American thought had attained. 'This book,' wrote the learned José Gaos, 'represents the most important manifestation of Hispano-American philosophy under European influence prior to and contemporary with German idealism, until the time of positivism, and it is also an outstanding landmark in the whole history of that thought'. Whilst Andrés Bello, the teacher, was giving the continent lessons in the purest humanism, new elements were entering Hispano-American thought, acting like leaven upon the minds of the great liberal thinkers of the century.

In Ecuador the traces of the enlightenment and Encyclopaedist movements gave philosophical impulse to the poetical work of José Joaquín de Olmedo and the reforms of Vicente Rocafuerte.

Social philosophy took up the protests of the Utopian socialism of Saint-Simon, Fourier, etc., and its ideas, spread by the journalist Pierre Leroux, inflamed the spirit of social rebellion of men such as Francisco Bilbao, Santiago Arcos and Martín Palma in Chile. It led to the attempts of Tardonet and, in Uruguay, Eyzaguirre and Picarte, to establish phalansteries. Esteban Echeverría, in his outstanding book, *El dogma socialista*, combined the doctrines of Mazzini, Leroux, etc., and his formula 'We are independent but not free' was a prelude to the approaching critical period.

The appearance of the philosophy of Auguste Comte was one of the most important events in cultural circles in the middle of the century and one of the most powerful forces in Spanish American thought. It was a dyke that served to hold back the excesses of ideology and check the prevailing

eclecticism, establishing a fruitful relationship between scientific thought and the social circumstances of Spanish America.

The system was present to a greater or lesser degree in all the countries but was a component factor in the history of Mexico, Brazil and Chile. In Cuba, Andrés Poey, in his book *El Positivismo* reduced it to the scale of a didactic system. It was taught in Bolivia by Benjamín Fernández and Ignacio Prudencio Bustillos, a professor at Chuquisaca, who applied positivist methodology to the study of the problem of education. In Argentina Doctor Alfredo Ferreira, in numerous articles, expressed his devotion to the master and the merits of the system. Later he founded the review *La Escuela Positivista* at Corrientes. In Peru, 'although the Peruvian bourgeoisie saw in positivism an instrument for imposing their political supremacy, they were not able to make use of it'. In Venezuela it had three valuable exponents from the field of science—Adolfo Ernst, Rafael Villavicencio and Vicente Marcano.

Mexico was the experimental field for the doctrine. The introduction of positivism into Mexico was not 'the result of curiosity or caprice' but the expression of the work of a certain social class, the bourgeoisie. It made use of the doctrine as a weapon to strengthen the triumph of liberalism over the prevailing anarchy at the time of the reforms of Benito Juárez. The philosophy of history contained in the sociological law of the three stages of Auguste Comte was used to interpret the evolution of Mexico from a dynamic point of view. The theological stage was represented by the period in which policy was in the hands of the clergy and the metaphysical stage was equivalent to the conflict between liberals and conservatives. The reformist generation of 1867 was to be responsible for completing the positivist stage.

The chief teacher in the group was Gabino Barreda, and his programme was contained in his famous *Oración Cívica*, in which he endeavoured by persuasion (to convince, not impose, was his motto) to inculcate the reformist creed in the minds of his contemporaries. Positivism had as its means of action the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria and the methodophile association of 1877, where Barreda's disciples met and formed a seminar to discuss relevant questions.

In Chile positivism performed two intellectual tasks. The first concerned the spiritual religious creed contained in the religion of humanity. In Brazil a church for this creed was opened thanks to Miguel de Lemos, and similarly, in Buenos Aires, the doctrine was accepted by Dr Alfredo Ferreira, whilst in Chile the brothers Lagarrigue were its supporters. In March 1877 Jorge Lagarrigue wrote in his private diary: 'I am daily more inclined towards the positivist religion. Last Saturday I bought portraits of Auguste Comte and Clothilde de Vaux.' The pamphlets of Juan Enrique and Jorge and Luis Lagarrigue, dated according to the positivist calendar, and the personal activities of the brothers, kept the cult of the 'religion of humanity' alive in Chile. Secondly, that is to say, on the doctrinal and philosophical side, the

diffusion of positivist thought was associated with the intellectual figure of José Victorino Lastarria, author of the *Lecciones de Política Positivista* (1878). There were also regional propagation centres, one being the *Liceo* at Copiapó, where Serapio Lois did outstanding work.

At the end of the century the influence of Comte's philosophy merged with that of the evolutionist sociology of Herbert Spencer, as can be seen from the extensive writings of Valentín Letelier in Chile and the activities of the intellectuals of the generation of 1880 in Argentina.

The conservative reaction to the advance of ideology, and in particular of positivism, found its expression in the doctrine of the Catholic Church, the political doctrines of the Restoration in France (in particular the writings of Bonald and Joseph de Maistre), and especially in the treatises of the Spanish Professor Jaime Balmes. This revival was active in the seminaries and in private education, and was marked by the rise of many colleges of secondary education controlled by the various religious orders, especially the Jesuits. In the *Convictorio* of San Carlos in Lima (Jesuit students' residence), Bartolomé Herrera began his traditionalist campaign, fluctuating between the philosophy of the Restoration familiar to his early years and the Scholastic orientation of his manuals of logic, aesthetics and theodicy. In Mexico 'more than in any other Hispano-American republic Jaime Balmes exercised an effective and lasting influence'. His exponent was Clemente de Jesús Munguía, Bishop of Michoacán, who endeavoured to revive Scholastic thought, adapting it to the realities of the times. His most important work was called *Del Pensamiento su enunciación*. Though not of the stature of Munguía, the Argentinian Facundo de Zubiría, author of the *Principio Religioso* (1860) was an intellectual of note. Catholic polemicists who fought against these doctrines were José Ignacio Moreno of Guayaquil, his compatriot Fray Vicente Solano, the Mexican José Joaquín de Pesado, and in Chile, Father Francisco Ginebra, whose *Elementos de Filosofía* (1885) had some influence on Catholic youth.

It was a pragmatic attitude that had led the Spanish Crown to stimulate exploration of its vast American colonial Empire in the eighteenth century. This impulse, which was prompted by the philosophy of the enlightenment, was transmitted as a heritage to the republican generations, who determined to locate the potential wealth of the subsoil and looked for the most scientific methods of exploiting it, similar to those adopted after the visit of the Baron de Nordenflycht and the brothers Elhuyar. Mineralogy began to be a subject for the class-room and one of the outstanding authorities on the subject was Mariano Eduardo Rivero, who discovered magnesium silicate in Peru, and Ignacio Domeyko, a refugee Polish scientist in Chile, Director of the Copiapó Mining School. The publication of his book *Elementos de Mineralogía* (1844) led students to take up the subject as a profession.

Methodical research was also actively carried on in the field of botany and zoology, not only with a view to making use of unknown species but also

with the disinterested desire to classify the vegetable kingdom along the lines of the wonderful work done by Linnaeus. Persons interested in studying these disciplines came to the fore in most of the countries. Manuel de Monteverde, in Santo Domingo, studied tropical flora; Dámaso Larrañaga left his own country of Uruguay to write on the flora of the River Plate and the Atlantic seaboard. José Arechavaleta continued this work by making a record of species. In Argentina the naturalist Eduardo Ladislao Holmberg published the important work *Flora y Fauna de la República*. In Colombia similar work was done by Florentino Vega in his *Botánica de Nueva Granada* and the Frenchman Claude Gay made artistic colour prints of the zoology and botany of Chile. Later on Karl Reiche published a work in German on the botanical geography of Chile and William H. Hudson introduced a poetic note with his charming descriptions of the birds and trees of the pampa and Argentine Patagonia. Zoology as well as flora attracted the intellectual curiosity of Hispano-American scientists or Europeans domiciled there. Rodolfo A. Filliphi devoted his life to this work in Chile. Javier Mañiz published his outstanding book on the *ñandú* or American ostrich in Buenos Aires in 1848. Arango, the Cuban zoologist, wrote works of note.

This individual activity was intensified as governments gradually established official scientific bodies, museums and institutions permanently responsible for this kind of work. In Santiago the United States Naval Commission under Lieutenant Gillis set up the first astronomical observatory on the Cerro (little hill) of Santa Lucía; Mexico, Ecuador and Argentina also had observatories at an early date, where scientists of the class of the Mexican Joaquín Velásquez de León worked. In Argentina, Francisco de Paula Moreno founded the renowned La Plata Museum in 1884. The work of Adolfo Ernst in Venezuela led to the creation of the Caracas Museum of Natural Science, and Filliphi was in charge of the Museum of Santiago in Chile.

In the universities courses for engineering became important. Velásquez de León in Mexico and Miguel Garaygoechea in Peru were mathematicians of note. An Academy of Mathematics was opened in Venezuela at an early date (1810); but the institution of the first Chair dates from 1827, with José Rafael Acevedo and Juan Manuel Cajigal as the initiators. The economic revolution opened up prospects for the various schools of engineering that were founded in the Hispano-American continent.

The study of medicine began to take shape at the beginning of the century through the influence of the French school. Outstanding students went from their countries of origin to Paris to engage in further studies, returning with a knowledge of the latest innovations medical science was bringing to the cause of health: the doctrines of Pasteur, Lister's disinfection, the cellular pathology of Virchow, the clinical surgery of Thevenot. These innovations did not take long to spread; for instance, ether was used in an operation in the United States in 1846, and in Maracaibo (Venezuela) in the following year.

The same can be said of chloroform. The Koch bacillus (1888) was detected in Spanish America one year later.

The schools of medicine produced practitioners trained to give general treatment in illness. The courses of the medical school of the University of Chile, organized by Oliva, Gorbea and Passamán, were similar to those in European countries. The reforms introduced by Leopoldo Río de la Loza (1877) gave new life to the Mexican medical school. The school trained the 'bedside' type of doctor, the family doctor with a good clinical eye and a general knowledge of all branches of medicine. Gradually there came the laboratory, which could co-operate by making examinations; and social medicine was developed under the aegis of public welfare clinics, to combat the epidemics (scarlatina, yellow fever, bubonic plague, cholera), which ravaged the population.

In the field of scientific research there were some important names: Gaspar Marcano in Venezuela, who studied problems of the blood; the heroic Peruvian Daniel Carrión who died as a result of his research into 'wart' disease. The Cuban doctor Carlos Juan Finlay who after long effort managed to combat the yellow fever microbe, became known throughout the continent and his theory was proved in 1900.

Literature

Although the process of Hispano-American independence obviously cannot be explained solely in terms of the action of mental and spiritual factors, it is, however, true that some of its internal causes are related to the rise of the individual conscience, the feeling of being citizens of a collective community, different from the rest.

'The literature of the revolutionary period,' wrote Coester, 'springs directly from the heart; it is a literature of circumstance, inspired by the aspirations of the fight against the mother country.' Inevitably therefore, freedom is the theme that monopolizes the writings of this first generation of patriots. The same hymn, tuned to the neo-classic style of Quintana or Arreaza, seemed to repeat itself throughout the length and breadth of Hispano-American. In Mexico, Wenceslao Apuche sang the praises of Hidalgo, and Andrés Quintana Roo was inspired by the *16 de Septiembre*. In a hymn to Bolívar José Fernández Madrid mourned the fate of Colombia. In Argentina Estéban de Luca and Fray Cayetano Rodríguez exclaimed that 'the Fatherland was a new Muse'. And in Chile Fray Camilo Henríquez transmitted republican messages in poor verse and his companion the Argentinian Bernardo Vera y Pintado won popularity with the first national anthem of Chile, sounding the call to freedom.

Voices of greater lyric purity were also heard during this patriotic period: Juan Cruz Varela took his inspiration from the progress of Rivadavia's presidency, but his poem *Elvira* is well constructed; his verse is easy, approaching the precepts of neo-classicism. In Uruguay, Francisco Acuña

de Figueroa, with *La Malambrunada* earned the title of literary mentor of the nascent fatherland.

From the as yet untapped sources of the vernacular, two cultured poets took popular rhythmic forms: Mariano Melgar, in Peru, composed 'yaravíes' of love; Bartolomé Hidalgo in Uruguay, imitating the *'cielitos'* of the *'payadores'* or wandering minstrels, led the way to *gaucho* poetry. Three representative figures are worthy of note during this period. José Joaquín de Olmedo 'undoubtedly deserves to rank as one of the three or four poets of the Hispano-American world', wrote the eminent Menédez Pelayo. A humanist, he translated Horace; a thinker, he interpreted Alexander Pope's creed of freedom; and he adapted Chateaubriand into Spanish verse. Calmly and methodically, he acquired 'the art of the splendid image and the resonant line'. He is immortalized in two poems: *A la victoria de Junín* and *Al General Flores*. They capture two moments in the history of Spanish America: the epic days of independence and the time of nationalist decay. The ode to Junín is the finest hymn of praise to Bolívar. Olmedo's poetry has moments of outstanding epic inspiration.

José María de Heredia, the wandering Cuban, composed two immortal poems, the *Ode to Niágara*, of philosophical intent, and the ode *El Teocatli de Cholula*, a tender evocation of the products of the Ibero-American soil. In spite of the vehemence of his many-sided nature, Heredia's verse always remained within the neo-classic form, seething with a wealth of image but never breaking out into self-conscious romanticism.

With Joaquín Fernández Lisardi, the Spanish American novel appears as a definite form. A journalist in Mexico, he fought for freedom, and chose this *genre* as the most effective means of diffusing his theories. In 1816 came the appearance of his novel *Periquillo Sarniento*, an unexpected phenomenon (for there was no parallel in Spain or elsewhere at that time). It reverted to the technique of the Spanish picaresque. The author intertwines within the biography of this coarse young ruffian, dressed in green parrot-coloured rags (hence his name, *papagayo*—parrot), a review of the various levels of society in Mexico. He handled with real skill the sharp thrusts of irony inherent in the very situations, but, as Arturo Torres Rioseco pointed out, his humour lacks tenderness, human sympathy and compassion. He also wrote other novels: *Doña Quijotita y su Prima*, which contains much philosophizing; *Noches Tristes*, a forerunner of romanticism, and *Don Catrin de la Fachenda*, in which he portrayed an unforgettable human type, a personage that survives.

The first republican generation witnessed an intellectual change that coincided ideologically with the general principles of the romantic movement in Europe. The American continent was ready to receive this spiritual contagion; it was not for nothing that Federico de Onis had diagnosed

'that America in itself was romantic, in the individualism of its men—

caudillos, dictators, *gauchos,* plainsmen—in the inaccessible virginity of its nature, the multiplicity of its popular manifestations and the exotic picturesqueness of its Indian and Spanish customs and traditions'.

Throughout the continent romanticism had a striking family resemblance, which made it generic, but national idiosyncrasies lent it a definite regional accent. The austerity of the early political system in Chile absorbed energy into civic and juridical tasks; Argentine pathos condoled with itself under the weight of Rosas' dictatorship; Mexican melancholy was something quite distinctive; in Uruguay, poetry wore mourning (Sunfelde); Colombia, the land of fine speech, expressed itself with philological elegance. In Peru the vestiges of festive Viceregal times lent a creole sensuality to the movement.

Romantic penetration was not a sudden process; it varied in the speed of its impact. There was no strict dividing line between the generations, for there were some undefined regions between neo-classicism that was dying and romanticism that was coming to birth. Nevertheless the all-important 'I' was supreme everywhere—the subjective world was discovered to be the spiritual home of man. The poets looked at the face of Nature 'like clairvoyants penetrating beyond the appearance of things in order to find a hidden reality'. All of them aspired towards the infinite and their scenery was generic: flowers, tombs, gardens in the moonlight, an ever-present beautiful melancholy. The landscape took on a personality. It is difficult to summarize the stages of the process. Beginning in the north, with Mexico, 'Romanticism arrived at a propitious moment'. It found its home at the Academy of Letters (1836), which had been trying for twenty years to 'Mexicanize literature', and give it a characteristic quality. Ignacio Manuel Altamirano, the moving spirit, asked poets to sing of 'their Andes, their Magdalena, their Plata'. The *Himno del Sol* takes its inspiration from native sources, but the novel proved a better instrument for romantic development. *Clemencia,* the story of the tragic adventure of the Empire of Maximilian, and Zarco, which deals with the time of the reforms of Benito Juárez, were outside the domain of romantic literature.

Ignacio Rodríquez Galván invoked the native past in his *Profesía a Guatemoc;* José Josquín Pesado sang to his beloved at early mass and his lyric poetry is full of 'inexorable tombs and lugubrious destinies'. José María Rosa in his ballads added the theme of the Nordic saga. Two fighting spirits were notably active in the movement: Guillermo Prieto and Ignacio Ramírez, whose pseudonym 'the magician' illustrates the part he played in radical ideological campaigns. The romantic movement began to die out with Manuel Acuna, whose *Nocturna* was a sentimental breviary for Spanish-American adolescents.

Turning to the Caribbean, we find in its poetry the influence of the non-conformity of colonial dependence. In Puerto Rico the movement began with the *Aguinaldo.* The poems of José Gautier Benítez take the fleeting nature of

life as their constant theme. In Cuba the poetic output was more important. The ill-fated mulatto poet Plácido (Gabriel de la Concepción Valdes) purified his verse in his *Plegaria a Dios*, written on the eve of his cruel death by burning, for the Negro cause. Gertrudos Gómez de Avellaneda lived partly in Spain and partly in Cuba, but she affirmed her Cuban spirit in the well-known sonnet *Al partir*. She had the masculine vigour and abandonment of the cultured emancipated woman. José Fornaris must also be mentioned, for in his *Cantos del Siboney* he sounded the third racial note in this poetry, that of the idealized aboriginals.

Venezuela was the centre for a certain type of landscape poetry, notable in the writings of José Antonio Martín. The pantheism of Abigaíl Lozano and José Antonio Calcano crossed the frontier to Colombia and added its note to the romantic ferment of Espronceda. José Eusebio Caro, a solitary philosophical echo, combined these rhythms with those of Quintana, Lord Byron and Lamartine in austere moral poetry. The penetrating critic Enrique Diéz Canedo affirmed that there was still much to glean from the great promise of Julio Arboleda. Gregorio Diaz González, the renowned poet of Antioquía, of great sensibility, describes agrarian toil in his original *Memoria sobre el cultivo del maíz en Antioquía*. Rafael Pombo was the love poet of Colombia. The spirit of the Andean region was expressed in Bolivia in the melancholy of María Josefa Mujía and Néstor Galindo. In Peru, among the many banners of the intellectual movement of 1848, that of poetry was raised by José Arnaldo Marquéz, Carlos Augusto Salaverri, Clemente Althaus and Juan de Arona (Pedro Paz Soldán). In Chile the important but short-lived movement of 1842 was in fact both an objective and a starting-point. The inaugural speech of José Victorino Lastarria is worth studying. Mercedes Marín de Solar, who until recently was considered a minor 'album' poet, has been vindicated by Fernando Alegríax, who writes: 'His lyricism has something austere and noble, something that confers grandeur on every object, every person mentioned in his *Canto Fúnebre*.' In the midst of much notable constructive activity the noble lives of a number of writers stand out: Eusebio Lillo, poet of the violet, the reed and the mignonette; and forming a group with him, Salvador Sanfuentes, the *costumbrista* poet of *El campanario* and the landscape poet of *Lucía*, 'an interminable love song'; Guillermo Blest Gana, poet of minor tones and Guillermo Matta, the upholder of radicalism who introduced a Germanic note into Chilean literature.

In the La Plata region history divided the path. Paraguay was dominated by anxiety for the country. The Guaraní tradition was strong both in the language and in the blood, animating the popular poems, the curious '*Compuestos*', sung by the '*arribeños*' or highland singers to the animated accompaniment of the guitar. Uruguay had its lyric poets in the persons of Carlos Gómez, unruly journalist, and Adolfo Berro, whose work is marked by outside influences. In Argentina the romantic movement struck deep. By about 1830 the spirit of the times began to take shape and spread across

frontiers in the so-called literature of the emigration. The breath of reform was brought direct from Europe by Esteban Echevarría, a key figure whose temperament expressed a combination of Utopian socialism, the creed of Mazzini and the lyricism of Byron. After his return the new ideas were disseminated at the *Etertulias*, or gatherings, held by Marcos Sastre, who worked on in silence, sad and poor. His first book, *Los Consuelos* was an innovation in its kind. *La novia del Plata* established a new theme. *La Cautiva* described *gaucho* types that became a permanent feature in literature. His poetry turned towards the pampa. His connection with the Asociación de Mayo, a patriotic organization, inspired his work *Dogma socialista*.

The accepted doctrine of Rousseau's 'noble savage', strongly evident in the sentimental prose of Chateaubriand, Sir Walter Scott's technique of the historical novel, and the serial story published in the newspaper, after the manner of Sue, are the ingredients of this genre, which, fortunately, was cultivated by writers who had the talent to give it new substance. In Cuba, Cirilo Villaverde wrote *Cecilia Valdes*. Although the plot of the novel is weak, the background provides a colourful picture of the picturesque life of the island, with its crowds dancing at public festivals or sweating at work in the sugar plantations. The heart-rending note is present in the drama of slavery and racial prejudice. In Argentina, José Marmol, a poet greatly influenced by Lord Byron, cried out in resounding verses against the tyranny of Rosas, who had him imprisoned. He made use of these experiences in his novel *Amalia* which, in the midst of its truculent episodes, contained a certain dramatic suspense that has made its interest last. The theme of the aboriginal was used without great success by the Ecuadorean writer Juan León Mera, author of *Cumandá*, and in Uruguay by Alejandro Magariños Cervantes in *Caramurú*.

The greatest example of the romantic novel in Hispanic America was *María*, by the Colombian Jorge Isaac. It is an idyll in the spirit of *Paul et Virginie* but the story of María and Efraín, its heroine and hero, who are real people, is set in the wonderful natural background of the Cauca valley. Passion and death surround their ill-starred love and there is a tenderness that moves to tears. Well-written secondary scenes add to the interest of this pathetic novel.

Turning from the immediate past, which they hated, the romantic writers discovered the colonial past and the life of the native population, the 'costumbrista'. This liking for the past and an acute sense of human psychology enabled Ricardo Palma, a citizen of Lima *par excellence*, to create a typically Hispano-American genre which prospered and developed a school. In his *Tradiciones Peruanas*, Palma, who was an erudite librarian, combining Voltairean malice with deep creole sensuality, was able to breathe life into dull chronicles, dusty records and forgotten trials, creating equivocal situations and delightfully trenchant attitudes. With a simple technique, a great deal of imagination, a grain of truth and a dose of minor untruths, he achieved

the fine touch that enabled him to portray this gallery of personages, the whole procession of the opulent days of the viceroyalty, evoked in a language that was piquant, cultured and popular, and always fluent. Rafael Obligado gave a picture of great nationalist exaltation in his *Tradiciones Argentinas*. In Chile, *costumbrismo* was directly inherited from Mariano José de Larra and its main representative was Jotabeche (José Joaquín Vallejos), who preserved for literature the strange types of miner folk from the gold-bearing region in the north of the country. Pedro Ruiz Aldea used a similar technique to describe the peasant and '*huaso*' region in the south. For their excellent artistic qualities, two memoir writers must be included: Lucio Mansilla wrote *Una Excursión a los Indios Ranqueles*. He describes frontier life and attempts to compare two types of existence, the aboriginal and the civilized, with great sympathy for the former. Vicente Perez Rosales, in Chile, an adventurer and man of action, turned up to take an intelligent look wherever there was something new and out of the ordinary. He witnessed the romantic battle at the first performance of *Hernani* in Paris; he washed gold in prodigious California. With the ease of a classical writer he relates his *Recuerdos del Pasado*, which went into innumerable editions.

It was in the Argentine Republic that folklore poetry acquired the status of a Hispano-American *chanson de geste*. Hilario Ascasubí, with his *Santos Vega*, full of unforgettable characters, was the first exponent. Estanislao del Campo relates charmingly how a *gaucho* is brought into the city life of Buenos Aires where he attends and describes a performance of the opera *Faust* at the Teatro Colón. By means of thus contrasting two worlds the author skilfully captured the attractiveness of the creole type.

But it was José Hernández who gave this kind of literary form, disdained until that time, a respected and permanent place. *El Gaucho Martín Fierro* became a legendary figure. Hernández had acquired his experience during early years spent in the small country settlement of Pedriel. His career was in the army, in government service and in journalism. He worked hard and travelled, then established himself in Buenos Aires. His immortal book came out in 1872 and was followed by *La Vuelta de Martín Fierro*. The story is very short. A *gaucho* pursued by the law returns to his place of origin; he meets his sons, and bids farewell to them, continuing his wandering life, after having transmitted to them his philosophy. The octosyllabic six-line stanzas of his melodic verse, enriched by the language of the traditional proverbs of his country, possess extraordinary movement, a lively musicality and a new message. José Hernández not only captured local colour but penetrated to the very heart of man.[10]

A series of representative figures, symbolical in the sense that Emerson was, nation-builders and diffusers of ideas, crowned the activity of this epoch.

At the beginning, the historian's eye must focus upon one of these men, who has been called without question 'the eponym of Hispano-American

culture in the century of independence': Andrés Bello, the prototype of the humanist, the conscience of Spanish America, a noble figure who recalls the majesty of Goethe. His life went through several stages, similar to those by which psychologists try to define the course of a personality. It was marked by three milestones: the determination of the purpose of his life—to live for something and strive towards something, a period which coincides with his early years in his native country, Venezuela; the decision as to the specific nature of his task and his endeavour to achieve it, that marked his years of apprenticeship in England; and the last crowning stage, his apostolate in Chile. He was brought up in Caracas, according to the habits of a moderate type of Catholicism. His classics were the Latin authors Horace and Virgil: he learnt Latin at the monastery school and through his halting reading of the *Aeneid*, which he succeeded in translating. His archetype in real life was Alexander Humboldt, who at that time was studying South American orography; the German scientist showed him his real heritage. His stay in London was a period of continuous learning, based on his reading in the British Museum. His curiosity seems to have been unbounded; he took up philology, studied the universal meaning of epic poetry in order to explain the Castilian epic, and rediscovered the delicate poetry of the Middle Ages. Bello was never erudite in the restricted sense in which the antiquarian is; his dynamic and constructive temperament led him to action. In the turmoil through which the world was passing, he sensed the coming of a new era and greeted it in his *Alocución a la Poesía*. In his *Silva a la Agricultura en la Zona Tórrida* Bello's intention was to trace the course he had fixed for himself in the realm of poetic adventure. Although he adopted a traditional form, he put new life into it by the use of felicitous images. He sought to express the essence of Spanish America through its fruits, unknown to the rest of the world, and described them in sonorous and flowing metaphors. Then came the mature years of his apostolate in Chile. He was educational adviser to the Government and first rector of the university, and was made a Chilean citizen by a special law of the Republic.

Three fundamental aspects can be distinguished in the vast quantity of his work. In the *Principios del Derecho de Gentes* (1832) he gave a model to the chancelleries of the Latin American countries concerning the legal aspects of exchanges, relationships and co-operation between them, based on an under- standing of the original nature of the problems of the young and isolated continent. *La Gramática de la Lengua Castellana* (1847) was a landmark of capital importance; it pointed the way in 'an unexplored direction', laying down a doctrine for preserving as far as possible, purity of language in Spanish American intercourse, without subjection to 'superstitious purism'. *El Código Civil* is a masterpiece in form and substance that served not only to help build the social structure of Chile on the lines of Roman classicism but was also valuable to the other republics, for imitation and adaptation to their local conditions. The bases of his skill were harmony and just proportion.

In his great intellectual work he denounced false postures and fought against shallow doctrines, and his voice rang out in clear and authentic tones in the epoch of exaltation in which he had happened to live.

In contrast to the calm humanistic attitude of Andrés Bello, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento presents the picture of the urgent, impetuous rebel reformer who hopes for immediate results. His biography is characteristic. Born in San Juan (Argentina), he was self-educated, learning whilst teaching. On account of his turbulent activities as an unitarist in conflict with the *caudillos*, he fled the country. On his return in 1837 he founded a literary society with similar aims to those of the Asociación de Mayo. In 1840 he came to Chile for the second time. The period up to 1851 was one of very significant creative work. His outstanding work *Facundo* was published in Valparaiso. He travelled in Europe and the United States on a mission entrusted to him by President Montt. His friendship with the great teacher Horacio Mann renewed his faith in democratic education. He settled in Buenos Aires, entered politics, and continued his writing. He became President of the Republic, a function which he performed with great skill from 1868 to 1874. His literary work falls into several distinct periods. The possessive romantic ego of his Chilean years became merged into the 'we' of the fatherland, in the group of the 1880s, the period of his mature years. His stature as a thinker and writer is shown in *Facundo*. It is a strange book, that tells of civilization and barbarianism and gives a vivid and disorderly picture of a teeming world of ideas and artistic talent. It contains a description of the physical world of the pampa and a typology of the human characters it contains, together with an attempt to provide a sociological explanation for the history of *caudillismo* based on the idea of the opposition between town and country. 'Less European than he believed himself to be, more gaucho than he thought', Sarmiento did not succeed in clarifying his doctrine; the romantic had to face up to the positivism that was beginning to get the upper hand. His autobiographical work *Recuerdos de Provincia* gives us a glimpse of his gentleness of heart. His prose is unequal, sometimes incorrect, but pithy, vivacious and fluent, with some passages of stylistic perfection.

His compatriot Juan Bautista Alberdi was the member of the Asociación de Mayo who dealt with 'philosophical and social matters'. 'My writings,' he said, 'are actions, not literary works.' He wrote his fruitful book *Bases para la Constitución Argentina* in that kind of easy, functional style. It relates the history of Spanish America to that of Europe and seeks a formula by which the latter could make use of the basic principle of freedom, for which it was not yet prepared.

In Chile, José Victorino Lastarria was the leader of liberal thought. His philosophy shows the influence of Comte and Buckle and is full of anti-Spanish fervour. *Los Recuerdos Literarios* are an evocation of the period. Francisco Bilbao, an unrepentant romantic, provoked scandals with his work *Sociabilidad Chilena.*

The many stages in the wandering life of the Equadorean Juan Montalvo make up a single story: the fight for freedom. His journalistic writings in *El Cosmopolita* contain his campaign against the enigmatic dictator García Moreno, *Las Catilinarias*, in pamphlet style, his outbursts against the tyrant Veintimilla. But in addition to being a fighting writer he had the merit of being one of the most excellent prose writers of the nineteenth century in the Spanish language. Anderson Imbert calls him a writer with a desire for style. In his nature work, *Los Siete Ensayos*, the prose flows along melodiously, interspersed with unexpected verbal images that shine out against the classic background. His profound knowledge of language led him to continue the story of Don Quixote, in an 'attempt to imitate an inimitable book'.

The burning questions of the Caribbean found a continental interpreter in the person of the Puerto Rican Eugenio María Hostos. His writing was serious and formal in style, and he attempted all literary forms. His essay on Hamlet announced a literary manner which he did not continue. In the *Peregrinación de Bayoan*, he gives a romantic diary of his patriotic ambitions, in novelistic form. In his *Moral Social* he was the philosopher of duty and experience.

The artistic trend of this period began with a stage of changing emphasis which the French critic René Huyghe defined in the following terms: 'The European hegemony ceased to be political; it became cultural and took on a new aspect.'

The immediate aesthetic heritage was the neo-classic style. When the Bourbons succeeded the Austrians on the Spanish throne at the beginning of the eighteenth century, they introduced French tendencies into Spain. The Academy of San Fernando, founded for the purpose of diffusing neo-classic doctrines, stimulated an official type of art, colourless and erudite, that killed the almost intuitive achievements of the baroque.

The prestige of officialdom, stimulated by viceroys and governors, was soon felt throughout the continent. The Academy of San Carlos, opened in 1785 in Mexico, produced pictorial religious works under the direction of Rafael Ximeno. A more dynamic personality in that country was the Valencian Manuel Tolsa; he, and Matías Maestre in Peru and, in Chile, the Italian Joaquín Toesca from Rome, were the great creators of the neo-classic architecture in the last years of the Spanish régime.

At this time Pedro García Aguirre had an art school in Guatemala. Colombia made use of the members of the scientific expedition of José Celestino Mutis to instigate the teaching of a new type of technique. José del Pozo, a Sevillan painter, left Marespina's expedition and established a faculty of painting in Lima. In Chile Manuel de Salas instituted the Academy of San Luis, and Manuel Belgrano, another progressive spirit, opened a similar school in Buenos Aires.

The early republican artists came to work in this academy atmosphere. They despised the baroque forms that had led to the building of pretentious buildings everywhere; they fought against what in South America was called

'*quiteñismo*' in sculpture and '*cuzqueño*' art in painting. It was only in Mexico in the schools at smaller centres that the popular sap continued to rise and bear fruit. A more profound renaissance was caused by the arrival of travelling painters, attracted to Hispanic America by the romantic urge, in search of exotic sensations. These included some pugnacious temperaments as well as skilled teachers, who transformed the content of the teacher and acted as stimulants. Most of them were disciples of David, the dictator of painting in France, and they brought with them an aesthetic message based on balance and eurhythmics that they believed they had found by contact with classic models.

The response to these new stimuli varied according to the national pattern of the different countries. In Mexico, at the Academy of San Carlos, Pelegrín Clave prolonged the neo-classic form; but his pupils were numerous and distinguished. Juan Cordero obtained a prize in Rome for his picture *The Redeemer and the Adulterous Woman*; and Salvador Toscano showed good technique as a portrait painter, as did also Santiago Rebull. In sculpture, Manuel Villar made statues of the founding father. In Cuba the European influence made itself felt through the work of the Italian José Perovani and the Frenchmen Hippolyte Garneray and Jean Baptiste Wernay, disciples of David. Thanks to them the Academy of San Alejandro began a period of animated existence. In Venezuela the transition was less brusque and can be observed in the miniatures of Peregrino Malcampo, which were of authentic colonial style. Cornelio Fernández was the painter of Bolívar. As early as 1839 Antonio José Carranza gave painting lessons. In Ecuador, which had been one of the most active centres of baroque art, these age-old traditions blended with the new spirit in the person of Antonio Salas, who became the dominant figure. Other artists of note were Manuel Manosalva and Luis Cadena, who painted the picture *Los Generales de Bolívar* and later went abroad to continue his studies. In Chile, where portrait painting had been cultivated by the attractive personality José Gil de Castro, a Peruvian mulatto, chronicler of the independence, it progressed in the hands of three foreign painters of talent: Charles Wood, the English aquarelle painter, who was an engineer and teacher at the Instituto Nacional, and Juan Mauricio Rugendas, of Augsburg, who resided for a long time in Chile, after sensational journeys in Brazil, Mexico, Peru, Bolivia and Argentina. It was he who discovered the aesthetic beauty of the popular customs and was the precursor of the nationalist school. By contrast, R. Monvoisin, a pupil of Guerin, excelled in portrait painting and filled the collections of the highest aristocracy. But it was the strict Neapolitan painter Alejandro Cicarelli who opened the Santiago Academy in 1849 and whose disciplined teaching formed a whole generation. The school of sculpture (1853) produced more successful results: three artists from its studios even won success abroad: Nicanor Plaza, with his statue of the Indian chief Caupolicán, J. M. Blanco with his *Tambour in Repose* and Virginio Arias, whose symbolic group *La Quimera* was praised by Paris

critics. In Argentina there were several artists of value who had travelled in the Hispano-American continent: Jean Philippe Goulu, Jean León Palliere and Carlos Enrique Pellegrinni, who paved the way for interesting successors.

Around 1850 the polemic began in Hispanic America between the supporters of academic art and the fiery romantic youth. There was already a greater knowledge of art, thanks to the mechanical systems that produced engraving. Lithography was introduced into Mexico by Claudio Linati, into Cuba by Leandro Barañao, into Argentina by Donville and Baclé, into Chile by Lebas and into Peru by Evaristo San Cristóbal. The introduction of daguerreotype and later photography helped to make art more widely known. Romantic painting expressed itself mainly in three genres: historical painting, costumbrista and landscape. Historical painting found an easy path on the Hispano-American continent, still over-excited by the warlike events of the independence movement. Its first exponent in Venezuela was Celestino Martínez, but his talent was eclipsed by the most representative of its type, Martín Tobar y Tobar. There were contradictory tendencies in his art, but the imprint of Madrázo was decisive. He painted the enormous canvases of the signing of the Act of Independence and the dramatic interpretation of the battle of Carabobo. Peru had two fine representatives of this pictorial form. Ignacio Marino, a pupil of Paul de Laroche and Monvoisin, worked as a book illustrator whilst preparing his important pictures, which earned him a triumph at the Paris *salon*. Among the most important are *Colon en la Rábida* and *El descubrimiento del Pacifico*. Luis Montero took up another aspect of South American history, the story of the aboriginals, in his melodramatic evocation of *Los funerales de Atahualpa*.

The *costumbrista* genre was not less important than the historical. Some of its exponents came from popular art, for instance José Guadalupe, in Mexico. Others used European technique. Victor Patricio Landaluze depicted scenes of the Havana carnival, saving from oblivion the figure of the *guajiro* and other popular types. With similar intention Ramón Torres Mendez made sketches of the life of the Colombian people round 1830. His famous picture *El Torbellino* is a graphic representation of the spirit of the popular dance. The *costumbrista* painting of Joaquín Pinto in Ecuador has a less wide range. In Pancho Fierro, Peru possessed a caricaturist with strokes of genius. His aquarelles, slightly reminiscent of Goya, are an animated series of scenes of life in Lima. The talent of the Basque Juan Manuel Bosnes in Uruguay and Carmelo Fernández in Venezuela was similar.

The rapid sketches of these painters, slight yet significant, were a prelude to the talented *costumbrista* painting of Prilidiano Pueyrredon in Argentina and Manuel Antonio Caro in Chile. Pueyrredon, who was exiled for political reasons, studied with Vicente López in Spain. He was known as a portrait painter but his main reputation rests on his evocation of the Argentine pampa. His *gaucho* figures are original in the contrast they show between objective realism and an atmosphere of poetry.

Manuel Antonio Caro studied in Paris, and on his return the nationalist content of his dynamic pictures caused surprise at the 1872 *salon*: *La Zamacueca*, a psychological study of the Chilean national dance, and *El Velorio*, the description of a popular funeral custom. For lack of inducement Caro soon abandoned the *costumbrista* genre for protrait painting.

Strangely enough, landscape painting was the last genre to be taken up in Hispano-America. Although they lived in a setting of extraordinary beauty, neither poets nor painters had felt its attraction until they were influenced by European romanticism. José María Velasco, in Mexico, animated his painting with landscapes from the Anahuac valley. Francisco Lazo, in Peru, combined the natural background of the sierra with Indian *costumbrismo* in his *Pascana*. Antonio Smith, in Chile, had a pantheistic feeling for the landscape of the Andes, along the slopes of the Valle Central.

At the end of the century, the other romantics found their point of contention in the influence of a new artistic position, the realism that had triumphed in Europe. It gave rise to a complex movement, of eclectic tendency, and the absence of a creative attitude led to the introduction of a great variety of elements. The true realism of Courbet was long in coming, but that of Fortuni, Bastien-Lepage and Jean-Paul Laurens was visible.

Art had now full scope for development. The State tried to stimulate it by a methodical system for sending pupils abroad. Museums were opened and private collections gave work to painters who were protected by art patrons. The number of artists increased considerably. Every country had representatives of this transitional school. Venezuela had the trilogy consisting of Arturo Michelena, a versatile spirit who loved subjects from antiquity, as shown in his picture of Pentisilea, queen of the Amazons, Cristóbal Rojas, who provided the religious note, in his *Purgatorio*, and Tito Salas, who decorated Bolívar's house.

Costumbrista realism had its roots in Spain, as is evident in the work of Roberto Pizano, the disciple of Sorolla and Epifanio Garay, the portraitist of the times. Peru had an artist of international reputation in the same style, Carlos Baca Flores, the painter of the Morgan family. Artistic life was intense in Chile, under the outstanding direction of the true master Pedro Lira, who grouped many artists around him. Lira prepared the way for the outburst of artistic activity that marked the movement at the end of the century, known through the names of Alfredo Valenzuela Puelma and Alberto Valenzuela Manos. In the River Plate region realism produced two outstanding figures, the Uruguayan Juan Manuel Blanes, who painted the dramatic picture *Episodios de la Fiebre Amarilla* (Yellow Fever Episodes) and Eduardo Síveri, who caused a scandal in Buenos Aires in 1887 with his painting *Despertar de la Sirviente* (The Maid's Awakening).

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the theatre followed the path of the other intellectual and artistic activities we have summarized and

became a vehicle for telling the people the truth about the fight for freedom in which the continent was engaged. For this purpose, the works of the neo-classical repertory of Metastasio were interpolated with lengthy patriotic speeches and this anti-colonial reaction was made evident in some countries by speeches against customs of Spanish origin such as bullfighting, cock-fighting, etc. This declamatory expression of civic consciousness marked the theatrical works that have come down to us from that period. The drama of Luis Vargas Tejeda, *Sugamuxi* (1819), and *Huatimozin* (1824) of José Fernández Madrid, in Colombia, and *Camila*, the South American woman patriot, of Camilo Henríquez in Chile (1817), served the same purpose.

The arrival of foreign theatrical companies, the reading of translations of the dramas of Victor Hugo and Alexandre Dumas and the presentation of the Spanish romantic works of the Duque de Rivas and García Gutiérrez, took the theatre into new paths. Perhaps the first milestone in theatrical romanticism was the drama *Muñoz, Visitor to Mexico*, of Ignacio Rodríguez Galván. His compatriot Fernando Calderón disdained national realism as a subject and, under the influence of Walter Scott, looked to the Middle Ages for the background of his work *Hernán o la Vuelta del Cruzado* (Hernan, or the Return of the Crusade). In Cuba the theatre had eminent writers like Gertrudis Gómez de Avellaneda, authoress of the biblical drama *Baltazar*, regarded as a masterpiece of the period. José Jacinto Milanes became known with the performance of his work *El Conde Alarcos* in 1838. Other works of note were *Una víctima de Rosas* by Francisco Acha (1851) and *Camila O'Gorman* by Heraclio Fajardo (1856) of Uruguay. The performance of *Los Amores de un Poeta* by Carlos Bello in 1842 was considered to mark the beginning of romanticism in the drama in Chile.

The artificiality of this type of theatre, with its endeavour to copy European style was compensated by the *costumbrista* freshness of the Peruvian dramatist Manuel Ascencio Segura. His amusing satire *El Sargento Canuto* was based on his own experience as a soldier. Later he put the customs of Lima on the stage in *La Saya y el Manto* (1842) and *Las Tres Viudas* (1862). *Costumbrista* nationalism began in Argentina with the performance of *Juan Mereira* by José Podestá, a pantomime that served as a pointer to theatrical art in that country.

Music in Spanish America

In the republican period in Hispanic America music played a civic and recreational role and only on rare occasions did creative imagination produce works of merit.

A liking for music seems to have been especially characteristic of Hispanic America and present in all classes of society. The ordinary people were proud of their typical dances and made them symbolize the national mentality. The lists of regional names in the 'choreographic geography' of the countries is interminable (*jarabes, tamborcillos, bambucos, zamacuecas, cielitos,* etc.); all

are amorous in style, danced in open pairs and with rapid rhythmic move-
ments, accelerated by flourishes on the guitar and refrains in verse.

Whereas the popular dances were only heard on festival days, in the open,
the wealthy classes practised more refined forms in their drawing-rooms.
The eighteenth-century quadrille was danced ceremoniously and was fol-
lowed by waltzes, mazurkas, redowas, etc., the trend of fashion in the dance
introduced new forms.

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, drawing-room gatherings
where the piano had replaced the creole guitar became permanent societies
devoted to the methodical performance of music. The 'philharmonic societies'
(Argentina 1825, Chile 1826, Montevideo 1827, Venezuela 1829, Mexico
1850) had a decisive influence in the various countries. Their permanent
activities included the organization of concerts which, thanks to the presence
of foreign virtuosos such as Thalberg, García, Herz and Gottschalk, won
public favour and a place among the customary entertainments of society.
Government action made itself felt in the creation of military bands whose
object was to awake patriotic feeling and civic enthusiasm with the sound of
national anthems and marches, which were very popular in that optimistic
and forward-looking period.

Composers of this period had a triple sphere of inspiration and teaching:
they were usually choirmasters in churches and cathedrals, directors of the
first orchestras and writers of the national anthems. Each country had its
own noteworthy figures, which include Cayetano Carreño, José Gallardo and
José Landaeta in Venezuela; José María Carrasco in Mexico; José Bernardo
Alcedo in Peru; José Zapiola in Chile; Juan Agustín Guerrero in Ecuador;
Juan Pedro Esnaela in Argentina and Antonio Saenz and Francisco José
Debali in Uruguay.

By the middle of the century specialized institutions were coming into
existence, which gave professional instrumental teaching. These schools of
music (Venezuela 1849, Chile 1851, Mexico 1877, Ecuador 1870, Argentina
1893) trained the professionals who took the place of the amateurs of the
preceding period. Some crossed their national frontiers and shone on the
cosmopolitan scene. The pianists Federico Guzmán of Chile and Teresa
Carreño of Venezuela, who followed Gottschalk's inspiration, were acclaimed
in Europe and the United States. The Cuban violinist José White, after a
brilliant career, had the honour of succeeding Allard as professor at the
Paris Conservatoire. Claudio Brindis de Salas and Rafael Díaz, both of
Cuba, and Josefina Filomeno, of Chile, were his followers.

In the middle of the century an overpowering influence changed the
trend of Hispano-American music and directed it towards the theatre. This
was due to the rise of lyric forms such as Spanish opera and zarzuela, but
mainly Italian opera, which absorbed artistic activity. Rossini, Bellini,
Donizetti and Verdi became the successive idols of the romantic generation
and in their honour theatres and opera houses were built in the main cities,

and *bel canto* aroused enthusiasm and passion. Clever theatrical managers attracted visits from these lyric artists and even society ladies did not disdain taking part in the performances.

In Mexico opera aroused the interest of some composers of merit. Ceonobio Paniagua staged his *Catalina de Guisa* and Luis Baca his *Leonora*. Melesio Morales, with better technique and greater refinement of ideas, came to the fore with *Romeo y Julieta* (1863), *Indegonda* (1866) which was performed in Florence, and *Cleopatra*. In addition to romantic historical themes, dramas were written based on national patriotic history, as was the case with Aniceto Ortega, who wrote strange marches, vernacular in style for his short lyric drama *Huatimozín*, perhaps faintly reminiscent of Spontini's *Hernán Cortes*. Cuba, which was the point of entry of the Spanish *zarzuela* into Hispano-America, also possesses some lyric artists of importance. The operas of Gaspar Villate were played in Madrid, Florence and The Hague: *Zilia* (Paris 1877), *Baldesarre* (1885) and *La Zarina* (1888). In Colombia José María Ponce de León, author of the biblical drama *Ester* (1874), wrote in this genre. In Chile Aquinas Ried tried to impose opera in Spanish in his work *La Telésfera* (1846) but his example was not followed. The Italian tradition was resumed by Eleodoro Ortíz de Zarate in his *Elorista de Lugano* (1895). The fascination of the lyric form led some interesting feminine personalities to take up *bel canto*. The Mexican soprano Angela Peralta roused enormous enthusiasm among opera lovers with her interpretation of *Lucía di Lammermoor*. María Luisa Correa de Tagle and Isabel Martínez Escalante of Chile sang with foreign lyric companies.

At the end of the century chamber music and concert music came to the fore as an artistic activity of importance among more restricted circles, groups of intellectuals who cultivated classical and romantic music. This generation kept to methodical principles in its compositions and succeeded in overcoming the technical imperfections of the dilettantes. A small active group existed in every country. In Chile Isidora Zegers de Huneus and Federico Guzmán represented, respectively, the influence of Rossini and the romantic imprint of Chopin. In Argentina the generation of 1880 was represented by Francisco Hargreaves and Arturo Beruti. In Cuba the original rhythms of the *habanera* inspired Manuel Saumell, Ignacio Cervantes and José White.

Hispanic America and the world

In our opinion, there are three events which determine the international position of Hispanic America at the beginning of the century. They are: the recognition of independence, thanks to the policy of the British Prime Minister Robert Canning; the Declaration of President Monroe in his message of December 1823, putting up a barrier against European claims; and lastly, the conciliatory attitude of the Roman Pontificate in recognizing, through Popes Pius VIII and Gregory XV, the moral right of peoples to

self-determination, which brought peace to the Catholic conscience, disturbed by the Hispanophile reaction of the clergy.

From 1836 onwards, the year in which Spain formally recognized the independence of Mexico, Hispano-American diplomacy developed its relations on three fronts. First, with Europe, dominated at that time by the reactionary powers of the Holy Alliance; second, with the United States, the country of the American continent that had attained its economic and political majority; and third, its inter-American relations, that is, the cultivation of friendship between the republics that recognized themselves to be brothers by their identity of race, language, religion and customs.

Between 1835 and 1856 relations between Hispanic America and England were conditioned by Anglo-American rivalry. England took part in the life of the American continent through some small colonies in the Antilles. This position aroused conflict at some geographical points of contact. The main ones were the so-called Mosquito Coast and British Honduras, in central America, where continuous disputes occurred throughout the century, ending in 1895 with the abandonment of these imperialistic claims. In South America, the need for Britain to keep open the commercial routes led to the outbreak of the conflict with Argentina in the time of Rosas. Obstinate resistance led to the so-called blockade of the River Plate, which lasted from 1845 to 1847, ending with victory for the nationalist persistence of the Argentine people. Nevertheless, there has remained ever since a diplomatic question mark as to the status of the Falkland or Malvinas Islands that the Argentine Chancellery insistently claims as one of the territories belonging to the River Plate Viceroyalty, a possession sanctioned by various international treaties between Spain and England. In Venezuela, the small fringe formed by British Guiana has also been the object of difficult controversies. The frontier line was not recognized by the Government of Venezuela and caused the rupture of diplomatic relations in 1887, brought to an end by the arbitration of President Cleveland in 1895. In the course of the nineteenth century England's relations with the Hispano-American countries were fruitful from the commercial point of view. London was the financial market where most of the national loans were arranged.

Relations with France were more dramatic during this century. Mexico was the scene of French attempts to penetrate the continent during the time of Napoleon III. Imperialistic attempts began in 1838 with the picturesque incident known as the War of the Pastels. To collect the plunder of a revolutionary raid, the French fleet took up position outside the port of Vera Cruz in April 1838. Fortunately the friendly intervention of other countries made possible the renewal of relations. France had a very important cultural influence on the literary awakening of Hispanic America and Paris was the obligatory Mecca of students throughout the century.

Relations with Spain in the nineteenth century are marked by a long process of readjustment, the difficult course from colonial status to the

renewal of international reciprocity on a level of legal equality. Spanish diplomacy was complicated by various attempts at reconquest, such as Isidro Barrada's expedition to Mexico (1839), and the attempt of General Juan José Flores, adventures that ended in failure. The so-called war with Spain (1864-6) in which distressing events occurred, such as the bombing of Callao and Valparaiso, left burning resentment in the Hispano-American mind. But the obstinate refusal to grant independence to Cuba and the bloody conflict between 1868 and 1889 was certainly the most important factor in weakening the traditional ties. However, the community of origin succeeded in overcoming the misunderstandings. It is true that as a result of the process of independence there was a furore of anti-Spanish feeling on the Hispano-American continent in the early years of the century. Francisco Bilbao went so far as to say that in order to start out on the path of progress Spanish America must 'de-hispanicize' itself. This attitude tended to disappear at the end of the period and to be replaced by the doctrine of Hispanophilism, a formula for binding together the peoples of Spanish origin to face the advancing industrial civilization of the United States.

Another prominent idea that received much attention among intellectuals was the principle of the confederation or union of the Hispano-American countries. The Panama Congress of 1826, convened by Bolívar, ended in failure, but the supporters of the doctrine continued their ideological campaign. In addition to the development of the theory, some countries, faced with external dangers close at hand, tried to achieve such a union. The Congress of Lima in 1847 brought together representatives from Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and Chile, whose countries desired to lay down a basis for joint action. The continental treaty signed in 1856 spoke of 'the great American family', and the same topics were discussed at the Congress of Lima in 1864 and the meeting of jurists in 1889.

Relations between the United States and the Spanish-speaking countries went through different stages as the importance of the North American republic increased. Intercontinental ties developed on two levels: one based on interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, the other on the integral unitarist movement known as Pan-Americanism. The Monroe Doctrine (2 December 1823) was, *in fine*, a prohibition issued by the Government of the United States to the countries of Europe, to forestall any possible political intervention on their part. Out of these declarations there arose a philosophy based on the idea of the originality of America in comparison with the other continents. In its early years (1823-45) the doctrine followed the contingencies of United States policy and was rarely put forward as a continental principle. Territorial expansion, with the unpleasant events of the separation of Texas and the war against Mexico, led to an amplification of the doctrine. This first corollary, linked to the name of President James Polk, went through difficult times. The doctrine seemed to lose vitality during the 1860s. The Spanish reconquest of Santo Domingo, the foundation of the French Empire

of Maximilian and the war with Spain, took place in open contradiction to its international principles. This can be partially explained by the fact of the internal crisis in the United States during the war of North against South.

At the end of the century the doctrine was brought into play on several occasions; for instance, when President Cleveland opposed the sale of Venezuelan territories to England. Cuban independence in 1898 gave vitality to its Americanist feeling.

Latin American reaction to the doctrine has also passed through different stages. In 1823 it was greeted as 'the gospel of the new continent and a benefit to all humanity' (Camilo Henríquez). As the republics progressed and economic problems became more acute, it was confused with the policy of intervention and imperialism that historians have called 'dollar diplomacy'. This interpretation is due to the protection given by the United States to their financial investments, the demands for the repayment of loans by undertakings that had gone bankrupt, the control exercised over certain articles and territorial concessions. Hispano-American reactions led to the rise of certain doctrines of an international nature, a notable example being that of the Argentine jurist Carlos Calvo, author of the treatise *Derecho International Teórico y Práctico* (1868). This book contains the genesis of the South American doctrine known by the name of the Argentine Minister for Foreign Relations, Luís María Drago, who declared in 1902 that no government should resort to armed force to secure the collection of debts.

The second aspect of intercontinental relations is to be found in Pan-Americanism, designed to strengthen the bonds of solidarity between all the countries from Canada to the Antarctic, above differences of language, national characteristics and religion. Its foundations were laid by Francisco Miranda in 1790, when he submitted to United States Minister Hamilton the draft of a constitution to be valid for the whole continent. Henry Clay, in the United States, declared himself in favour of a free human league between Americans. The practical work was done by James O. Blaine, under whose auspices, between the years 1882 and 1889, measures were taken that led to the realization of this idea, mature in the atmosphere of the times. The first Pan-American Conference met in Washington on 2 October 1889 and was attended by 18 countries. The most important of the agreements was the creation of a related body, the Pan-American Union, with headquarters in Washington. The programme established was very wide in scope: codification of laws, health activities, professional exchanges, the arbitration problem, etc.[11]

As the Hispanic states emerged and took their place within the category of independent sovereign nations, they adopted the vague boundaries that had been fixed by royal letters patent in colonial times. Juridically the principle of *uti possidetis*, the legitimate owner, was accepted. But the inexact delimitation of the frontiers contained within it the seed of discord and war. These 'zones of friction' were, mainly, the following: In the River Plate estuary, a

channel from a point north-east of Buenos Aires to the extremity of the estuary; the region on the right bank of the River Paraguay, in the Chaco; the sources of the Orinoco River on the Colombian-Venezuelan frontier; the common frontier between Colombia, Ecuador and Peru; the northern frontier of Chile; the dividing line between Guatemala and Honduras. These zones of friction became the nerve centres of Hispano-American diplomacy. Aggravated by economic problems and extreme nationalistic policy, a series of conflicts broke out at these points and retarded the normal growth of some of the countries. The most important conflicts were: the war between Brazil, Uruguay and Argentina between 1825 and 1828. War broke out again in these regions between 1843 and 1852. Even more violent was the war in Paraguay between 1864 and 1870, with the terrible battle of Humantia, in which over 100,000 people were killed. In the Pacific area the most important conflict was that between Chile, Bolivia and Peru from 1879 to 1883. In spite of these violent means of seeking solutions, the Hispano-American peoples resorted more often than those of other continents to international arbitration as a means of settling boundary disputes. Generally speaking, the principle of balance may be said to have been what maintained the continental structure during this period. Spanish America's coming of age in international affairs dates from 1889, the year in which it took its seat for the first time at the International Court at The Hague.

Constitutional development

The chronological stages we have outlined in the political evolution of Hispanic America are distinguishable against a background of development towards stable régimes allowing the regular functioning of democratic systems, the goal to which all the countries aspired. The era of *caudillismo* saw the triumph of nationalist feeling, stirred up by providential figures who spoke in the name of race and land; in the second stage, that of strong governments, this idealism was somewhat moderated and political activity began to turn towards technical and economic problems. Lastly, at the end of the century, there began to be signs of what we might call constitutional stability, though it was limited in some republics. This was a difficult step, in that the will to power had to struggle against the circumstances of the times, the social structure still retaining undeniable traits of colonialism.

The democratic system was only able to prosper in republics where education had spread, where a free economy opened up possibilities of action and progress, within a society unhampered by restrictions based on race or privilege. In matters of law there was manifest progress. Political equality had been recognized in all Hispano-American legislation; the infamous custom of slavery had disappeared, as had also the social distinctions, the titles of nobility and the system of the *Mayorazgos* or family estates. Nevertheless, class differences were still obvious at a glance. Political authority was exercised by a ruling class, jealous of its prerogatives, and in some countries it had a

keen sense of politics and power. The Argentine agrarian patriarchy and the *pelucón* ('Bigwig') structure in Chile contributed effectively to national economic development.

The middle class began to emerge, in the form of small groups trained in the discipline of work or the bureaucratic and intellectual atmosphere of the towns. It was a weak intermediary strata, without pride of class, and tending to become incorporated in the class above. It was only in those countries in which the immigratory movement reached considerable proportions that the middle class began to develop political consciousness.

The situation of the working class was precarious. The excessively long hours of work—twelve to fourteen—caused overwhelming physical attrition. Food was insufficient, workers' housing accommodation almost non-existent and the wages system at the mercy of the law of supply and demand. By the end of the century the proletariat, influenced by foreign ideologies, began to take up a position, as the progress of industries altered their habits. Attempts at Utopian socialism began to be known, especially after the French Revolution of 1848, and in several countries there arose societies concerned with promoting equality, and workers' confraternities, artisan groups, trade union organizations, etc., which formed nuclei of resistance. The influence of the Catholic doctrines of St Vincent de Paul was visible in some countries. Anarchist doctrine had a strong impact and led to the establishment of the *Regional Argentina* (*Fora*) in 1907 and the socialist party, which adhered to the Second International.

The setting had changed. Latin America, definitely agrarian and rural at the beginning of the century, was beginning to be urban and even cosmopolitan in some parts. The development of the towns was extraordinary. The figures given by the historian John J. Johnson are eloquent proof of this. Montevideo tripled its population between 1887 and 1914, and the same happened to Buenos Aires in the 22 years following 1895. In the same period the city of Córdoba doubled. The population of Santiago, Chile, which was 250,000 in 1890, rose to 333,000 by 1907; and the figures for Mexico City rose from 333,000 to 470,000. This urban influx, which made some capitals into real metropolitan centres, also occurred in large numbers of towns, for instance in Colombia. Important ports grew up (Buenos Aires, Montevideo, Valparaiso, Callao, Vera Cruz, etc.), dealing with a large volume of goods.

These urban centres were modern in style. In architecture, adobe was replaced by brick and lime and by cement structures, built mainly in the French style. Governments erected imposing edifices for public offices, courts of justice, museums, etc. Municipal authorities were very active. The introduction of gas for lighting in 1850 and the new era that began in 1890 with electricity altered national life.

Social clubs brought about a refinement of social intercourse and there were many theatrical and operatic performances. By the end of the century

the cinema was to lead to the democratization of entertainment. Sport also made its appearance as a recreation for the masses.

Most of the Hispano-American countries did not adopt the formula of the unitarist republic, but followed the federative system: Mexico from 1834 to 1836 and then from 1857 onwards, Argentina from 1853, Venezuela from 1864 and Colombia from 1863 to 1886.

This type of constitutional organization was one of the first attempts at republican government. As Andrew N. Cleven points out, the first example was that of Haiti in 1805, a movement which took real root in 1811. The early model was the Spanish constitution of Cadiz of 1812, but details were adapted to suit national particularities. In all cases the three powers of the State were carefully divided. The peak of constitutional enthusiasm (Mexico 1814, Venezuela 1811, Peru 1821, Bolivia 1826, Chile 1811, Argentina 1811) was followed by the ups and downs of a more realistic policy, and models were worked out which still form the structural basis of the countries, even though substantially amended. The constitutions of Chile (1833), Uruguay (1830), Paraguay (1844), Argentina (1853), Peru (1860), Ecuador (1861) and Mexico (1857) are characteristic.

A typical characteristic of most of them was the predominance of a strong executive (president), modelled on the United States system. His term of office varied from four to six years. He was the chief of the Armed Forces, and the political leader, being free to choose his ministers, and was responsible for international affairs. This authority could be increased by the assumption of extraordinary powers, the establishment of a state of siege, during which constitutional guarantees were suspended. The legislative power was in the hands of Parliament (Congress, National Congress, National Assembly, Constitutional Congress, Congress of Deputies). The two-chamber system predominated. Only Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Panama had a single-chamber Congress. Parliament held office for two to five years, being partially renewed by elections for the Senate. The system only functioned regularly in certain countries, the main ones being Chile, Costa Rica and Argentina. These authorities were elected by direct or indirect democratic vote. There were various electoral systems, from that based on property or assessment, to universal suffrage, although the number of voters remained small, as proof of being able to read and write was required. The judicial power was independent and was based on a graded system of courts of justice. Municipal authority followed the Spanish traditions more closely; for a time the system of the autonomous municipality was tried out in Chile.

Juridical life in the various countries was governed by the precepts of the Civil Code, modelled on the Napoleonic Code. This system was adopted by Bolivia (1830), Venezuela (1862), Uruguay (1868), Argentina (1869), Chile 1851), Mexico (1870), Colombia (1875), Guatemala (1877), El Salvador

(1880), Costa Rica (1866). Some of these codifications are masterpieces of jurisprudence. The Chilean Civil Code, written by Andrés Bello, is a model of its kind. Dámaso Véliz Sarfield in Argentina, Tristán Narvaja in Uruguay and Antonio Martínez de Castro in Mexico were outstanding in this fruitful work. All these codes laid down the same fundamental principles. Equality before the law was established; the family was governed by canon law, marriage being monogamous and indissoluble. The father was the head of the family, legitimacy of birth was the strict rule for inheritance. The right to property and the protection of private activity was recognized. These codes were based on juridical tradition, and conceived as part of a rationalist philosophy.

Commercial codes were also drawn up to govern trade (Bolivia 1834, Costa Rica 1853, Venezuela 1862, Chile 1865, Uruguay 1866, Colombia 1869 and 1873, Argentina 1862, Nicaragua 1869, Guatemala 1877, El Salvador 1882, Ecuador 1882, Mexico 1889).

The third form of juridical activity was the introduction of penal codes (Peru 1862, Venezuela 1863, Mexico 1871, Chile 1874, Costa Rica 1880, El Salvador 1881, Santo Domingo 1884, Argentina 1886, Uruguay 1889, Guatemala 1889, Colombia 1890, Paraguay 1890) (dates given by Pedro Henríquez Ureña).

All these reforms were accompanied by the awakening of a public conscience that expressed itself freely in the numerous periodicals, giving voice to the anxieties of the times. Some of them acquired decisive importance as organs of information and culture. In Chile, *El Mercurio*, founded in Valparaiso in 1827, in Peru, *El Comercio* of Lima (1839), and in Buenos Aires *La Prensa* (1869) and *La Nación* (1870).

A multiplicity of events filled the historical life of Hispanic America in this period of democratic evolution, among them the appearance of two new republics to join the Hispano-American group: Cuba and Panama.

The feeling for independence had been very much alive in Cuba since the beginning of the nineteenth century. The work of the secret societies came into the open in 1830 under the emblem of the black eagle. There were also attempts at invasion from some of the continental republics, such as that of the unfortunate Venezuelan Narciso López in 1849. Although they failed, the national conscience was aroused. In 1868, under the leadership of Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, with the cry of 'Yara!', the ten years' war began (1868–73). A constitution was adopted, slaves were emancipated and a national army organized under the command of Ignacio Agramonte. Unfortunately the Spanish forces of General Arsenio Martínez Campos re-established the ties of dependence. In 1895 insurrection broke out again, under the spiritual leadership of the great Cuban José Martí, with Antonio Macedo, Máximo Gómez and Calixto García as his dynamic executants. Again Spanish repression under General Valeriano Weyll crushed the revolutionary elements. Cuban heroism attracted the attention of the Hispano-American republics and to safeguard

its interests the United States sent the warship *Maine*, which exploded in Havana Bay on 15 February 1898. This was taken as a provocation by the United States Government and war was declared. The Treaty of Paris obliged Spain to renounce all her rights to the island. In 1902 the Platt Amendment was signed and under the constitution of 1901 the Republic of Cuba began its independent existence.

On 28 November 1821 Panama had declared its independence from Spain and had become part of the Republic of Colombia. Its strategic position between the two oceans attracted foreigners, especially during the California gold rush of 1849. In 1855 the two extremities were linked by rail across the isthmus. In May 1879 the French company organized by Ferdinand de Lesseps began work on an ocean canal. With the collapse of the company the project was handed over to the United States. Colombia's refusal to grant the necessary permission provoked a state of revolution. The Republic of Panama came into being with the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty. Its first president was Amador Guerrero. A little later the building of the canal began—one of the most important engineering works of the time. It was opened to shipping on 15 August 1914.

Analysis of the forms adopted by states to achieve democratic stability, the great impulse of that time, shows a certain cyclical movement which Cecil James called a kind of counterpoint between free and despotic systems. In fact no systematic historiographic outline emerges from a diagram traced with these co-ordinates, but they serve as means of observing the contrast between, at least, the political solutions, that the republics endeavoured to find for the problems encountered in their ascent of the democratic path. The persistence of the *caudillista* element within the continent was very marked and many countries remained outside the bounds of constitutional life. In others, dictatorial formulas became entrenched, as the supreme means of restoring the calm which certain classes desired even at the risk of losing their essential freedoms.

The merits and demerits of the régime of Porfirio Díaz in Mexico (1886–1911) are one of the topics most discussed by contemporary historians. There is no doubt that his régime brought great economic prosperity, but the country's natural resources were exploited by foreign capital, which caused a nationalist reaction. The age-old land problem, linked up with the fate of the indigenous population, also continued to be a burning issue. That stage of much-needed achievement was followed by a chaotic process ('The Mexican Revolution'), that began with the defeat of Porfirio Díaz by the moralizing idealist Francisco Madero.

The return to régimes of force is found in Venezuela, where the enlightened dictatorship of Guzmán Blanco was followed by that of Cipriano Castro and then Juan Vicente Gómez, under whose iron rule the Republic entered the immediately contemporary period. In Bolivia the history of the long list of

caudillos—Belzu, Linares, Achá and Melgarejo—was complicated by the disaster of the war of 1879. Complete downfall was partially averted by the coming into power of the Liberal party, whose presidents José Manuel Pando and Ismael Montes succeeded in imposing timely reforms that seemed to bring Bolivia back into the constitutional stream.

Colombia was an example of the intermediary solution within a stable juridical structure. The presidency of the sociologist Rafael Nuñez may be said to mark the beginning of the country's contemporary history. The Constitution of 1883 organized it as a centralized state under the political control of the conservative party. Progress was checked by the Panamanian crisis of 1903. The presidency of Rafael Reyes which began the restoration of material progress suffered from the effects of this international event.

The history of Peru during this period was one of slow recuperation after defeat in the war of 1879. 'The Government of Avelino Cáceres'—wrote Jorge Basadre—'represented the end of the chaotic situation caused by the disasters of the war. It also represented the restoration of internal peace.' The work of an outstanding politician, Nicolás de Piérola, opened new horizons. His neo-civilist creed was accompanied by a worthy attempt to introduce order, reform and a healthy economy. The historical circumstances of the century and the effect of the transforming influences to which we have referred briefly above, made it possible for the results of the evolutionary process to have a greater impact in Uruguay, Argentina and Chile.

Caudillismo came to an end in Uruguay in about 1870. The agrarian area of the country was traversed by an adequate road and rail system. Immigrants filled the country and the towns and mixed with the creoles to form an active and enterprising middle class.

Politically the country alternated between the rule of the 'Coloureds' (1875–90) and the 'Whites' (1896). This conflict seemed to abate in 1903 with the coming into power of the extraordinary personality of José Batlle y Ordóñez, who dominated the country, instilling a regenerative moral force, the seed of the democratic organization that was destined to triumph.

After the fall of Rosas and the resolution of the conflict by confederation, the Argentine nation entered upon a brilliant period of constitutional and democratic development. The Constitution of 1875 gave it its legal frame-work, and the work of economic transformation, stimulated by its great presidents, brought it to a position of eminence in the concert of American nations, Bartolomé Mitre reformed the administration, put order into the finances and began to raise the general cultural level by means of schools and colleges. He was also active in juridical work. He was succeeded by Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, who strove to create a national consciousness through primary school education. Nicolas de Avellaneda transformed the city of Buenos Aires in 1874, giving it a cosmopolitan aspect. It was during this period that the southern territories were brought under cultivation as a result of the campaigns of General Roca. Another president, Dr Pellegrini,

organized the public finances. It was the task of presidents Saez Peña and Roca to put an end to the acute problems of the boundary with Chile.

Chile continued its upward progress under the administration of the so-called oligarchy throughout the century. The state was transformed by the constitutional reforms of Federico Errázuriz in 1875. It fell to President Aníbal Pinto to conduct the victorious war of 1879 that incorporated the nitrate province in the north. Domingo Santa María continued the institutional reforms that gave the country an authentic liberal aspect. This period was marked by doctrinal conflicts between Church and State. José Manuel Balmaceda speeded up the country's economic transformation but his administrative work was interrupted by the 1891 revolution. With his downfall and death the parliamentary period in Chile began with its new social and political perspectives. Throughout the century Chile had shown a political maturity that marked it out as a model for the normal functioning of democratic constitutions.

Cultural evolution

As countries progressed towards democracy their acute economic and social problems became more obvious. Philosophy, coloured by the positivism and evolutionism of Spencer, established secular civic points of view and presented patterns for action. In Mexico the disciples of Gavino Barreda and the great teacher Justo Sierra outlined a programme. In Cuba, José Enrique Varona called people to examine their consciences. In 1899 the prophetic voice of Daniel Sánchez Bustamente rang out in Bolivia. In Chile Valentín Letelier took up the cause of culture and reformed education. In Peru the fiery spirit of Manuel Gonzáles strove to bring order out of the prevalent chaos.

In between these two worlds lived the intellectuals—on the one hand the survivors of romanticism and on the other the precursors of what was to come. This transition can be seen very clearly in the work of the novelists. Alberto Blest Gana sensed the crisis; he first wrote a work of sentimental intimacy, then turned to producing *Agrupamientos de documentos humanos* (Collections of human documents); and in his great novels he used Balzac's technique to paint a sociological picture: *El Loco Estero*, which was auto-biographical, *Durante la Reconquista*, historical, and *María Rivas*, psychological.

Manuel Jesús Galván, of Santo Domingo, also based his characters on documentary material; Eduardo Acevedo Díaz (Uruguay), in *Ismael* observed the patriarchal life of the countryside directly but his inspiration was romantic, as was that of the novel *El Alférez Real* by the Colombian writer Eustaquio Palacios. Tomás Carasquilla (Colombia) on the other hand, showed that 'the most ordinary and everyday subject can be the theme of a novel'. Eugenio Cambaceres, in Argentina, under the influence of Zola, described the anatomy and physiology of creole society.

The works of the men of the generation of 1880 in Argentina—Santiago Estrada, and Miguel Cané, author of the still-fresh *Juvenilia*—resembled each other in style. In Uruguay, Juan Zorilla de San Martín was outstanding among the *Ateneo* group of 1875; his verse had an intimate style similar to that developed later by Bécquer.

In the new genre of the higher criticism and the essay, the writings of Manuel Sanguily (Colombia), Paul Groussac (Argentina) and Carlos Arturo Torres (Colombia) are of outstanding skill and beauty.

No movement defined more precisely the spiritual crisis of the end of the century than that to which Ruben Darío in 1893 gave the name of 'Modernism'. Alfonso Reyes called it 'an act of involuntary independence springing from a reaction to bourgeois realism and the remains of the romantic currents'. There was, in fact, an awakening on the continent: young people were introspectively looking for their own souls, and literature, drawing nourishment from this subterranean force, began to take up a position of authority.

The poetical world of the modernists was a world of escape from reality. The poets stayed close to the immediate background of Nature. They were stimulated by the literary schools of Europe and the United States. A moral climate of pessimism and morbid sensual exaltation was characteristic of them. They sought a great variety of means of expression.

Modernism had its precursors. Cuba provided the magnificent prose and refined simplicity of José Martí and the anxious tones of Julián del Casal. In Mexico Manuel Gutiérrez Najera represented the transition. In Colombia, José Asunción Silva presented a model with his famous *Nocturno*. The new touch came from the pen of Ruben Darío, the Nicaraguan genius who was to shape the lyric substance of the Spanish poetical world. He acquired and assimilated his rich literary culture in the innumerable travels of his wandering existence in El Salvador, Chile, Argentina, Spain and France. He published his outstanding book *Azul*, the very title of which showed promise, in Chile in 1888. *Prosas profanas* (1890) dates from the fruitful period of his stay in Buenos Aires and contains the whole essence of the modernist movement, its philosophy and its expression. His most mature note is to be found in the supreme mastery of *Cantos de Vida y Esperanza*, in which a serious and profound tone humanizes his message, that until then had been the poetry of the silver flute, handled with a light feminine virtuosity. In spite of his cosmopolitanism, Rubén Darío died as the prophet of 'The America that is shaken by hurricanes and lives by love'.

The Uruguayan writer José Enrique Rodó created the perfect aesthetic instrument of modernist prose. He was trained with the collaborators to the *Revista Nacional*, in the very midst of positivism, but, faithful to his belief 'that ideas must be carried out to the letter', he declared that doctrine, 'is the cornerstone of our intellectual training and no dome of learning yet exists that either destroys or crowns it'.

Rodó led a very full life: as a professor at the university, in the library of which he was director, and as representative of his country in Congress. He himself defined his task: 'I have tried to give you the love of truth, not truth itself, which is infinite.' His main work is contained in two books: *Motivos de Proteo*, a tonic for the will, and *Mirador de Próspero*, an attack on the utilitarianism of the North American way of life and a passionate defence of the supremacy of the mind.

The literary panorama of 1905 included some original spirits who led literature beyond the bounds of modernism. Prominent in literary *tertulias* in Buenos Aires was the Bolivan Ricardo Jaimes Freyre, who introduced free verse with his *Castalia Bárbara*; then Leopoldo Lugones, who composed a baroque collection of verse called the *Guerra Gaucha*. In Montevideo, Julio Herrera y Reissig, enclosed in his strange tower of panoramas, transformed poetry into an immense metaphor. In Lima, José Santos Chocano applied the techniques of movement to vernacular themes in his book *Alma Americana*. In Chile, Carlos Pezoa Véliz steeped himself in the feelings of the people. In Colombia, the great Guillermo Valencia poured out a surprising stream of verbal imagination. In Mexico Amado Nervo played the sentimental note in his *Amada Inmóvil*.

The profound changes we have indicated in literature were less apparent in the plastic arts, for in the arts, the period of predominance of the style of realistic, objective art, photographic or coloured, continued for several decades, lasting beyond the period we have been considering. Impressionism, the counterpart of modernism, was somewhat later in appearing in the Hispano-American artistic world. For a long time we were to see the co-existence of a strange eclecticism—the historic school, the romantic *costumbrismo* and the realism which came from Spain and found racial affinity on the Hispano-American continent.

Similarly, in music, what we should call contemporary began after the 1914 landmark in history. There were, however, signs of a preliminary movement in one of the directions characteristic of the new era, in the form of nationalism. The precursors drew their inspiration for this trend from a scenographical understanding of its feeling, as expressed in Italian opera. In Cuba, the trend was visible in the work of Eduardo Sánchez de Fuentes, and in Peru by José María Valle Riestra, who wrote an opera with an aboriginal background, *Ollantay* (1900). In Chile it was expressed in the theatre by Eleodoro Ortiz de Zárate, with his *Lautaro* (1889) and by Remigio Acevedo with *Caupolicán* (1900). There was a wider and loftier range in the dynamic initiative of Alberto Williams in Buenos Aires, who took up the nationalist crusade from his Chair at the National Conservatory.

Philosophy, which up to this time had been cultivated by essayists, reformers and publicists, at the beginning of the new century acquired the status of a scientific discipline, or as Francisco Larroyo said, 'its charter of independence'. In Hispanic America, until then, philosophy had consistently

been of an ancillary nature. In colonial times it spoke in the name of religion and in the nineteenth century it was frequently the handmaid of political interests. Only at the beginning of the new century, did it finally sever the bonds of this servitude. Philosophy began to be pursued for its own sake at the level of pure theory.

This maturity was able to develop as a result of the new kind of university life that began with the predominance of the preoccupation for scientific methods.

The examination of conscience undertaken by the 1900 generation had many forms. It embraced every discipline and sought to achieve a synthesis that would symbolize the general state of Hispano-American culture. It gave serious thought to the question of democratic control and the foundations upon which the juridical and political structure of the continent was based. Its views were both optimistic with regard to the results achieved in the course of history since independence and pessimistic with regard to the problems remaining to be solved.

2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF BRAZIL
BY JOSÉ HONORIO RODRÍQUEZ

Brazilian life underwent profound changes during the nineteenth century from every point of view.[12] The transformation was the result of independence gained from Portugal which brought about a new political situation, but its roots go back to the previous century. The break with the political past, culminating with independence, was not a sudden process. It came about naturally, contrary to what happened in British and Spanish America.

Portugal had taken possession of the territory during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, occupying it from the River Oyapoque to the River Plate and spreading its settlers far into the interior without any regard for the boundaries fixed by the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1493. Occupation took place either by private initiative or by government decisions; vast areas were taken from the native Indians or from territories over which Spain claimed sovereignty, by the *bandeirantes* setting out on expeditions from São Paulo, or the *sertanistas* explorers of the Amazonian forests, also by missionaries as well as by civil and military authorities.

During the colonial era the pioneers of Brazil, in a constant conquest of the hinterland, began pushing back the frontiers, earlier than did the British subjects and later American citizens in the north of the continent. But their deeds gave as much significance and character to the Brazilian colonial adventure. A *mestizo* society grew up, the product of the 'melting pot' formed by alliances between the Portuguese and aboriginal women, a trend which the Government encouraged and protected. A tropical economy was developing, based primarily on sugar plantations, but also on cotton, coffee, and tobacco, and on the exploitation of forest products such as cacao and the

great varieties of Amazonian flora, the discovery of minerals—gold and precious stones—and the breeding of cattle and horses. Agriculture for food production, with manioc as the chief product (the native peoples already used manioc flour) completed the picture of the country's production.

Labour had not been supplied by the Portuguese settlers, but either by slaves brought from Africa or by the native Indians, the latter mainly providing labour in the Amazon area, while the Africans were being put to work on the Maranhão plantations, throughout the north-east, the mining area, and in the country around Rio de Janeiro. There was no foreign participation whatsoever; the country refused it on account of maintaining territorial integrity and ensuring the continuity of Catholicism. New religious ideas, and with them ideological heresy—which also had a political hindrance—
—were feared above all. The activity of the *mestizo* population was not confined to economic matters; it was felt in official circles as well as in domestic services. Yet Brazil was not homogeneous; even a chronicler of early colonial times, Frei Vicente do Salvador, wrote that the country did not constitute a single harmonious unity, but that there were a number of 'Brazils'.

Regionalism and the regional economy which developed were not merely the normal consequences of geographic conditions, but as much the result of the process of conquest with its irregular successes in occupying the land. The small centres of population politically and administratively structured which spread along the coast and in the interior, remained isolated by great distances which scarce and precarious communications could not overcome. Portugal, faced with these compelling factors, gave up installing a centralized government and instead divided the political organization of her colony into small administrative units directly referable to Lisbon. A governor-general in the north, another for the states of Maranhão and Gran Para in the south, did not in fact control their subordinate scattered authorities. There was less subordination to these two colonial representatives than to Lisbon.

From 1750 onwards a new political picture began to take shape. As Brazil developed it grew in importance over the other colonies overseas. Great Portuguese statesmen made their mark less by their achievements in the mother country or in the east than by their activities in Brazil, contrary to what occurred in the sixteenth century when the east had been the school and the theatre of operation of Portugal's leaders. Their new political prestige was closely related to many of the colony's affairs and not merely to its direct administration. Next to D. João V the most prominent personality in the kingdom was Alexandre de Gusmáo, a Paulist, and it can be said that a whole generation, Brazilian born, was then living in Portugal where it made itself known. By the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century, this generation was no longer remarkable as a pioneer group, but as one that was creative and regenerative; in literature and scientific research, Brazilians were a very active contingent. Two of them, D. Francisco de Lemos de Faria Pereira Coutinho and João Pereira Ramos de Azevedo Coutinho, took an

active part in the reform of the Coimbra University, defending it against the
attacks of conservative, unprogressive elements. The old mother country,
scientifically so advanced at the time of its maritime discoveries, received new
life from the contributions of 'colonials' such as Alexandre Rodrigues
Ferreira, a naturalist, João da Silva Feijo, Antonio Pires da Silva Pontes,
Francisco José de Lacerda e Almeida, Manoel Ferreira da Camara, José de
Sá Bitencourt Aciolo, José Vieira Couto, and Manoel de Arruda Camara.
José Bonifacio, who was to play a central role in the process of independence,
was a personality familiar with all trends of European thought; his knowledge
was encyclopaedic; he worked in eleven languages, was a mathematician, a
naturalist and a humanist, and he also had a knowledge of metallurgy. He
thus maintained contact between Portuguese trends of thought and those of
the other nations of Europe.

A boundary treaty signed on 13 January 1750 brought an end to the
differences between Spanish and Portuguese America, establishing a legal
difference between territorial occupation of both countries and clearing the
way to pacific relations. The two colonial peoples, socially and culturally
different, had now a fixed, legal frontier. War was outlawed between the two
colonies, even in the case of conflict in the Iberian peninsula. A new principle
governing occupation, *uti possidetis de facto*, had entered international
juridical relations. Luso-Brazilian expansion was no longer contested; it was
accepted. Another treaty though, completing the demarcation of boundaries,
was signed in 1777. The Treaty of San Ildefonso repeated in the main the
terms of the Madrid agreement, defining more exactly the common limits of
the two powers, recognizing therefore the existing areas of occupation of the
land and of the space into which Luso-Brazilian society could expand. These
diplomatic documents also proved how the continental interests of America
unquestionably exceeded and overruled those of the mother countries in Europe.

Another important step had been taken in 1714 when the Government of
Brazil had been handed to a Viceroy, first established in Bahía, then in 1763
in Rio de Janeiro. Spain replied by appointing a viceroy to rule over the
River Plate province to oppose Portuguese expansion southwards. The
transfer of the capital to Rio de Janeiro obeyed political and economic
necessities, the central axis of the colony's life moving towards the south.
Viceroyalty in Brazil did not mean a further or total concentration of powers,
but a higher form of the political set-up. The new status met with better
efficiency the problems of a joint border with Spain. A new area was develop-
ing south, needing a more dynamic policy for its defence and order.

Moreover, economic conditions themselves were changing: the gold rush
in the provinces of Minas Gerais, Mato Grosso and Goiás was coming to an
end. In the north-east, agriculture was regaining the importance it had lost at
a time when the gold rush had drained labour towards the centre. Even the
far north, the Amazon, was developing and the gold provinces themselves
turned again to agriculture and cattle-breeding as in the south where both

activities had traditionally always been important. Brazilian economy was radically changing. The changes could almost be called an agrarian revolution or in any case an immense renewal, which the State encouraged.

The empirical methods used up to that time, which had kept agriculture in a backward state and prevented increased production, were replaced by new ones typical of the dynamism of the period and promising for the future, such as the use of the plough. Literature on the subject of colonial production, objective writings that provided instruction and led to improvement by drawing attention to defects, also appeared at this time.

Portugal however was adamant on the question of manufactures, showing great reluctance against their installation in case they could compete with small Portuguese industries. Moreover Portuguese traders made a living out of exchanging Brazilian agricultural products for manufactured goods from Europe, especially England. A colonial industry might cause Portugal to lose control of commercial exchanges, removing their very bases, and eventually develop desires for independence. Portuguese statesmen had already sensed the unrest and discontent born in the colony and the natural upward trend that was later to shape so vigorously. They strengthened the policy of encouraging agriculture and stifling industry.

Another drastic decision was then taken about which too little is known in spite of the existing documents on both sides: the expulsion of the Jesuits. It followed a sharp conflict between the state of Portugal under the influence then of the famous Marquez de Pombal and the Company of Jesus, famous throughout Brazil for its spiritual and concrete achievements. The disagreement of the two forces contending for control of Portuguese affairs in Brazil became acute, and Pombal won the day: the temporal power of the Jesuits was taken from them and finally the Order was expelled from the country, an event which affected the life of the nation. Before the measure taken by Pombal, the Company had been an instrument for political domination. Its expulsion emphasized the problem of maintaining a solidarity between Portugal and Brazil. Pombal tightened the bonds by concentrating the power in his own hands and exercising it with thorough absolutism: the servants of his policy, even when they did not exceed his instructions, acted severely, with the result that the State reinforced a supremacy it had previously shared with the Company. The policy of the Government from then on was to foster the development of Brazil while preventing excessive contempt for the mother country.

The city of Rio de Janeiro grew slowly; it was first merely one more port along the vast Brazilian coastline, used for shipment of ore and gold abroad. As the Viceregal headquarters it became an urban centre, but the first improvements were accelerated by the arrival of the royal family who emigrated there suddenly when the Napoleonic armies invaded Portugal. Due to the bad communications in the interior of the country, provincial capitals developed even more slowly, but the setting up by Prince Dom João and the

court of Lisbon of a tropical capital marked a definite change from the previous situation; the transformations which some circles had tried to avoid, whilst they brought progress to 'American Portugal', at the same time led to the rapid decadence of 'Peninsular Portugal'.

Independence came about without troubles. A *pronunciamento* in Porto, in 1820, awoke echoes in other Portuguese towns. The revolt in Portugal, instigated by the borgeoisie displeased by the development of the former colony, had consequences in Brazil. D. João VI returned to Portugal with his court and re-transferred the capital to Lisbon.

His two years in Brazil had fruitful results for the country: trade with friendly nations opened and the past monopoly system was abolished, at last the founding of manufactures was encouraged and a large political and administrative organization put into operation. High learning, technical and artistic teaching began. Faculties of medicine appeared in Rio and Bahía, a naval and a military school as well as a school of arts and crafts were founded. A royal printing-office started publishing on subjects of economic interest, useful to the national development. A botanical garden was planned and opened. In 1816 Brazil was raised to the rank of a united kingdom with Portugal, and a diplomatic corps began to exercise its functions at Rio de Janeiro. The colony had become a metropolis; overseas countries under Portuguese control whether in Asia or Africa thenceforward received orders from Brazil and no longer from the former metropolis. Brazilian political units were now under control from Rio de Janeiro, subject to uniform regulations. From that time onwards, Brazil was a truly autonomous state.

By ordering his son Dom Pedro to stay in Brazil while he himself returned to Portugal, D. João VI saved Brazil for the House of Braganza, but the ties binding the old colony to Portugal were severed all the same. D. Pedro proclaimed independence on 7 September 1822, and was crowned Emperor. By so doing he prevented the proclamation of a republic, desired by many, as well as the break-up of Brazilian unity, which a republic would have caused. The Empire ensured the continuity of the geographical areas as a country, and the political solidarity of the social and economic group along the coast and in the *sertão*. The great task of consolidating national unity along with the preservation of a monarchical system succeeded thanks to an outstanding Brazilian. José Bonifacio de Andrada Silva, a 'Paulist', was a civilian at a time where the leaders throughout the continent, from Washington to Bolívar and San Martín, were generals. With his remarkable intelligence he understood how to bring about independence without introducing a pluralism of states as had happened in the rest of South America. In calling upon him to serve as a minister. D. Pedro showed political intelligence and creative purpose, and was able to avoid the disorder that might have ensued at this critical time of separation from Portugal, if the country had not been governed firmly and wisely.

The experiment about to be tried out represented a test that would show whether or not Portugal had prepared Brazil for her new life. Would the politicians trained under the spiritual aegis of the decadent mother country and long out of touch with the cultural activity of Europe, be capable of dealing with the basic requirements of a new state? In so huge a country, where physical and intellectual contacts between the inhabitants remain scarce, where the problem was complicated by a regional diversity, would an élite be found capable and sufficient in number to assume the responsibilities of administration to engage in parliamentary procedures and interplay of parties, and ensure order, calm and progress for the country? Such an élite existed. It consisted of those whom the Portuguese state itself had called upon to fill its posts, those who had been given the responsibility of teaching in the newly founded schools, those who had received a European education either in Coimbra or at Montpellier, and of the local clergy trained in the seminaries of Belém, São Luís, Olinda, Salvador, Rio de Janeiro and Mariana, and lastly the elements from the ruling class, composed almost entirely of merchants, living in the towns, and important rural landowners. These land-owners had always been the political leaders in the remote rural areas; they were the product of the patriarchal system that the social and economic régime of colonial rule had created in Brazil. Such, then, was the nature of the élite which took over the management of the state, gave it the type of organization that seemed most appropriate for that time, and made it work efficiently.

The Emperor formed a Constituent assembly which was to give political direction to the new nation and imbue it with the liberalism that the French Revolution had given the world. However these men were unable to perform their task successfully; discussion broke out and the Emperor dissolved the assembly, thereby manifesting an unfortunate tendency reminiscent of a return to absolutism; or in other words abandonment by the Emperor of the political system he had sworn to defend and which the country desired to build up. However D. Pedro did not allow the suspicion of absolutism to become a reality; he submitted to the assembly a still more liberal constitution and put it before public opinion by means of a plebiscite held wherever there were municipal authorities; these latter thereby reassumed a position of importance and great influence in the formation of political consciousness within the Empire. This constitution remained in force throughout the whole period until its end in 1889; two minor amendments were made—one in 1834 when greater autonomy was given to the provinces by the 'Additional Act', and the other in 1840 when Parliament passed a declaration recognizing the attainment of majority of the Emperor Pedro II. The dissolution of the constitution by D. Pedro I had, however, given rise to an armed rebellion in the north-east, the rebels proclaiming a republican régime as, incidentally, had always been attempted in the same part of the country in 1817. Other revolts also took place but were all easily quelled, and Brazil escaped the

phenomenon of *caudillismo*, that is to say, during this period there were no instances of leaders around whom civilians and soldiers formed groups in order to try to proclaim power, or seize it by armed force.

These disturbances were the result of political discontent, and most of them did not spread beyond certain limited areas, rarely affecting whole provinces. Generally speaking, they represented an attempt to find immediate solutions and originated from the fact of independence itself: people who had lived a purely rural life in their communities were suddenly obliged to face new problems. The pressure of regional interests, originating from the diverse nature of the country and the administrative plurality characteristic of the colonial era, then became manifest. Lack of discipline was a factor inherent in the immediate circumstances but it was also an expression of the effervescent life of the nation. None of the provinces were entirely peaceable during the First Empire and the regency: revolts and armed rebellion occurred in all of them. Throughout this period, the continued presence of the Portuguese elements in the administrative services—elements which still enjoyed economic and political prestige—also contributed to account for the unruliness and instability manifested in the form of these outbursts. Attempts to solve problems by violent means were characteristic of this phase of immaturity, which the country inevitably had to pass in the early decades of its independence.

D. Pedro I was compelled to abdicate on 7 April 1831; he had been turning more and more towards the Portuguese elements, giving them high positions in the administration, and the exalted nationalism that was prevalent at that time made abdication inevitable. The country was going forward towards new objectives, and nationalistic tendencies were the constant political feature. The Emperor's successor was still a child and the government was in the hand of regents; there were two successive regencies, each with three regents, then two regents alone took power. By 1840, however, the political situation had become so serious, with the institutions threatened and even the unity of the nation showing some weakness, that deputies and senators took the decision to proclaim the majority of the young Emperor and by a *coup d'état* Pedro II was put on the throne.

Of all these armed revolts, two were of such size as to impinge upon national consciousness, either because they showed up the danger of destroying national unity or because they expressed a first revolt of peoples who saw their desire for a better standard of living unfulfilled, or again because they signified non-agreement with the current political and administrative policies. These two movements were the Farroupilha and the Cabanagem revolutions. The first took place in the province of Rio Grande do Sul and spread to that of Santa Catarina. It was almost unavoidable that these two provinces should follow the example of the neighbouring River Plate state in an effort towards independence from the Empire and the recognition of a republican system within a Brazilian federation. Imperialists and republicans fought during ten

years from 1835 to 1845, the Government of Rio de Janeiro finally winning, but in order to achieve complete peace granting in the end a general amnesty.

In the north the Cabanagem revolt lasted five years, from 1835 to 1840. It was a violent uprising of the Amazonian peoples; their technique of revolution, due to the local geographical conditions, was entirely different from what had occurred in the south and made the Government's operations extremely difficult. The movement, led by local chiefs, was only stifled after a fight which ruined the local economy; it killed more than 30,000 people and decimated the ranks of community leaders throughout the whole area. With drawn swords, *mestizo* Indian peasants and Indians themselves claimed the rights which independence had not granted them. In this case also a general amnesty was necessary to put an end to the fighting. In 1842 another serious revolt involved the provinces of São Paulo and Minas Gerais. Some elements of the Liberal party tried to change the local political situation where they had lost their influence by enlisting armed forces. In Pernambuco the last upheaval took place in 1849. During the next 50 years the political life of the nation continued to develop without any more serious complications. Most of the victories over the rebels were won by the man who was perhaps the greatest Brazilian general: Luis Alves de Lima e Silva, later Duke of Caxias. Coming from a family of soldiers, and conscious of the need to maintain legal institutions within a climate of order and unity, imbued by an impressive spirit of patriotism, he was a stout help to the government at the difficult times of this period.

The Empire had been built up as a unified structure, the constitution in its application admitting no regional particularities in order to ensure the country's continuity and unity. Accordingly, the 'presidents' responsible in each province were appointed by the Emperor. The Criminal Code of 1830 still further tightened the bonds of unity by means of a centralized system which stifled the local aspirations. At first there had been a government council for each province; in 1834 this was replaced by local assemblies, elected by popular suffrage. At the national level, legislative power was divided between a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate. Provincial electors voted for three senators, one of whom was chosen by the Emperor for the vacant seat, senators being elected for life. The supreme power in the judiciary was a High Court of Justice sitting in Rio and there were regional courts in some of the provinces.

The Emperor exercised under the existing system the so-called 'moderating power' which entitled him to participate in the government of the state; he could also dissolve Parliament if the 'salvation' of the state so required. The real government of the country was in the hands of the Prime Minister or head of the Cabinet. The Cabinet was composed in agreement with the recognized parties, receiving a vote of confidence from the Chamber of Deputies and the political parties representing the country's political opinion. When necessary, the parties abandoned their ideological differences and

formed 'national salvation' governments. There still existed a Council of State presided over by the Emperor; it was composed of important personalities in the political and administrative life of the Empire and gave decisions on the most serious and important questions in the life of the nation.

In addition to these political institutions, the parliamentary two-party system was also tried out during the Empire: Liberals and Conservatives, with their political differences maintaining the continuity of the régime. Whilst in power there was not much difference between them, and their major preoccupation was to win the necessary number of votes to ensure re-election. Therefore they neither represented nor carried out a policy serving the real interests of the country. The personal power of the Emperor, which he exercised with objectivity and caution, was much more effective than the rise and fall of parties through parliamentary action.

The provinces found themselves abandoned during these experiments; their needs, which were for immediate and impartial solutions to widely differing local problems, remained unanswered. So their political leaders were constantly demanding provincial autonomy, which the Additional Act of 1834 had to some extent recognized for them; but the federalist solution was the one which most of them felt to be the desired answer, as it would give them new and more liberal concessions. Some of them visualized this federalism as possible under the monarchy itself; others felt that a political change was necessary, that there must be a republic. Several factors gave substance then to republican ideas: the abolition of slavery, which took place very rapidly and not efficiently from the point of view of the general economy of the country; and the example of neighbouring republican nations that the military forces had had the opportunity of studying at close range at the time of the armed conflict against Paraguay. A Republican party appeared in 1870 and spread in small units all over the different provinces. Finally the 'military question' put army and government up against each other and prepared more surely and more quickly for the change of institutions. This change took place on 15 November 1889.

The Republic was proclaimed by the armed forces and a new policy for the nation was outlined. However it did not represent a real collective aspiration, even among the armed forces which had risen against the Cabinet of Ministers whom they accused of persecuting them. On the other hand, it is also true that the civilian elements that composed the whole administration of the constitutional monarchy did not rise up to defend it, which shows that the régime was outmoded, coming to an end. Although Pedro II had always ruled with equanimity and had well performed his role as a constitutional monarch, working out a real 'crowned democracy', and although he had won the admiration and respect of the whole nation, the régime had lost its meaning, and was no longer regarded as capable of dealing with the variety of problems that had been accumulating for some time. A constituent assembly met in 1890 and voted a 'Magna Charta' (24 February 1891) in

which North American and Argentine influence—especially the former—was evident. The provinces became states with large political autonomy. A Brazilian Federation existed.

Republican life undoubtedly brought to Brazil the dynamic spirit she was lacking. Naturally there were crises at the beginning; the first even led the President, Marshal Deodoro da Fonseca, who had proclaimed the Republic, to resign. His successor, also an army officer, Marshal Floriano Peixoto, had to struggle against even greater difficulties, but he resisted them all pacifically until his stay in power met with serious opposition from the congress, followed by the navy's revolt, leading in turn to the rising of the old-established provinces of Rio Grande do Sul. However, the government forces soon got the upper hand and ensured the lawful election of the succeeding presidents, who were all civilians. The rich states of São Paulo and Minas Gerais provided the civilian political leaders in power during the first decades of the republic.

The economic basis of this dynamic force of the Republic—or its economic explanation—lay in the adventure of Amazonian rubber tapping and the extension of the coffee plantations in the state of São Paulo, both productions from then onwards being developed in other regions. The advance of the 'green waves' (coffee plantations) meant the incorporation of a new geographical area that had become useful to the country. The growth of economic activity led to financial prosperity and that in turn to material changes.

However the experience of independence at the level of the states showed that many of them were not equipped to live satisfactorily as independent entities. The immediate result was that the Union, which possessed resources in money and leaders, took more and more control over them. Eagerly and quite naturally it absorbed these entities, whose independence had been solicited with enthusiasm, but had been inadequately and inefficiently defended by those who had given more attention to theoretical principles than to the local, concrete realities.

The Republic had not succeeded, either, in creating a real national consciousness. Administrative unity, which had ensured the continuity of the Empire, had come to an end with the adventure of republicanism and had not succeeded in creating a lively consciousness of national problems. States were only interested in answering local or regional questions, at their own level. The Liberal and Conservative parties, which had been the two political divisions during the Empire, had not found a formula for continuity in the republican period, nor anything to replace them at the really national level. The Federal Republican parties divided into groups at State, and not at national level; they formed alliances from state to state for the elections of the presidents, thus correcting their previous lack of preparation to deal with national affairs.

This state of affairs brought about signs of discontent and political troubles (the most serious were to take place in 1924) in which the army was involved —as it had indeed been throughout the whole of the country's process of

development, behaving in a manner of its own, *sui generis*. It has consolidated independence, had efficiently helped solve the conflicts of borders with the River Plate states and had provided Brazil with a gallery of famous men. Sometimes it would rebel, coming out of its barracks into the street, but never, until the break of the century, did it take over power in order to wield it or oppose collective political opinion; its policy remained for long to help civilian legal power keep in hand the country's fate and problems. Not one, for instance, of the three military presidents of the Republic came to power by force of arms until 1924.

The expression at a political level of signs of discontent—which were to increase until 1930—was in fact a consequence of the new times, of the changes operating within social and economic structures. Until then the working classes were mostly rural; their political leaders, 'the Colonels', kept the whole administrative machine under control. Political struggles were those of rival local leaders in the interior. Industrial and urban development, altering demographic concentrations, easing the way to a new political action, led to the decadence of the old system and opened the door to new ways of life.

Since colonial times, Catholic elements had taken a very active part in the national life. Very often the clergy made an excellent contribution towards the settlement of delicate questions in the country's life, whether they had been discussed in the press or in Parliament, or whether solutions had been imposed by force of arms. The Brazilian clergy had been affected by the influence of liberalism and one of Brazil's most remarkable personalities, a regent of the Empire during Pedro II's minority, was the priest Diego Feijó, an energetic man, who entered into conflict with the Pope himself.

When independence was declared, the constitution had established Catholicism as the official religion and ordered obedience to Rome, but other cults were authorized to function. These were insignificant, however, and had no influence on the development of Brazil. Catholicism was understood and practised according to the conditioning necessitated by the social circumstances, and some of its more rigid aspects were toned down. However, it underwent pressures from the newly established government, insisting on the maintenance of certain principles. As a result, the Church as an official institution became in fact subordinate to the State; the Emperor did not renounce the rights which the popes had given to Portugal, justifying his attitude by the fact that Brazil was the heir of Portugal. This subordination prejudiced the normal development of the Brazilian Church as well as its extension and efficiency. Incidents of some gravity marked the relations between the spiritual and temporal power. A serious crisis from then on called 'the religious question' occurred between 1872 and 1876 and discredited the institutions of the monarchy. The bishops of Pará (D. Antonio de Macedo Costa) and Olinda (D. Vital María Gonçalves de Oliveira) had

taken a stand against freemasonry, which had enjoyed great prestige since independence, and counted among its members important personalities in the government. They were brought before the High Court of Justice, and sentenced to imprisonment. When the Republic was proclaimed the close bonds between Church and State came to an end; the bishops, in a pastoral letter, defined the relations between monarchy and Church as 'a protection which stifled the latter'. It was so true that the Church's development was slow during the Empire. At the time of independence there were eight bishoprics and one prelature. At the end of the Empire there was one archbishopric, 12 bishoprics, and 12 prelatures, and the figures rose during the Republic.

Brazil enjoyed great prestige as a nation during the whole of the nineteenth century; its economic development, its calm and orderly political processes and the functioning of its liberal institutions contributed to this reputation. It established relations with other nations on terms of equality. With regard to South America, diplomatic activities ensured the solution of boundary questions, the maintenance of a 'good neighbour' policy, and trade and communications. Brazil's influence was clearly proven by the weight of its opinion in the international affairs of South America, and in the ordinary and extraordinary missions entrusted to its diplomatic corps. These facts showed that it was regarded as a country of importance where the destiny of the continent was concerned. It was sometimes necessary, nevertheless, to resort to diplomatic action in order to protect the armed forces, especially in the south, a nerve centre where obligations that had been assumed had to be protected, and where, consequently, doubts and mistrust as to Brazilian attitudes had developed. But it must be said that armed force was never used to humiliate the adversary or curtail his independence. The armed protection of diplomacy was aiming mostly at preserving Brazil's integrity, often threatened by the *caudillismo* of political leaders in the River Plate, but it never tried to ensure domination over foreign neighbours, an attitude which in the long run reassured the latter.

In 72 years the Empire maintained intact the geographical area it had inherited from the colony; it was never compromised and the natural expansion of the territory was preserved. At the end of the colonial period, under D. João VI, Luso-Brazilian military forces had occupied French Guiana and the *Banda Oriental* (now Uruguay), territories which did not really form part of the traditional geographical configuration of Brazil and did not remain for long under her domination. Similarly, during the Republic, there was no geographical decrease or increase, except that in the matter of boundary delimitation some small areas were claimed by the neighbouring countries and the differences were settled either by arbitration or by direct negotiation, Brazil in most cases being the winner.

However, this vast territory was not entirely occupied. The greatest demographic density was concentrated along the coast and there were immense unpopulated areas in the interior. Moreover, there was no surplus population to occupy and incorporate them as part of the productive life of the nation. The increase of unproductive population was not accompanied by a parallel economic and social development. The regions of the interior were only occupied if and when some discovery provided a reason for attracting people there, such as the rush to the provinces of Minas Gerais, Goias and Mato Grosso at the time of the discovery of gold in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; these territories were then incorporated as part of the colony. The African slaves remained on the coast, where the plantations had customarily been established, and so did not contribute towards a more rapid dispersion of the coastal population but rather to its impoverishment. The slave trade was prohibited by Brazil in 1850; from 1871 onwards any children born of slaves were considered to be free; in 1885 those over sixty years of age were freed; and finally, on 13 May 1888, total liberation was proclaimed.

During the nineteenth century some of the empty spaces were occupied. The extension of the coffee plantations covered the province of Rio de Janeiro, and extended towards the Parahyba valley, São Paulo and the regions bordering on the province of Minas Gerais, called the Mata zone; these regions were quickly populated. From 1824 onwards immigrants also began to arrive, Italians and Germans mainly, and effectively contributed to changing what one might call the country's demographic frontier: along the provinces of the south, São Paulo, Paraná, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul. The economic consequences were important, forest zones becoming agricultural and livestock areas. In the north-east, local elements themselves contributed to the economic betterment by establishing tropical plantations, livestock farms, or more modestly, gardens to provide food for subsistence. Even Amazonia itself was touched by the demographic development of the end of the nineteenth century. The Frenchman Charles Marie de la Condamine descended the Amazon from Quito, having been sent on a mission by the Paris Academy of Science, and discovered the rubber or latex tree. This product immediately came to be much in demand in the European and North American markets and rubber tapping drew a veritable rush to the Amazon: immigrants from the north-east especially, driven away by years of recurrent drought that ruined their agriculture and killed their livestock, penetrated into the virgin forest and so pushed back the demographic frontiers of the Amazon region. In spite of foreign scientists' opinions to the contrary, they were able to follow the tributaries on the left bank of the great river, and settled in the area which now constitutes the province of Acre. This exploit led to conflicts with Bolivia and Peru, who claimed the area, but the Minister for the Interior, at that time the great diplomat Barão do Rio Branco, an expert in South American boundary questions, soon succeeded in finding a

reasonable solution, which kept the territory for Brazil. That was the only increase in Brazilian territory since the colonial era.

This, then, was the period of expansion into the interior of the country. The forest and the arid zones themselves were cleared and the land cultivated. Both Brazilians and foreigners contributed to the work, showing admirable energy, and travelling about with unbelievable rapidity in these as yet unknown regions. But they were not numerous enough, and even today vast areas remain uninhabited in a country which, one must recall, covers 8,513,844 sq. km.

Thus expansion into the interior of Brazil was the result of a vast agricultural undertaking which included the cultivation of both local and European products, and the organization of the numerous livestock ranches that gave Brazil an important position among the world's producers of livestock; and in addition the exploitation of forest and mineral resources.

The forest resources consist of products such as rubber or latex, a great variety of nuts, oil-producing seeds, hard and soft woods, maté, guaraná and a thousand other products readily found in the forests of the Amazon and Mato Grosso regions. The cultivation of European products—wheat, grapes and other fruits—was started mainly by Italian and German immigrants, in the provinces of São Paulo, Paraná, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul. Tropical crops, such as coffee, cacao, cotton, tobacco, rice, maize, manioc and beans mainly spread in the north-east and in São Paulo, Paraná and Mato Grosso. Mining, which produced an unparalleled 'rush' for one hundred years in the colony, lost its importance as an industry of extraction; it is only recently that it has somewhat revived, as an industrial operation, with the iron, manganese and coal mines.

It was this assemblage of so many and varied enterprises, spread out over a vast territory, in economically independent regions, with individual regional features determining the nature of the enterprises, and with difficulties of communication in a territory so large that the consumer markets have difficult connections, that gave the Brazilian economic process its characteristic features. Some of the products, much prized in foreign markets, ensured the prosperity or supremacy of certain areas. But this prosperity or importance did not always last, either because of competition from another country, suddenly able to enter the international market, or by deterioration of the land itself, where sometimes the thinness of the soil layer prevented continued agricultural exploitation. An impoverishment resulted, or sometimes a depreciation of these regions, and they were abandoned by the most enterprising elements in the population, who moved to more productive centres. As a result the normal course of Brazil's economic development was and still is subject to constant unfortunate disturbances.

Instability of this kind was especially characteristic of economic life during the Empire and the early years of the republic. It depended on foreign markets, which imposed their own prices and varied the amount of their

demands, maintaining Brazilian economy, like that of the other countries of South America, in an underdeveloped state, characteristic of former colonies.

A protectionist policy began in 1843 with the Alves Branco law, instituting customs duties, but it was not understood by the people, who were accustomed to receive from abroad everything in the way of manufactured goods. It gave its first bases to industrialization which became effective much later on; during the two world wars, the decrease, or stoppage even, in the importation of manufactured goods and the excess of raw material that remained unused in the country led to the establishment of industrial enterprises. Throughout the Empire period small textile industries, and the great sugar industry, had existed, but their machinery was very out of date, and it was only during the first Republican period that they were modernized; factories took the place of the colonial *bangues*. Between 1850 and 1870 Irineu Evangelista de Souza, Visconde de Mauá, tried to build up a national stock for industry in order to raise the country out of its position of inferiority in world economy. We do not know whether he was influenced by English liberalism or by French economic thought. He had been educated in England. He took charge of the most varied undertakings, establishing regular shipping on the Amazon rivers with steamers, setting up shipyards, organizing banks; he was also responsible for building the first railways in the country; he tried to introduce the use of iron pipes for water-mains. All of his enterprises were not necessarily successful. At the time the national interest was turned towards coffee and latex, which were of primary importance for the economic life of the nation; in the circumstances, industrial development did not attract attention. National and foreign capital were invested in agriculture, especially in coffee and sugar, and no one thought of diverting them into industrial activity.

During the first decade of the twentieth century, a census carried out by the Brazilian Industrial Centre recognized the existence of 3,250 industrial establishments, with a capital of Cr. $665,576,663 and an output of the value of Cr. $741,536,108. There were 150,841 workers.

Industrial production was absorbed by the domestic market and also began to be distributed abroad, particularly in some of the South American countries. In order of importance the industries were as follows: textiles, shoes, rubber products, canned goods, pharmaceutical products, chemical products, clothing, ceramics, dairy industries, leather and skin industries, paper industries, furniture, metals and heavy machinery.

Industry could not rely for its development solely on the ready investment of Brazilian capital, which was almost non-existent. Foreign capital mainly made possible the establishment of industries. The government favoured the English in particular throughout the whole Empire period, and involved them in all kinds of initiatives to accelerate economic development; they concentrated on obtaining immediate profits which they then put into the development of tropical agriculture. North American investment with its social consequences is more recent.

After the Portuguese occupation and throughout the period of independence, land belonged to those who occupied it and made it productive, the legal authorities recognizing the fact and the title of property by what was called *sesmarias* (a legal recognition for granted land). The Portuguese tried to have as many landowners as possible in order to avoid concentration of ownership, but did not succeed in this as the very nature of agricultural exploitation in the colony favoured concentration. Large properties, either in the sugar or coffee areas, or for stockbreeding, and even for the forest crops, became a standard feature. With the arrival of immigrants from 1824 onwards, small and medium-sized properties began to appear. None of the political parties, either during the Empire or the Republic, ever demanded agrarian reform to change the existing system of ownership, especially as the small properties existed side by side with the large: Brazil had room for both and there was still other land waiting to be cleared. The small rural landowners formed a class called *sitiantes*; their resources were not sufficient to produce goods in any quantity, for their work was done by the family without any other labour; they had never been able to buy slaves, and such labour as they may sometimes have been able to pay did not stay with them long, solicited as it was by more remunerative employment.

The mobility of these peasants is customary in Brazil. It is not a seasonal phenomenon, resulting from and explainable by the climate, like the migration in the north-east at times of drought; it is due to the fact that these peoples are not sure of being able to continue to use the land on which they are living. The phenomenon of internal migrations had existed since colonial times and became more and more frequent. During the Empire there was a 'rush' of rural population towards the Amazon, the inhabitants of the state of Ceará being more mobile than the others; during the Republic they went southwards.

It was from the rural society that had received its training by occupying and making use of the land that most of the leading positions in the country during the colonial era and the Empire were filled. It provided the statesmen who directed Brazilian political and administrative life. This society enjoyed a certain material standing and had power to take political decisions. It had also furnished diplomats, soldiers, deputies, members of the religious orders and provincial presidents. It constituted the real élite of the nation. It was also responsible for leading the conquest of the interior to the farthest limits. The Empire, recognizing its importance and its services, created the nation's nobility from among its numbers. These 'landlords' became titled persons— barons, counts, viscounts. It was they who developed the cultivation of coffee on a large scale, the major source of wealth for the country for more than a century, permitting the accumulation of capital that later was invested in industry.

All the work done in the agricultural areas before 1888 depended upon slaves—whether in the coffee, cotton or sugar plantations. But the mere gathering of forest products, and the work on stock-breeding farms, was done

by free wage earners—the *mestizos* from the interior (Indian and white, Negro and white, although very few were a mixture of both). European immigration was first tried out by D. João VI, then taken up again by the great coffee planter Nicolau de Campos Vergueiro; he took settlers under a system called *parceria*, and the influx of Europeans accelerated the liberation of the slaves. A new stage in economic development and in the organization of the labour market began. Immigration varied in rate and occurred in different phases. The first phase, which ended in 1864, brought only small contingents; there were 1,346,000 Africans then and they were still coming in, it being more economical to import them than to employ the immigrants who had arrived earlier. The second wave arrived between 1864 and 1866: a total of 393,619 persons entered the country, from Portugal, Italy, Spain, Germany, Austria, France, England and North America. Between 1884 and 1898 the number of entrants was 227,743; from 1890 to 1944, the numbers rose or fell according to circumstances: 1,236,142 between 1890 and 1900; 671,351 between 1901 and 1910.

The Latin contingent was the most important: 1·1 million Portuguese, and as many Italians, 560,000 Spaniards only. The German contingent was 163,000. The number of Japanese, in the years 1933 and 1934 alone, amounted to 189,152. Of Russians there were 100,000, Austrians 80,000, Poles 47,740, Jews from various countries, between 50,000 and 100,000. Syrians and Lebanese also contributed to the development of the country, their number amounting to 50,000.

These foreign contingents had an appreciable influence on Brazilian development. The Italians, Germans and Japanese settled mainly in the south, in the States of São Paulo, Paraná, Santa Catarina and Rio Grande do Sul; they formed colonies which have for the most part become prosperous towns, large urban centres, nuclei of industrial development and agricultural production that have made their mark on the economic life of the country. For some time the Germans and Japanese remained isolated from the rest of the population forming groups which did not merge into the general population and were liable to present a real danger to the nation. In view of this, the Government took measures to integrate them into Brazilian cultural life; the decline of their nations of origin and the pressure of the surrounding culture succeeded in dissolving the groups and they became incorporated into the Brazilian population.

Giorgio Mortara, who has been studying the Brazilian population for a long time, is of the opinion that the immigrants did not make any appreciable difference to the Brazilian population increase. They did, however, on the other hand, have a considerable influence on economic development, and it was thanks to them that industrialization was able to find the labour it required: many of these immigrants who came to work in the fields were agricultural labourers, and they were attracted towards the towns and away from the remote country districts where they had settled on their arrival.

Urban development in Brazil is nevertheless a recent phenomenon. During the colonial period there were no large towns; they were much more in the nature of centres where people contacted each other on the occasion of religious festivities, and where the administrative authorities lived. The people remained on their own land, either in the plantations or in the livestock *fazendas* or ranches. The arrival of the Lisbon court in Rio de Janeiro paved the way for the transformation of the towns, and this trend was intensified during the Empire period. Real urban centres developed with their appropriate services and improvements, and there was an ever-increasing concentration of population. Trade played a major and significant part in this development; the trader no longer merchant at the head of a troop of mules going from plantation to plantation to offer his goods, became sedentary.

The urban element also began to have political ascendancy in the positions of authority under the Empire. Political leaders left their great houses in the interior for two-storey houses in towns, where they had salons and held social gatherings; festivals were no longer religious feasts taking place in front of the churches. However, the existences of a rural patriarchy did not lose its meaning because of the rise of an urban patriarchy composed of businessmen, merchants, bankers whose fortunes had given them titles of nobility, and doctors, lawyers, priests, soldiers and administrative officials. For the great rural landowner possessed both his country and his town house, not only along the coast but in the interior where the urban phenomenon extended. In the province of Maranhão, the town of Caxias, in the midst of the *sertão*, rivalled San Luiz, the capital. In the province of Rio de Janeiro, along the Paranita valley, the palatial houses of coffee planters were to be seen both on their own properties and in towns like Vassouvas, Cantagallo and others. Many other cities similar to these were political and cultural centres where a local society lived in a luxury provided by its rural properties and revenues.

It was under the Republic, however, that town life began really to be one of the main features of Brazil. The towns were embellished and improved. Two capitals of appropriate style were planned, using the best techniques, and were built in the remote interior of the country, in the western desert: Belo Horizonte and Gioania. Improvements were made to all the capitals, along the coast or in the interior, either by the government or by private initiative. They had their industrial stocks, some of them large and impressive, some much less so. They became centres of culture and recreation, and those bordering on the Atlantic had their ports improved. They bore witness to the new style of life which the country was beginning to experience.

Some of those cities have their own sensational history. Manaus, for instance, miles away from the sea on the Rio Negro, acquired importance during the rubber rush. From a tiny settlement around a fort which had been built to protect the missionaries and men who were penetrating into the Amazonian region, it began to attract world attention. It became the capital

of the 'Black Gold', as rubber was then called, and attracted foreigners of all nationalities, races and religions. It developed a wholesale and retail trade in a boundless venture that even included music-halls in the Parisian style. A theatre with an impressive architecture, as well as the other buildings in which were located the governmental services, a port built on metallic tanks on account of the water movements of the Rio Negro, all this reflected the spirit of renovation that was spreading throughout the country.

Belém, another Amazonian city, also became renowned as an important urban centre. With its avenues, hotels, recreational centre, with its animated population and intellectual development this city reached a comparable position, São Paulo, from a humble village founded by the Jesuits in the sixteenth century, later the most important centre in the expansion movement of the *bandeirantes*, became as a result of the coffee boom and of industrial progress the rival of Rio de Janeiro, the federal capital and seat of the government of the Republic. It is now the greatest economic metropolis of South America. In 1822 its population was hardly over the 15,000 mark; in 1890 it numbered 1·3 million inhabitants.

The modernization of Rio de Janeiro was undertaken under the administration of the mayor, Pereira Passos, an engineer with progressive ideas who faced the routine prevailing in the city with regard to its urban aspect. He destroyed what was old and had no significance as artistical and historical heritage. He opened new streets and avenues. He excavated hills, drained swamps, created new traffic areas and districts by reclaiming land from the sea, thus completely renovating the city, which lost its colonial aspect and began to participate in the spirit of renovation that was spreading throughout the country. The new districts continued to expand as the years went by and the population grew constantly. Rio de Janeiro ceased to be merely a political centre wherein was located the central mechanism of the federal authorities to become also an industrial centre. There were only 112,600 inhabitants in 1822 and over 522,651 in 1889.

As a result of the transformation brought about by urbanization, by industrialization and by the republican régime, the country's élite came to represent this dynamic spirit. This élite included businessmen, merchants, bankers, industrialists who lived in the best town units. On the other hand, the urban proletariat also replaced the rural proletariat of the Empire. By entering more and more within the sphere of politics, it began to influence political decisions and to defeat the former powerful men who came from the rural areas. With the domestic market in full development, living conditions began to change.

The demographical growth of Brazil has been indeed appreciable even during the first thirty years of the republican régime. This was not only due to the arrival of European and Asian immigrants, who came in greater number during the last decades, but to a natural process of growth based on an increased sense of security and better health as a result of the sanitation

policy undertaken by the public authorities. In 1822, when Brazil seceded from Portugal, its population numbered less than three million inhabitants. In 1890, when the republican régime was adopted, it reached a little over fourteen million.

However, the mass of the Brazilian population was concentrated along the coast, in the most important cities, such as the state capitals or some towns of the interior which were also the seat of state administrative services or which were expanding on account of special economic circumstances.

During the course of Brazil's evolution, Portuguese was always used by the Brazilians in their social relations. It came into general use slowly but surely. The process had started during the colonial period and went on gradually as territorial expansion took place, with the incorporation of the native groups by the missionaries and public servants entrusted with this task. Thus demographical nuclei were formed on the agricultural and cattle-raising estates as well as in the towns. Of course, Portuguese did not keep its purity intact. Little by little, in terms of the cultural environment, it underwent alterations and deformations (reduced inflection) due particularly to the influence of African idioms; yet, its vocabulary received a greater contribution from the Tupi language than from the African. The teaching of Portuguese was compulsory in primary and secondary schools. Due to the diversifications brought about by the division of the country according to regions, it developed local variations which, however, are not yet strong enough to be considered as dialects. When independence was proclaimed and nationalistic feelings were running extremely high as was natural, some exalted minds claimed that the tongue of the country should reflect the prevailing state of mind and that instead of the Portuguese language one should refer to the Brazilian language.

As for the native dialects, they did not resist the impact of Portuguese and were limited to jungle groups without having the slightest trace of importance. Yet a real resistance had occurred during the colonial period. The missionaries had been entrusted with the task of propagating the language of the colonizing power. However, in most cases they did not carry out this legal obligation, alleging that in order to succeed with the natives it was necessary for them at first to adapt themselves to the natives' own tongues instead of imposing a foreign language upon them. Pombal's Government, noting the slow progress achieved, took steps to change the situation. An intensive teaching of the official language was undertaken in the schools set up for the natives and for the colonists' children, and rapid progress was made without further major obstacles. The native population, weakened by increased cross-breeding, accepted without reluctance the governmental decision and adopted Portuguese as the imperial language.

In the field of education little progress had been made by the time the colonial period came to an end. There were practically no primary and secondary schools and the number of those existing was so insignificant that

it could not meet the minimum requirements of the country. Teaching was limited to courses organized by the government in the capitals of the provinces and in a few towns of the interior, and consisted only in literacy teaching. Secondary education was limited to what was taught in the six seminaries established in Belém, São Luiz, Olinda, Salvador, Rio de Janeiro and Mariana with the purpose of forming the secular clergy; there was also the São Joaquim College established at the Court, and the classes organized in the convents by the religious orders which were not closed to those who were not destined to serve in the Catholic Church, the most important in the country. When the schools maintained by the religious orders, and in particular by the Company of Jesus, were closed, no adequate or, rather, effective solution was provided. The so-called 'royal schools' established at that time gave little result, for there was not enough qualified personnel.

In this respect the Empire received a heavy legacy. It was necessary to take steps to give some efficiency to an illiterate population. In a decree promulgated on 15 October 1827, Dom Pedro determined that a primary public school should operate in each town. This was the first decisive step but it did not give immediate results. Yet the provinces, in spite of the shortage of personnel and the lack of funds required for such a cultural undertaking, faced these difficulties and set up really active small schools throughout the territory even before the Additional Act had given them the right to handle primary and secondary education. The so-called 'Lancaster method' which, it was said, was being so successful throughout the world, was experimented with.

Still, the training of teaching personnel had to be coped with. For this purpose, Normal Schools began to be set up. The first was established in Niteroi in 1835, immediately followed by one in Bahía in 1836. The training of young people in view of their entrance into higher education institutions also had to be faced by public authorities. The first public secondary school, the Lyceum, opened in Natal, capital of the province of Rio Grande do Norte in 1836, and the second, in Bahía, in 1838. In the years that followed, all the provinces set up their own secondary and teacher-training schools. Private schools were also permitted by the law. In the state capitals, especially in Rio, Bahía and Pernambuco, great private schools were founded under the initiative of idealists who dedicated themselves to the task of training the élites which the country needed.

Under the republic the picture continued to change. The teacher-training schools, now reorganized under the name of Institutes of Education, and the public and private secondary schools were constantly increasing in number under the direction of State and municipal authorities as well as of private initiative. The latter included the religious orders who in many regions had anticipated the work of the State. A network of educational institutions spread slowly over the country, primary schools mostly, teaching literacy and preparing future citizens by giving the children a more useful knowledge of

day-to-day experience and of the way of life peculiar to their regional surroundings.

The tradition bequeathed by Portugal when, under Dom João, the first technical and superior institutions had been set up, did not pave the way to the establishment of the university. For this reason, schools organized locally without binding control or centre of attraction were a constant practice during all the Empire and the first decades of the Republic. The attempts to create a system of universities had not gone beyond the stage of idealistic schemes on the part of some who had more exacting or decidedly more progressive ideas. Another consequence of the Portuguese tradition was that higher education was bookish and profoundly humanistic. It lacked scientific curiosity in research and investigations that did not have immediate use. Nevertheless, the Medical Schools of Bahía and Rio de Janeiro, the Law Schools of Olinda and São Paulo, the Polytechnic School of Rio de Janeiro and the School of Mines in Ouro Preto constituted until the last days of the Empire a cultural background of the highest significance. But this situation was to undergo a radical change during the Republic, for then, besides the new schools of legal and social sciences, as they were called, and the medical and engineering schools, the university was established. An intense educational activity stimulated the country when it became aware that it would be appropriate to add to the nation's physical foundation a more vigorous and useful cultural background, taking into account the new spirit of a world in the course of development.

NOTES TO CHAPTER XXI

1. In the opinion of L. Slezkin, Doctor of Historical Sciences, this chapter is marred by the failure of the author to base his generalizations and conclusions firmly on the general laws of social and economic development, which were very clearly apparent throughout the nineteenth century. This is all too evident in the explanation of the character of Latin America's war of independence, the nature of *caudillismo*, the role of the *latifundio* (large landed estate) system, the effect of foreign influence and, lastly, the nature and degree of 'borrowing' of European and North American ideas and creative methods.

    Were not the ideological struggle in Latin America, and the state of cultural development and technical progress the outcome of the conflict and 'co-existence' of capitalism, feudalism and slavery? Were not the birth and development of new ideas and techniques due to the growth of capitalistic relations? Did not the *latifundio* system and foreign influence hamper the growth of national culture and industry in the countries of Latin America? And is it not true that the 'borrowing' of the new ideas and the criticism of old ones occurred at a moment when the social and economic conditions in Latin America were such as to be conducive to such borrowing?

    It is precisely on account of his inaccuracy and his failure to pay sufficient attention to social and economic factors in analysing the class system that the author completely forgets about the 'peasant question': whilst mentioning the appalling conditions of the workers, the author says practically nothing about the agricultural labourers, to whom he makes only a passing reference. Yet the main internal social tragedy of Latin America, as reflected in its philosophy, art, literature and even technology was that of the agricultural labourers and herdsmen—the slave in Brazil, the *gaucho* in the Argentine, the *peón* in

Mexico, the *inquilino* in *Chile*, and so on. And the main tragedy of Latin America in relation to the outside world—likewise reflected in its philosophy, art, literature and even technology—was, surely, its economic dependence on foreign capital after the attainment of national independence!

2. L. Slezkin points out that the conflict between the colonies and Spain was due not, as the author maintains, to 'psychological factors', but to a combination of social, economic, political and psychological factors, as transpires from the text.

3. L. Slezkin considers that the monarchial views of San Martín and, in particular, the influence of San Martín in regard to the installation of monarchies in Latin America are somewhat exaggerated.

4. The author gives the impression [L. Slezkin comments], that Bolívar was merely a 'unifier', and was not interested in republican ideas.

5. Porfirio Diaz [L. Slezkin points out] is idealized, with the result that the reader may wonder why the Mexican revolution should have occurred.

6. In the opinion of L. Slezkin the dictator Rosas is represented as a political leader who united the country. He feels, however, that the real process of colonizing and uniting the country began, on the contrary, after Rosas' overthrow.

7. In regard to the position of the Indians, L. Slezkin writes: 'The wretched fate of the Indians is represented as an inevitable objective process in which the State and the government played virtually no part or, in so far as they did anything, endeavoured to protect the Indians. This is not true. Although it is a fact that protective measures were taken from time to time, the general policy of the governments of the Latin American countries in the nineteenth century was to oppress the aboriginals and deprive them of their land, which resulted in reducing their numbers and even, in some countries, to their total extermination.'

8. Professor Asa Briggs regrets that no reference is made to Trinidad where there came about a remarkable amalgam, characteristic of the century, of Negroes, Chinese, whites and Indians.

9. L. Slezkin points out that the account of the history of culture and, in particular, of education, omits to mention the extremely important question of relations with the Church, which played a very important part in the social life of Latin America in the nineteenth century.

10. *Martín Fierro*, notes L. Slezkin, is something more than 'folklore literature' reflecting local customs and traditions. Both the biography of the author and the life of his hero are vivid illustrations of Argentinian society (enhanced to some extent, of course, by the addition of local colour, but entirely factual in the ethnographical sense). José Hernández and *Martín Fierro* are social phenomena embodied in literary form.

11. L. Slezkin points out that the relations between the Latin American countries and England and the United States are idealized. For more detailed comment on this point, see N. N. Bolkhovitinov's remarks on chapter xx, 'The United States of America', note 7.

12. L. Slezkin points out that the lack of any social and economic basis is even more marked in the section on Brazil than in the section dealing with Spanish America. Monarchy and slavery—slavery in particular—which were the foundations of the whole social and spiritual life of Brazil in the nineteenth century, are represented in this section merely as a vague background to other, allegedly more important, problems.

WESTERN CIVILIZATION IN SOUTH AFRICA AND AUSTRALIA

I. SOUTH AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT
BY STANLEY TRAPIDO

AT the end of the eighteenth century there were three indigenous African peoples living in South Africa: the Bushmen, the Hottentots, and the Bantu-speaking tribes. A fourth group, the white settlers, although immigrants of mainly Dutch origin, had so adjusted to the African environment as to become part of it, and many were already calling themselves Afrikaners. The Bushmen and Hottentots were about to lose their identity and become part of a new ethnic range, the Cape Coloured people, who drew also on the Dutch settlers and Bantu-speaking groups for their parent stock.

For the Bantu-speaking peoples the nineteenth century was a period of enormous upheaval. It saw the shattering of their existing political systems and the creation of new, larger and more powerful political units. No sooner had this restructuring taken place, and before its full significance could be realized, than the Afrikaners and the newly arrived English-speaking settlers began to challenge, and then to overwhelm, the new ascendency. Parallel to this movement a struggle developed between Afrikaner and English-speaking populations. In the first years of the twentieth century the English occupied the dominant position in southern Africa, but their authority did not go unquestioned.

The Bushmen

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Bushmen were the earliest of the surviving inhabitants in southern Africa. They had probably migrated from Central and East Africa about a thousand years before and there is evidence of their having occupied the subcontinent from the Zambesi to the Cape. Their hunting and food-gathering culture gave them a simple political system consisting of a number of hunting bands with a common language. A band usually numbered from fifty to a hundred persons and its affairs were regulated by the older and more experienced members, although judicial and executive functions were ill-defined. Bands claimed usufructory rights over game and edible plants in a roughly defined area, usually centred on a water-hole, and intrusions were resented. With the arrival of the Hottentots, Bantu-speaking and Afrikaner pastorialists, the Bushmen found their supply of field plants, and grazing land for the wild game they hunted, much reduced. Seeking compensation, and attempting to discourage the trespassers, the

Bushmen took possession of any cattle found on land that they had long occupied. The newcomers, according to their own fashion, retaliated and a vicious circle was set in motion which terminated in the extinction of the Bushmen band. Nevertheless it would be wrong to assume that Bushmen and pastoralists were mutually exclusive, and they sometimes lived side by side for long periods.

Early in the nineteenth century, after the British occupation had begun, an attempt was made in the north-eastern districts of the colony to halt the extermination of Bushmen, through converting them to pastoralism, and assisting them in regular organized game hunting for food, and by restraining the frontier militia, the commandos, from attacking them. The Bushmen subsequently began voluntarily to enter the service of white pastoralists, as herdsmen, a position which some had already been forced to fill as captive children. These Bushmen soon lost their identity as Bushmen, for with intermarriage they became 'confounded with the Hottentots'.*

In other parts of the interior the Bushmen were less fortunate. In the north-western Cape, where there was virtually no governmental authority, Griquas (people of white, Hottentot, and slave stock) continued the practice of extermination as late as 1860. By the twentieth century those few Bushmen who survived were found only in the most inhospitable parts of the sub-continent.

The Hottentots

The Hottentots were the next people to immigrate into southern Africa from Central Africa; Portuguese records show them in the south-west Cape in the late fifteenth century, although their occupation of the subcontinent was probably earlier than this. By the seventeenth century when white settlement took place, there were four Hottentot clusters (Cape, Eastern, Nama and Korana). The Hottentots were nomadic pastoralists, who added to their subsistence by hunting. Like the Bushmen, they viewed their pastoral and hunting grounds with a proprietorial air and sought to exclude outsiders. Their political system consisted of an aggregation of exogamous clans, often described as a tribe, with a loose authority devolving on the senior clan who provided a hereditary leader. These aggregations varied in size from several hundred to several thousand persons. Primary allegiance was however given to the clan, which comprised a number of families claiming a common ancestor. Constant rivalries between clans, and an inability to unite in the face of a common danger, contributed to the ultimate downfall of the Hottentots.

The Hottentots did not at first oppose the Cape settlement of the Dutch East India Company, since they did not distinguish it from the previous temporary occupations made by shipwrecked sailors. When they realized that the settlement was intended to be permanent, they ceased co-operation,

* J. S. Marais, *The Cape Coloured People 1652–1937*, London, 1939, p. 25.

and a number of skirmishes took place. It was after one of these that some Hottentots made what was to become a common complaint of non-white peoples as they lost their land to settler encroachment. A company official reporting the incident said that the Hottentots 'dwelt long upon our taking every day for our own use more of the land, which had belonged to them from all ages, and on which they were accustomed to depasture their cattle. They also asked, whether, if they were to come into Holland, they would be permitted to act in the same manner . . . They therefore insisted very strenuously that they should be again allowed free access to the pasture'.*

Their plea went unheeded, and the loss of their land combined with intermarriage with other groups led to the shattering of the Hottentots' clan system. This process was hastened by smallpox epidemics which further decimated them, whilst the eastern Hottentots were subjugated and absorbed by the westward-moving Bantu-speaking peoples. At the end of the eighteenth century the clans had either been overwhelmed to re-emerge as part of the heterogeneous and marginal Cape Coloured people, a landless labouring class, or delaying this fate, had moved into the interior away from white settlement.

The heterogeneity of the Cape Coloured people was partly provided by the slaves of the Company who had been brought to the Cape in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. There were two distinct groups, Negro and Asian. The Negro slaves, the larger group, were employed as field hands on the farms of the western Cape where, in cultural isolation, they soon lost their separate identity, becoming a part of the Coloured people. The Asian slaves who were drawn from the Company possessions in south-east Asia came from societies with complex material cultures. Some of them were political exiles, and many were skilled craftsmen. They lived in Cape Town and in the villages of the western Cape where they interacted with the settlers' European culture which was more complex than any other confronting a non-white group in South Africa. It was therefore possible, when slavery came to an end, for this Asian population—they were known as Malay—to be included in the colonial political system. As early as 1840 a Malay was elected to municipal office in a constituency that had many white electors. In one important respect acculturation did not take place. The Malays retained their Moslem religion and thus retained their separate identity within the Cape Coloured population.

The comparatively high status of the Malay community is in marked contrast with the lowly position occupied by the anomic Hottentots. It is a matter of controversy whether the Company had recognized their existence, but when in 1805 permanent British rule was established, the Hottentots were brought within their administrative ambit. In order to alleviate the severe labour shortage aggravated by the cessation of the importation of slaves, a series of laws, intended to compel the Hottentots to enter the labour

* I. D. MacCrone, *Race Attitudes in South Africa*, London, 1937, p. 37.

market, and to restrict their movement, was enacted. Provision was made in these labour laws to prevent ill-treatment of Hottentots, but they proved unenforceable since their administration depended on local officials drawn from white farming communities.

This differential legislation was much opposed by missionaries who motivated the British Parliament to pass a resolution urging repeal. In 1828 these immobilizing laws were removed from the statute book and Hottentots were no longer subjected to 'any compulsory service to which others of His Majesty's subjects are not liable'.* In 1841, three years after the final abolition of slavery, a Master and Servants law was enacted in which no reference at all was made to colour. In 1854 when representative government was created the franchise was equally colour-blind. In the older parts of the colony the Coloured people lived and worked, as artisans and fishermen, farmhands and labourers. A conservative folk, they contributed to the solidity of the most civilized part of South Africa, differing only from their white neighbours in their poverty.

The Hottentot clans that had escaped the disruptions of the eighteenth century had withdrawn from the area of white settlement. In the interior some of them coalesced with *Baster* families (the descendants of white, slave, Hottentot unions) who were, by the end of the eighteenth century, no longer accepted by white society. These Basters were often wealthy pastoralists and they provided a nucleus around which the Hottentot clans centred. The Basters retained much of the culture of their white male parents, from the Dutch language to the military methods of the mounted commandos. They also retained attitudes of superiority towards the less civilized and physically different members of their community, and the belief that physical labour carried a social stigma.

These Baster-Hottentot communities, known as Griquas, established a number of settlements west of the confluence of the Vaal and Orange Rivers. Here they made attempts to establish constitutional government, but these were notable for their ambitions rather than their achievements. Later in the century the first attempts at constitutional government by Afrikaners— remarkably similar to the Griquas'—were equally unsuccessful. In 1834 and again in 1843 the British authorities entered into defensive treaties with the Griquas. But this political independence was short-lived, for the land shortage in Cape Colony pushed Afrikaner pastoralists, the Trekboers into Griqua territory, and although some Griquas withdrew to the vacant lands on the eastern seaboard, all were eventually made landless, and their social systems disrupted. The Griqua plight was aggravated by poor farming conditions and cultural aversion to manual labour. It is not surprising, therefore, that within this environment of constant insecurity, the final disruption was the result of alcoholism. By the end of the nineteenth

* *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, vol. VIII, W. M. MacMillan, 'The Problem of the Cape Coloured People', p. 290 (Cambridge, 1936).

century, as the Griquas came to be numbered among the Cape Coloured people, they were reduced to abject poverty.

The Bantu-speaking tribes

The dominant indigenous peoples throughout the period were the two major Bantu-linguistic clusters, the Nguni and Sotho-speaking groups. Other Bantu-speaking peoples, notably the Shona and the Venda, had preceded their arrival, constructing impressive social systems and material cultures, but by the nineteenth century they had long been in decline and were unable to withstand the military might of the more recent arrivals. The Nguni-speaking clusters had been met, at the end of the sixteenth century, by Portuguese sailors in their present territories of Zululand, Natal, Pondoland and the Transkeian coast. Nguni oral traditions indicate their occupation of this coast since the thirteenth century. The Sotho cluster lived on the inland plateau, from present-day Bechuanaland in the north-west, to Basutoland in the south-east. It is probable that they migrated into the region in a series of waves, the last of which took place during the eighteenth century. Both clusters show variations in culture. Nor are the similarities confined within clusters. All Bantu-speaking peoples combined animal husbandry with hoe culture. Cattle played an extremely important part in the social and economic life of the society. They were essential for the marriage contract and provided the currency in which the family of a bride were recompensed for the loss of her services. This *lobola* or *logadi* carried ethical and economic considerations that went far beyond the two individuals concerned and it helped bind the two families together. Land was inalienable and occupants had only usufructory rights. The ability to dispense land was part of the power of the chief who headed the political unit, the tribe. At the beginning of the nineteenth century amongst both the Nguni and Sotho clusters a tribe was composed of 2,000 to 3,000 persons divided into a number of clans, and the chief was the senior member of the senior clan. For administrative purposes the tribe would be divided into a number of sections, often under a brother of the chief. The tribe was not an immutable body and shattering and coalescing was a fairly common phenomenon. Such interrelated factors as power, prestige and wealth influenced this process so that despite the existence of a kinship network the tribe was not a closed group with entry being obtained by birth alone. Rather it was an association that an individual could join, be absorbed into, or leave.

Early in the nineteenth century changes in tribal political organization, probably as a result of a growing shortage of land and an increase in population, led to great upheavals. These changes began with Shaka, chief of the then minor Zulu tribe, who embarked upon a series of wars of conquest between 1816 and 1828, and in this short period established his supremacy over Zululand and Natal. Shaka's troops campaigned far from home, and they, together with refugees fleeing from them, created such unrest in the

interior that this period came to be known as the 'wars of calamity'. In Shaka's own conquest state, probably numbering over 100,000 persons, territorial ties largely replaced kinship bonds and the older tribal divisions. An embryo nation was organized from amongst the tribal groups that had been subjugated. A highly centralized political system was created with a standing army. This was not only the source of executive power, but an economic asset as well, for the age regiments were also employed in the monarch's agricultural enterprises. Since the ruler now became the source of law, judicial fines were added to his exchequer as were the spoils of war. The circle was, therefore, completed, for with his wealth the monarch dispensed patronage and purchased loyalty.

The elements of the Zulu political system were adopted by other Nguni and Sotho-speaking groups and a number of large and centralized units emerged, sometimes in response to conditions similar to those in Zululand, sometimes in response to the Zulu threat itself. In a few instances the new political groupings were the result of the systematic unification of the remnants of tribes broken up by Zulu armies, or of Zulu military refugees establishing their own conquest state. Of the new states that were created, that of the Basuto was the most remarkable, and the humane statesmanship and diplomatic skill of its founder and leader Moshesh (1810–70) was in marked contrast to the techniques of terror used by Shaka and his successors.

The southern Nguni were amongst the few Bantu-speaking groups that did not participate in the centralizing political revolution. On the contrary, they had long been engaged in dynastic disputes that led to the hiving off of factions and to the periodic calamitous civil wars. It was these southern Nguni, so ill-equipped to meet alien encroachment, who were the first of the Bantu-speaking peoples to come into contact with white settlers along the Fish River in the eastern Cape. The Xhosa and the Afrikaner Trekboer, both pastoralists, were soon in conflict over grazing lands. The Xhosa were driven to distraction by encroachment, fearing that they too would be 'broken up as the Hottentots were'.* The white frontiersmen, first Afrikaner, and later English-speaking, were self-righteous and aggressive, seeking to increase their land and cattle holdings. Wanting war, they imagined it, and for more than seventy years the frontier was to be an area of rumour and communicated hysteria, the tension only broken by numerous skirmishes, eight of which frontier historians chose to elevate to the title of Kafir Wars.

After the first of these skirmishes in 1799, the Xhosa were supposedly driven across the Fish River which had recently been proclaimed as the colonial frontier. Nevertheless it was not until 1812, the year of the Fourth Kafir War, that anything like an effective expulsion—the result of British military power—was achieved. By this time farmers had grown to depend to a considerable extent on Xhosa labour and a contemporary observer noted that although 'they wished the kraals to be removed from the Zuurveld' the

* W. M. MacMillan, *Bantu, Boer and Britain*, London, 1929, p. 251.

farmers 'were very reluctant to lose their servants'.* This attempt at segregation soon broke down as trade fairs, established in 1817, followed in 1828 by the granting of administrative permission to seek work, encouraged Xhosas to come into the colony. These events reflect not only the fact that an integrated society was in the making, but that there was a crisis in Xhosa tribal society. Not only was Xhosa labour being sought, it was being offered, for tribal society could no longer provide all its members with a livelihood. In the past, as populations had grown, tribesmen had moved on to new pastures. This was now impossible, and even the territories they occupied had been drastically reduced in the wars of 1846 and 1850–2. The inability of the chief to provide everyone with land undermined an authority that was already much reduced by the imposition of white magistrates in 1848. The land shortage weakened the social fabric in other fundamental areas. Less, and poorer land, meant fewer cattle, making it more difficult for young men to obtain their *lobola*, and the family structure already under attack from Christian missionaries was seriously undermined. The mass madness that infected the Xhosa in 1857, when they listened to prophets in their ranks who urged them to destroy their crops and kill their cattle, was a grotesque and symbolic acknowledgement that a social order had collapsed. They expected their ancestors to restore to them their former power. Instead the delusion resulted in the death by starvation of thousands, and many thousands more crossed into the colony to seek work to keep themselves alive. The British Government's reluctance to incur further military expenses brought land alienation to an end in the Cape Colony, and when the Transkeian territories were annexed to the Cape between 1872 and 1894 most of the land was reserved for Africans.

Elsewhere in South Africa the details of encroachment varied, but the ultimate outcome was much the same. In Natal the white immigrants retained Africans as squatters on their farms, calling on them occasionally for labour, or confined them to locations said to be suitable only for 'the owl and eagle, the baboon and the jackal'.† Zulu military power was confined to Zululand and it was only at the end of the century that it was destroyed. Nevertheless the Zulus were able to retain much of their land. In the interior the Free State Afrikaners conquered most of Basutoland before the British gave the Basuto protected status to prevent the upheaval that might have followed complete alientation of their territory. In the Transvaal the Afrikaners enforced their claim of vassalage over the conquered Sotho tribes and confiscated their land, but they were not able until the late nineteenth century to extend their rule over all tribes within their jurisdiction. At the century's end Bechuanaland and Swaziland were annexed by the British as a result of

* *The South African Journal of Economics*, vol. 2, no. 4, December 1934, H. M. Robertson, '150 Years of Economic Contact between Black and White', part I, p. 409.

† *Proceedings of the Commission appointed to enquire into the past and present state of the Kafirs in the District of Natal*, Pietermaritzburg, 1853, p. 50.

imperial considerations and land remaining in African possession was made inalienable. With these annexations all the Bantu-speaking peoples in South Africa were brought under white authority.

In the mid-nineteenth century as the African tribal order was disintegrating in the Cape, the Colonial Governor, Sir George Grey, was urging that 'unremitting efforts be made to raise the Kafirs to Christianity and civilization by establishing ... missions ... with industrial schools, by employing them on public works and by similar means'.* A number of schools were begun and, with a Victorian faith in science. Grey established a hospital, not only to treat the sick but to combat superstition. It is necessary to be wary of over-estimating the effects of Grey's activities. The culture he sought to impose had evolved with a complex economic order that was absent in South Africa. Nevertheless for some acculturation was rapid. The eastern Cape could boast a number of teachers, ministers of religion, craftsmen and even journalists. Several African newspapers were published and a few of the embryonic middle class began to participate in party politics. But this process was restricted to the Cape. In Natal the administration attempted to recon-struct an artificial tribal system under the authority of chiefs. Africans did not willingly enter into white service and the old ways lingered on. In the interior the Afrikaners brought few material skills or techniques of civilized life with them and they had little interest in the African population other than obtaining their labour. For the most part Africans continued to live on white land as squatters with little change in their material culture.

In 1869 diamonds were discovered in Griqualand West and by 1874 10,000 Africans were employed annually at Kimberley. In 1886 gold was discovered on the Witwatersrand in the Transvaal, and between 1890 and 1899 the total number of Africans employed on the gold mines rose from approximately 14,000 to 97,000. Africans came from all over the subcontinent to work the mines, yet their acquisition of an industrial culture was not as rapid as it might have been. The mining companies feared the political, social and economic consequences of industrialization and deliberately fostered a system of migrant labour for African workers, as a result of which the acquisition of technical skills was also delayed. When Africans eventually acquired these skills, English-speaking white artisans, fearing that Africans, without bargaining power and with a much lower standard of living would undermine their wage levels, attempted to prevent their exercise. After the South African war the British administration in the Transvaal acceded to the demands of white workers and in 1903 and 1906 a large number of skilled mining occupations were reserved for white employment. Thus the present pattern of group relations was created, not only in the industrial sphere, but in other economic, political and administrative areas. In 1905 the South African Native Affairs Commission recommended the policy that now prevails in South Africa. The Commission prescribed a limitation on

* J. R. Rutherford, *Sir George Grey*, London, 1961, p. 315.

the ownership of land by Africans, advocated the extension of the immobilizing pass laws, rejected a common roll franchise, and proposed that tribal chiefs be employed for administrative purposes. The intention of these measures was to prevent full industrialization. Viewing these policies from the second half of the twentieth century it is apparent that they can only be credited with delaying the effects of industrialization.

The Indian community

The South African Indian community was primarily brought into being to meet a labour shortage in Natal's plantation economy. In the nineteenth century Natal Africans refused work on plantations either because they could find less arduous agricultural employment or because they possessed land of their own. In an earlier period the importation of slave labour would have solved the planatation owners' problem, but the abolition of slavery in the British Empire meant that a new source of labour had to be found. Colonial plantation economies came to depend on the subsidized immigration of labourers from India. The immigration into Natal began in 1860 and continued until the government subsidy was withdrawn in 1911. A smaller group of Indians, belonging to a trading caste, were attracted to Natal to supply the needs of plantation labourers.

As a result of Indian labour the value of the sugar crop increased from £2,000 in 1857 to £26,000 in 1863 and £100,000 in 1864. It was with good reason that Sir Liege Hullett, a leading sugar producer, stated in the Legislative Assembly in July 1908 that Indian settlement had begun 'the material prosperity of Natal, and if it had not been for that commencement Natal could not be today in the position it holds as the premier (agricultural) country in South Africa'.* But despite this very considerable contribution to the economy of Natal, the treatment of the Indian settlers by the white community was often harsh. In 1870 the Colonial Office threatened to discontinue Indian immigration unless conditions on the plantations improved. In the towns Indian traders were resented by white commercial interests and a whole series of discriminatory laws found their way on to the statute books. These ranged from local government ordinances forbidding Indians to be on public thoroughfares after nine in the evening, to a licensing act compelling all businessmen to keep their records in English. In 1893, after Natal had received responsible government, its legislature passed an act preventing further Indian enfranchisement. Similar restrictions and disabilities were imposed on Indian settlers in the Transvaal, whilst the Orange Free State went further and prohibited their settlement. Indian immigration into the Cape was brought to an end early in the twentieth century but the few thousand who were already living in the Colony were given similar political and social status to the Coloured population.

In 1894 a young Indian barrister, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, made

* *Debates of the Natal Legislative Assembly,* vol. XLIV, 14 July 1908, p. 331.

what was intended to be a short professional visit to South Africa. Shocked by the treatment of his fellow Indians he stayed on to lead them in their attempt to improve their conditions. As a result of his experiences Gandhi developed his philosophy of *satyagraha*, a form of political action involving passive resistance which had worldwide repercussions in the twentieth century. In South Africa, however, *satyagraha*, although heroically undertaken in 1906, did little to ameliorate the conditions of the Indian people. Discrimination continued, meaning humiliation and for most, poverty. Although divided by religion—Moslem and Hindu constituting the major sub-groups—external pressures gave them cohesion. Amongst the Hindu the caste system, isolated from its economic base, declined in importance and less rigid class differences were substituted. The use of Indian languages continued and despite participation in a competitive economy, the extended family system prevailed.

The Afrikaner people

The Afrikaner people were descendants of Hollanders, French Huguenots and Germans, who had been brought to the Cape by the Dutch East India Company in the second half of the seventeenth century to establish a refreshment station and naval base, surrounded by a supporting agricultural settlement. During the eighteenth century many of them found it difficult to make a living within the settlement and they moved into the interior becoming nomadic stockfarmers, *trekboeren*. In this way the frontier, familiar to the settler histories of Australia and North America, came into being in South Africa. In the colonies of settlement the frontier was not a line on a map, or even a place, but a process where new attitudes were formed and new personalities moulded. In an uncontrolled and unpredictable environment, in isolation, and ignored by authority, the Trekboer developed an exaggerated and anti-social individualism. Amongst equals there was 'an atmosphere of contentiousness'* and the traveller Lichtenstein commented at the beginning of the nineteenth century on 'the bitterness and irresponsible animosity with which they carry on their differences among each other.'† In their behaviour to those of inferior status—wives, children and non-white servants—they were arbitrary and authoritarian. Because Malay slaves were craftsmen, the Afrikaner came to associate physical labour with slave status, and since all slaves were Coloured men it was simple enough to associate colour with low status. This had not always been so, for although the settlers had always cast themselves as members of an élite it was an open élite where colour was not originally a criterion for exclusion. Rather the world was divided into Christian and non-Christian—categories derived initially from Calvin's distinction between the elect and the damned—and slaves, upon becoming baptized, received their freedom and were accepted into the community of

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* I. D. MacCrone, *op. cit.* p. 108.
† J. S. Marais, *Maynier and the First Boer Republic*, Cape Town, 1944, p. 69.

free burghers. By the middle of the eighteenth century in the struggle for land and labour, the categories had changed and Christianity had become a jealously guarded privilege of white men. It justified their domination of the heathen who surrounded them.

The Afrikaners were at first easily able to dominate the indigenous population with whom they came into contact. Then at the end of the eighteenth century they found themselves in conflict with Bantu-speaking tribes. They were not always able to prevail on their own and they looked to the authorities to extricate them from the results of their never-ending search for land, labour and cattle. Assistance was not usually forthcoming, but on two occasions when the authorities intervened, in 1795 and 1834, they held the frontiersmen at least equally responsible for their difficulties and refused to assist them in what they regarded as attempts at aggrandisement. In 1795, the frontiersmen expelled the Company's officials and established two anarchic republics which did not, however, outlive the first British occupation in the same year. Between 1834 and 1838 when the frontiersmen's actions were again questioned by authority, this time the powerful British administration, they withdrew into the interior in a movement known as the Great Trek. Attempts have been made to describe the Great Trek as primarily anti-British in its motivation, but this does not allow us to account for those who remained, the frontiersmen of the north-west and the settled farmers in the south-west. The events of 1834–8, as those of 1795, were essentially revolts against frontier policy.

The Voortrekker migration into the interior brought the Afrikaner into armed conflict, first with African tribes in the inevitable dispute over land, and then with the British who sought to prevent them from establishing, in Natal, an independent seaboard state whose harbours might be used by European powers to challenge British hegemony in the Indian Ocean. With their rifles they were able to defeat the Africans, but when the British established their supremacy over Natal, which they annexed in 1843, the Afrikaners again withdrew into the interior in the hope of establishing independent rule. The British, however, believing that upheavals there would affect the Cape's eastern frontier, would not grant these embryo Afrikaner republics independence, and after a number of skirmishes annexed their territories, between the Orange and Vaal rivers in 1848.

As a result of these clashes the Voortrekkers became a self-conscious and cohesive group. But within a short while their cohesion had collapsed because British policy, which had been a major factor in its creation, now changed. In 1852 and 1854 Britain recognized the independence of the Afrikaner republics. The removal of an external enemy resulted in an anarchic dispersion. An Afrikaner historian has noted that this was followed by a period of 'factionalism, lawlessness, political chaos and anarchy, confusion, disputes among themselves and civil war'.* They had had no previous experience of self-government and their initial efforts were mostly unsuccessful. For those

* F. A. Van Jaresveld, *The Awakening of Afrikaner Nationalism*, Cape Town, 1961, p. 217.

within their *maatschappij* their constitutional theory was highly equalitarian, and for the newcomer, if he was white, even though not an Afrikaner, acceptance into the political community was virtually automatic. For non-whites, on the other hand, there was no place. The constitution of the South African Republic explicitly stated that there should be no equality in Church and State.

Despite the initial similarities between Baster and Afrikaner attempts at constitutional government, the Afrikaners were in the long run to succeed where the Baster failed. Contributing to the Afrikaners' success was the substantial middle class that had remained in the Cape Colony after the Voortrekkers had departed. It was from this middle class that the republics drew their political and administrative leadership and, ultimately, their cultural sustenance. The vast majority of Afrikaners had not left the Cape. The Trekboers still roamed the north and north-west frontiers and, in the south-west, settled grain and vine farmers continued in their prosperity. Attempts were made to anglicize the Afrikaner and in 1828, when English became the official language of the colony, their systems of local government were replaced by British institutions, Scottish Presbyterian ministers and schoolteachers were brought to South Africa, and in the town and countryside of the Western Province English influences began to permeate Afrikaner society. English was the language of law, commerce and administration and was readily adopted by ambitious young men. When representative government came in 1854 English was the sole language of debate and this went unquestioned. Even more significant, in 1860 English services were initiated in Cape Town's Groote Kerk.

In 1860 political chaos in the north, and anglicization in the south, suggested that the various Afrikaner communities would lose their identity. Yet by 1880 an Afrikaner nationalism, demanding, though by no means achieving, the loyalties of all Afrikaners in South Africa, had been born. A major stimulus for the growth of this nationalism was the reversal of British policy of non-intervention and the active role that Britain was once again playing in the interior. Their annexations of Basutoland in 1868, and the diamond fields of Griqualand West in 1871, aroused a self-consciousness among Free State Afrikaners that was symbolized in the state publication in 1876 of a *Geschiedenis van den Oranje Vrijstaat* (History of the Orange Free State). The British annexation of the Transvaal in 1877 evoked a feeling amongst many colonial and republican Afrikaners that they were a single people with a common past and, equally important, a common future. As if to acknowledge this a Free State pamphleteer now produced *Die Geschiedenis van het Afrikaansche Geslach van 1688 tot 1882* (The History of the Afrikaner People from 1688 to 1882). In the Cape in 1879 a small group of Afrikaners formed the Afrikaner Bond and urged the unification of South Africa under a republican flag. These Cape Afrikaners, aware of the decline of Afrikaner consciousness, had also initiated a movement of cultural nationalism, and in

1876 Die Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners (The Society of True Afrikaners) was formed. It set itself the task of turning Afrikaans into a written language. With this in mind the Reverend S. J. du Toit, a leader of the Genootskap, wrote *Die Geskiedenes van Ons Land in die Taal van Ons Volk* (The History of Our Land in the Language of Our People). Du Toit also edited and published a newspaper *Die Afrikaner Patriot*. Economic nationalism was not absent in this movement, du Toit's paper urged the establishment of national banks and co-operatives throughout South Africa, and a boycott of English-owned commercial interests.

In the Transvaal a parallel National Boerenhandelsvereeniging (National Citizens Commerce Society) was established with the purpose of 'countering foreign elements in the commercial sphere'.* But it was the annexation of the Transvaal by the British that gave to Transvaal Afrikaners a cohesion that they had not previously known. The support that they received from Cape and Free State Afrikaners when they took to arms against British rule aroused a sense of gratitude that created new bonds.

Once the war was over and the Transvaal's independence restored, the concept of Afrikaner unity declined. In the Cape electoral victories in 1883 established the Afrikaner Bond as the largest party in the colonial Parliament, but without a working majority. They had, therefore, to enter into coalitions with English-speaking groups and as a result diluted their militant nationalism. The Transvaal was riven once more by faction, and the northern republicans earned the ire of southern Afrikaners by placing tariffs on their products. Unity was still a long way off. Then at the end of 1895 Cecil Rhodes, the Cape Prime Minister and mining magnate, having failed to persuade northern Afrikaners to enter a political union of South African states, embarked upon a conspiratorial attempt to overthrow the Transvaal Government, and this with the prior knowledge and assistance of members of the British cabinet. The conspiracy failed badly, but it succeeded in reawakening Afrikaner nationalism.

At the century's end, the British Government had come to fear that an independent Transvaal, with the wealth of the newly discovered gold-fields, would shift the centre of power in South Africa away from the British colonies, and in time an Afrikaner republic might be established from the Cape to the Limpopo River. They determined to smash the republics, and in 1899 provoked the Transvaal into declaring war. The Orange Free State, though it tried to prevent the war, came to the assistance of its sister republic as did many colonial Afrikaners in the northern Cape, where whole districts went into rebellion. Yet even this war failed to bring Afrikaner unity. The Cape Afrikaner Bond did not actively support the republican cause, and within the republics themselves there were many who surrendered easily, and some who fought on the side of the British. Within the ranks of those whose loyalty could not be doubted there were some, mostly Transvaalers, who

* Van Jaresveld, *op. cit.* p. 160.

within the first few months of the war concluded that the republics were too weak to overcome British military power. An early peace, they thought, might secure reasonable terms and prevent further destruction. The opposing view—put forward mainly by Free Staters—held that if the fighting continued long enough, the British Government would be compelled by a war-weary electorate to withdraw from the South African scene. Ultimately, however, all had to acknowledge that the republics, ravaged by British tactics of razing the countryside and interning the civilian population, could not fight on.

The antagonisms that appeared during the war were aggravated by defeat and influenced Afrikaner political development into the middle of the twentieth century. A narrative of that history would contain little more than the numerous attempts, and the ultimate success, of nationalist politicians to unify Afrikanerdom under their leadership. This unity brought political power that had been ensured, paradoxically, in the Afrikaners' moment of defeat. The articles of surrender, signed by the republican leaders in 1902, stipulated that non-whites would remain disfranchised until self-government was restored. Since this meant that the enfranchisement of non-whites was left with an all-white electorate, it ensured their continued exclusion from political power. In 1910 the Transvaaland and the Orange Free State entered the Union of South Africa with an exclusively white electorate and, driving a hard bargain, they succeeded in undermining the non-racial franchise in the Cape. Nevertheless, few would have then predicted that within fifty years Afrikaner nationalism would dominate the new state. Even if there had not been a destructive war, Afrikanerdom would still have had a large poverty-stricken and depressed rural population. Because the mining towns created markets, landowners began to consolidate their properties, to put an end to primitive and wasteful methods, and in the process the last of the Trekboers were driven from the land. Paradoxically this enclosure movement was paralleled by the finite, and uneconomical, sub-division of land, the result of the Roman Dutch law of inheritance. This led to pauperdom as surely as eviction. Because of the Afrikaners' attitude to manual labour, the poor whites would not become agricultural workers even if they could have competed with the cheap and docile Coloured and African farmhands. With little alternative employment they became a demoralized and debilitated group, little distinguished from the poor Coloureds. Yet it was the allegiance of the poor whites that gave the middle-class Afrikaner nationalist leaders power. If the Afrikaners' social problems no longer spring directly from poverty, it is because they, unlike the Coloured people, have obtained political power.

Growing control by English-speaking groups

In 1899 a polemical tract, entitled *A Century of Wrong*,* claiming to be a catalogue of the Afrikaners' experiences of British power, was published by

* J. C. Smuts, *A Century of Wrong*, London, 1899.

the South African Republic. Much of the history of both Afrikaner and African could be described in these terms, but if this were the only view of the British impact on South Africa, it would be a much distorted one. That impact was necessarily complex and contradictory; it was made by administrators and missionaries, artisans and men of capital. It produced a conservative tradition of racial toleration that came to be known as Cape liberalism, and at the century's end, a labour movement that enjoined its members to 'unite for a white South Africa'. It is necessary to distinguish between the imperial authority and the English-speaking settlers who made South Africa their home. The settlers may have supported imperial expansion on occasion, and often they provoked it, but there were other times when they opposed British aggrandisement. More important, much of their experience and activity fell outside the imperial province.

The first English-speaking colonists were the 5,000 assisted immigrants who were brought to the scrublands of the eastern Cape, in 1820, in the hope that they would form an extensive agricultural settlement as a barrier to Xhosa infiltration. The immigrants were mainly urban people, with commercial or industrial skills, and few amongst them had knowledge or experience of farming. As a result many floundered in agriculture and eventually found their way to the towns. There they began to display a knowledge of more than double-entry book-keeping. Accustomed to a society where the petition and committee were essential techniques of reform they found themselves out of sympathy with an autocratic and Tory administration. When critical comments began to appear in settler newspapers—the first to be published in South Africa—the authorities introduced press censorship. The settlers refused to acquiesce in this, and after some agitation within South Africa they enlisted British Government support against the local officials. As a result ordinances guaranteeing the freedom of the press became law in 1829. This important victory made the new settlers more ambitious, and in 1830 they petitioned the British Parliament for representative institutions. In refusing them the Colonial Secretary held that 'because the potential white voters were a handful of the population, and the Coloured people were as yet unfit to share their privileges; consequently the grant of parliamentary institutions to the Cape was for the present impossible'.* In 1854, when representative government did come to the Cape, it was primarily the result of the growing power of the settlers. Nevertheless the British Government's insistence on a non-racial franchise went unquestioned, at least in principle, and the Cape, alone of colonial political systems in Africa, was able to accommodate a considerable proportion of its non-white population within its political boundaries.

The prototype of white settlement in Africa was Natal. There negrophobia and paternalism were interwoven. The political system, after a false start,

* G. W. Eybers, *Select Constitutional Documents Illustrating South African History, 1795–1910*, London, 1918, p. 30.

was exclusively white, tribal institutions were maintained, and Africans were made the subject of immobilizing and differential legislation that was orientated to the needs of the white farming community. The Cape did not escape these settler characteristics but it did develop alternative facets. There were many influences that contributed to the different social and political climates in the two British colonies. The western Cape had been settled from Europe for nearly 150 years before a permanent white settlement had taken root in Natal. If English-speaking settlers in the Cape were influenced by British movements of reform, then by contrast many of Natal's settlers were conservative *émigrés* from Britain's 1848 Corn Laws and a *laissez-faire* state. The Cape's Coloured population were in many cases an urbanized people and the cultural gap between them and the white settlers was infinitely less than the differences between Natal's settlers and the tribal, or recently tribal, Africans. Yet the argument may be circular, for it was as a result of deliberate policy that the acculturation of Africans was far slower in Natal than in the Cape.

The most obvious and major difference between the two British colonies was the presence, in the Cape, of an Afrikaans-speaking population even larger than the English-speaking community. Cape liberalism was in many ways a product of conflicting and contesting cultures. The sharp contrast between the Afrikaners' determinist Calvinsim and the liberal English view of personality was readily noticed by some. The liberal view was expressed by Dr John Philip who said that 'We are all born savages, whether we are brought into the world in the populous city or in the lonely desert. It is the discipline of education, and the circumstances under which we are placed which creates the differences between the rude barbarian and the polished citizen . . .'*

Whilst the English settlers tended to assimilate racial ideologies very rapidly, their complete acceptance was prevented by the influence of their clergy, who were usually born in Britain and who did not always acquire their white congregants' attitudes. In addition, the English churches, unlike their Afrikaner counterparts, sought African converts and were sometimes sensitive to their aspirations. Dr Philip's view of personality was, therefore, paralleled by his *laissez-faire* labour doctrine. Philip claimed that he wanted no more for the Coloured people than 'the power (to) bring their labour to a fair market', but as the British Colonial Secretary of the time remarked, that 'includes everything else'.†

On another level Cape liberalism arose out of the political conflict between English and Afrikaans-speaking groups. Cecil Rhodes saw this clearly, and referring to Natal, with its homogeneous English-speaking population, he noted that there 'the whole of the Native races are disfranchised . . . That is the unanimous opinion of the Natal people, because there is no race (national)

* John Philip, *Researches in South Africa*, London, 1828, vol. II, p. 316.
† *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, *op. cit.* p. 289.

question of English and Dutch to divide them, and if we in this colony had no race question to divide us, we should have had the franchise put on a proper basis before now'.* Because Cape liberalism can be seen as a function of an unstable balance of power, it was often inconsistent, and by the end of the century, inroads had been made into the non-racial franchise that were important, not in themselves, but because precedents were provided for those who sought to abolish it completely.

The decline of the non-racial franchise can also be ascribed to the growth of a mining and industrial society. The mining companies sought and obtained legislation that would keep their labour cheap, immobile and quiescent, and the existence of a non-racial franchise was hardly compatible with these objectives. In addition, English-speaking workers, fearing competition, insisted that Africans be excluded from what they called 'white man's work'. Their trade unions were the first to urge the territorial segregation of Africans that has been adopted as the apartheid policy of Afrikaner nationalism. White employers and employees produced rationalizations for their actions and these cast non-whites as innately inferior. Thus the Secretary of the Mine Workers' Union told a commission of inquiry that 'seeing that the average Kaffir is bred as a slave, he has no right to usurp our position as free men or drive us from these mines—we have a right to the colour bar . . .'.† This was only one aspect of the ideology of an expanding Empire. At the end of the century the British High Commissioner, Lord Milner, insisted that schools in the defeated republics were to limit the use of the Afrikaans language to the teaching of English, and 'English to teach everything else'.‡

Yet we should heed our own warning, that we beware of limiting and distorting the roles of English-speaking South Africans, for there were many who did not accept imperial policy. William Schreiner and John X. Merriman, both in their time prime ministers of the Cape, had opposed the war with the Afrikaner states. Despite their support for the republican cause they were advocates of the Cape's non-racial franchise and its liberal tradition, and Schreiner sacrificed his political career to ensure that Dinizulu, the Zulu chief, who was being tried in Natal on a spurious charge of treason, should have a competent defence. William's sister, Olive Schreiner, whose *Story of an African Farm* was probably the first English novel to come out of Africa, gave support to such diverse liberal causes as the Afrikaner's language, the labour movement, the maintenance of the Cape's non-white vote, emancipation and enfranchisement of women in general. The liberal tradition may have been weakened in the imperial age; it was not destroyed.

The first years of the twentieth century saw the English dominating South Africa economically and politically. Afrikaners and Africans had both been

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* Vindex, *Cecil Rhodes: His Political Life and Speeches, 1881–1899*, p. 156.
† *The South African Journal of Economics*, vol. 3, no. 1, March 1935, H. M. Robertson, '150 Years of Economic Contact Between Black and White', part II, pp. 20–1.
‡ Cecil Hedlam (ed.), *The Milner Papers (South Africa) 1897–1905*, London, 1931–2, vol. II, p. 243.

brought under British authority, but whilst Afrikaners were already preparing to regain their political independence, the non-whites sought, however hesitantly, complete integration within the new society that had emerged out of a tumultuous century.

2. AUSTRALIA
BY RUSSEL WARD

The contact between European and indigenous culture in nineteenth-century Australia presents an extreme case of what has been written above about the European impact on native cultures in Asia, Africa and Oceania. Generally speaking, the Pacific islanders both resented European domination and coveted many features, particularly material ones, of the technologically more advanced civilization of the invaders. Polynesians, Melanesians and Micronesians sought, with varying degrees of success, to preserve as much as they could of their traditional *mores* while simultaneously assimilating whatever seemed desirable and attainable in the European way of life. In Australia, by contrast, the indigenous culture simply collapsed, much more rapidly and completely than elsewhere. There were four main reasons for this.

Firstly, aboriginal culture was more primitive—in the sense made familiar by the Australian scholar, V. G. Childe—than that of other contemporary peoples. Nearly all the Pacific islanders carried on some form of agriculture. The Australian aborigines lived entirely by hunting and food-gathering. All the evidence to date suggests that they had lived for at least several thousand years on their island continent in a state of virtually complete isolation from other cultures, and so from the stimulation to change and development which cultural contact of any kind is apt to produce. This does not mean, of course, that their culture was either simple or contemptible. Their kinship systems, for example, were extremely complex, their art impressive and their whole way of life adjusted with extraordinary delicacy to the nature of the harsh environment: but it does mean that their culture was extremely primitive in a technological sense, that it was extremely static and rigid, and that the very existence of each tribe depended, in a spiritual as well as a material sense, on traditional ties with its own particular territory. It means also that the aborigines lived in 'stateless societies'. They had no chiefs, hereditary or otherwise, and no organs of formal political authority. The tribe lived in the way prescribed by immemorial tradition or custom, and those who informally made communal decisions—interpreted communal custom, rather—were simply the older and more experienced men upon whom longevity had conferred prestige. (Pl. 73a).

Secondly, the available evidence suggests, too, that the Australian aborigines and particularly the Tasmanians who were probably an ethnically distinct people, were among the most unwarlike folk known to history. The northern tribes, some of whom had had for at least several hundred years sporadic

contact with south-east Asian peoples, were perhaps a little more bellicose than the others; but none seemed to have learned to carry on warfare—in the sense that that term is understood by all civilized peoples. Individuals were often killed, sometimes by men of another tribe, for breaking taboos recognized by all the tribes in a large area. This practice seems akin, and ancestral to, what other societies mean by punitive judicial action. Often, also, two tribes would meet at a traditional place where, after exchanging insults and challenges, the men would hurl spears at each other, dodging the missiles with great dexterity sometimes for hours, until one man was wounded or, more rarely, killed. The tribal 'war', as contemporary European observers called it, was then abandoned for a year or so until the next formal meeting. But this activity brings to mind more, say, the Olympic Games or an international football match, than warfare. There is no evidence that any of the 370-odd aboriginal tribes ever conceived the notion of exterminating or enslaving another, or of annexing part of another's property or tribal territory. True warfare arises, perhaps, only when the discovery of agriculture and stock-breeding, or contact with people who had made these discoveries, provides stocks of wealth worth fighting over.

Thirdly, because of their technological backwardness and the relative bareness of Australia, there were few aboriginal inhabitants. In an area comparable to that of Europe or the United States of America there were, according to the most reliable estimates, only between 100,000 and 300,000 inhabitants. Within sixty years of the first landing the white population of Australia had reached about 400,000.

Fourthly, the European invaders of Australia made it, unlike most parts of Asia, Africa and Oceania, a country of settlement instead of a place to be visited and exploited by traders, missionaries and officials.

As a result of these four factors, tribal society disintegrated very rapidly before the almost unopposed advance of the European settlers. Some, according to their lights, treated the aborigines kindly, and some killed them despite government edicts for their protection; but few or none in the nineteenth century really understood them. Dispersed from their tribal territories, most of the demoralized survivors subsisted as parasites in camps on the outskirts of the homesteads of the pastoralists who occupied the country. A few became skilled stockmen, employed casually at only a fraction of the wage paid to white men doing the same work; but their nomadic habits limited the success with which, at first, most aborigines could make even this partial adjustment to the new order. The last male Tasmanian aborigine died in 1869, only sixty-six years after the first permanent European settlement on the island. By 1905 the number of full-blood aborigines on the mainland had fallen to something like 80,000, and most of these were already effectively detribalized. Today efforts are being made to assimilate their descendants completely into the Australian community.[1]

The history of Australia in the nineteenth century thus becomes the

history of its European invaders and of their adjustment to the strange environment.
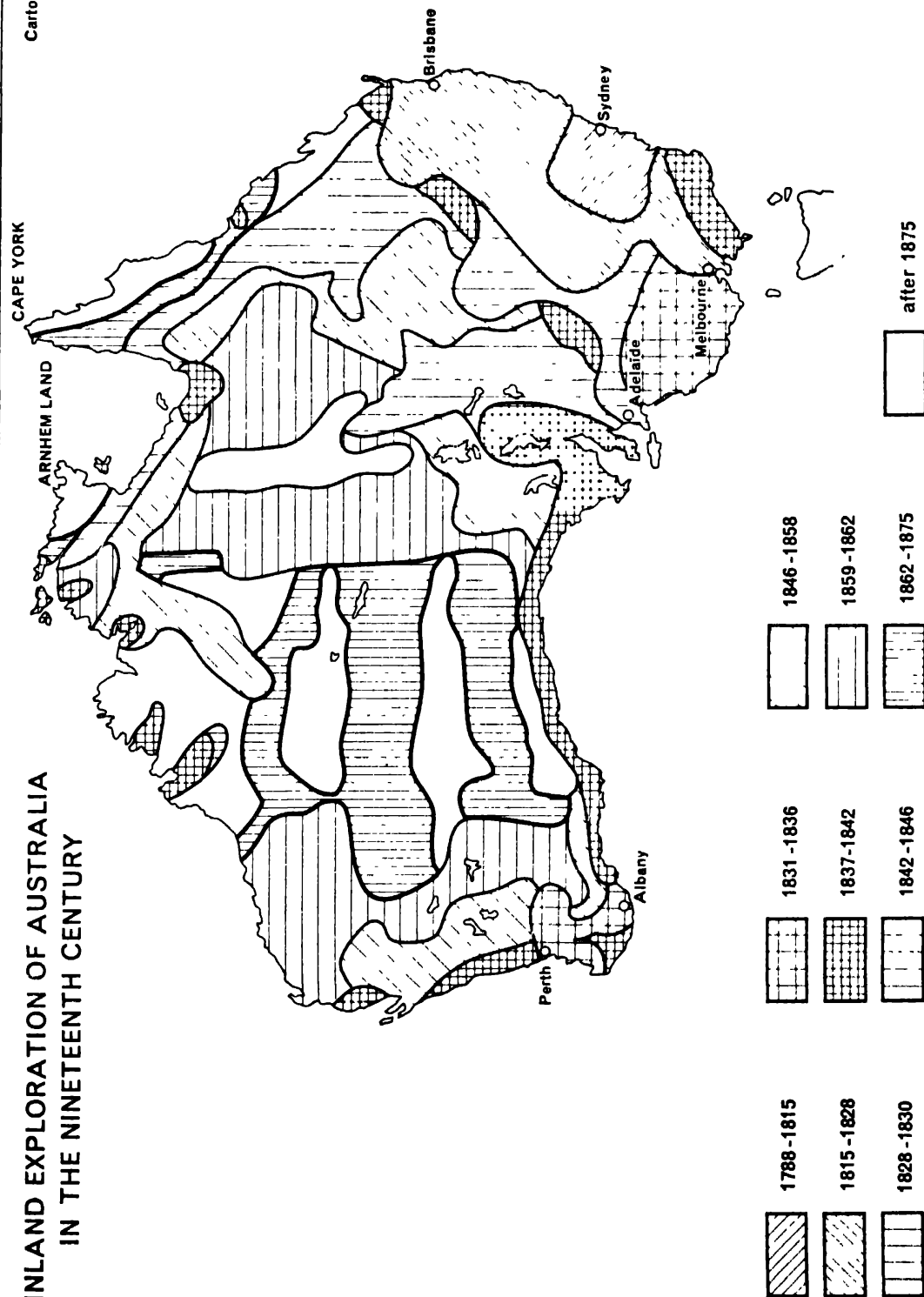
Nineteenth-century Australia was, basically, a provincial British society. (Pl. 71b). That this should have been so was assured by the continuous stream of immigrants, books, ideas and fashions from the 'old country'. Trial by jury, parliamentary government and other British institutions were transplanted to the antipodes as a matter of course. Even after the major colonies became completely self-governing under the British Crown in 1856, Australians began only slowly to think of themselves as a separate nation. Until the last quarter of the nineteenth century the six colonies were virtually separate settlements, the readiest communication between them being by sea. Yet a recognizably distinct Australian culture was developing throughout the period and the differences between it and its British prototype became increasingly evident to visitors and to many, if not all, Australians. These differences sprang from two main sources: first, from the fact that, particularly before about 1850, many more people from certain social classes and from certain parts of the British Isles emigrated to Australia than from other social classes and other areas; and, second, from the influence of the strange environment on the colonists. British visitors usually found Australians to be rather unmannered, materialistic and 'Yankee-fied'. American visitors, on the other hand, usually thought nineteenth-century Australians rather conservative, conventional and 'British'. In fact, there was relatively little direct American influence on Australia, and while the difficulties of pioneering a virgin continent naturally led to the development of a practical, rough-and-ready pioneering outlook, this developing Australian ethos was quite different in important ways from its American counterpart.

European or 'White' Australia was founded mainly because the victory of the American colonists in their war of independence deprived Great Britain of a suitably remote dumping-place for her convicted criminals. The first fleet, under the command of Captain Arthur Phillip, R.N., reached Sydney Cove on 26 January 1788. Transportation of convicts to the eastern mainland continued until 1840, to Tasmania until 1852, and was carried on to Western Australia from 1850 until 1868. Altogether about 160,000 convicts were shipped to Australia. Relatively few of them were women, and very few indeed were political prisoners sentenced for radical or unconventional views or acts. The majority were simply habitual criminals. The growth of the pastoral industry attracted other settlers, however, and by 1851 free British immigrants and their descendants comprised about half the total (white) Australian population.

Most, though not all, of the early free immigrants were working-class people whose social background differed little from that of the convicts and their Australian descendants. Thus British society was not, and perhaps could not have been, as E. G. Wakefield seems to have thought, transferred *in toto* to Australia. Among the colonists in the first half of the nineteenth century

INLAND EXPLORATION OF AUSTRALIA
IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Cartography Hallwag Berne

CAPE YORK

ARNHEM LAND

Brisbane

Sydney

Melbourne

Adelaide

Perth

Albany

1788-1815

1815-1828

1828-1830

1831-1836

1837-1842

1842-1846

1846-1858

1859-1862

1862-1875

after 1875

there was a grossly disproportionate number of poor, working-class people, and also nearly three times as many people of Irish descent as there were—relative to the total population—in the British Isles. The almost complete absence of secondary industries at this period meant, too, that the early Australian 'middle class' was extremely small—only 3·1 per cent in the New South Wales census of 1841; while the scarcely larger colonial 'upper class' of pastoral proprietors, merchants, bankers, and so on was not a traditional aristocracy in the contemporary British sense, but consisted mainly of middle-class Britons possessing modest amounts of capital, with a sprinkling of poor immigrants and ex-convicts who had 'made good'. Thus the virtual absence of the traditional aristocracy and middle class, combined with the disproportionately large number of working people and of traditionally rebellious and feckless Irish, made for a much more rapid development of egalitarian, democratic practices than took place in contemporary Britain—or France, or the United States of America. Thus, too, it came about that, in sharp contradistinction to the usual state of affairs in the old countries of Europe, Australian nationalistic and chauvinistic sentiment, which became strong in the last decade of the century, was associated with the political and social Left rather than with the conservative forces in society, which tended to retain longer their traditional 'patriotic' attachment to the mother country.

From the foundation of Australia till the great depression of the early 1890s there was an almost continuous labour shortage, more marked in the countryside than in the few big coastal cities. This, combined with the natural resources awaiting exploitation by reasonably modern methods, meant that the standard of living was much higher than in Britain. Despite the brutalities associated with transportation, even convicts serving their sentences in Australia as a rule ate more and better food than they would have been able to afford as free men in the old country. These conditions early generated, in free and freed colonists alike, a greater degree of self-respect and independence than might have been expected. In 1871 George Carrington, an Oxford man, wrote of Australian workmen:

'There is a total absence of that crawling deference to those who happen to have money in their pockets and good clothes on their backs, which may often be found in (the workmen) of England and Ireland. Here I found realized much that I had been accustomed to consider high-flown and non-sensical: I could now understand the true meaning of the nobility of labour.'

Whaling and sealing provided the first staple export commodities, but by about 1830 whale-oil and sealskins were being replaced by wool. Ever since that time, wool has provided the staple export of Australia. Until the gold discoveries of the 1850s the pastoral industry was not only the major one but almost the only one of significance. Geographic and economic conditions ensured that it was from the first a 'big man's' industry. Pastoral farms or 'stations' were sometimes as large as an English county, each one owned by

a single 'squatter' or pastoral company with headquarters perhaps in the distant city or even in Britain. Most pastoral work was, like shearing, seasonal in nature, so that the great majority of the inhabitants of the countryside were itinerant workers whose relationship with their relatively few employers was usually an impersonal one, much more like that between employees and employer in a large European factory than on a European farm. (Pl. 72b). For this and other reasons the whole tone of Australian life early became much more democratic, in the sense of more egalitarian and collectivist, than life in the home country—or even in the United States where the typical frontiersman was a 'small man', an individualist, self-employed farmer-proprietor. The major colonies achieved, for instance, virtually universal male suffrage and vote by secret ballot by 1859, and votes for women, too, by 1905. Such reforms usually came twenty years or more earlier than in Britain. By 1905 Australian trade union membership was probably much higher, per head of total population, than it was anywhere else in the world, despite the relatively undeveloped state of secondary industry.

The discovery of rich gold deposits in 1851 attracted a 'rush' of immigrants, still preponderantly British. The population almost trebled in the decade 1851–61, rising from 405,356 to 1,145, 585. This gold rush diversified the economy and greatly strengthened the Australian middle class. Light secondary industries mainly concerned with food-processing, clothing, housing and agricultural implement-making sprang up. Secondary schools and universities were founded in the major cities in the 1850s and 1860s. In the next decade most colonies instituted systems of secular and nearly free primary education. School attendance was made compulsory for all children up to the age of thirteen or fourteen, but denominational schools continued to cater for those children whose parents preferred a religious education and could afford to pay the higher fees. In 1905 Australian heavy industry was still only in the embryonic stage of development, but its beginnings can be traced from the discovery of the immensely rich silver–lead–zinc lodes at Broken Hill in 1883. The capital accumulated in this and other mining ventures comprised a large part of the basis on which a growing iron, steel and machinery industry was reared in the present century. From 1861 onwards increasingly successful efforts were made to settle wheat-farmers on the richer parts of the old pastoral estates.

A new, pioneering country such as Australia was in the nineteenth century does not provide a favourable milieu for pure scientific work of importance. Until well after 1905 Australians continued to complain of the 'export of talent' to Britain and other lands where libraries and other amenities gave many of the most talented colonists better working conditions than they could have hoped for at home. On the other hand, a new country does set urgent practical tasks to its inhabitants. Australian pastoralists vastly improved the breed of merino sheep. William Farrer, in the last two decades of the century, developed strains of drought and disease-resistant wheats, and as

early as 1843 Ridley and Bull, in South Australia, invented the first modern mechanical harvester of cereal crops.

In the 1890s a distinctively Australian literature and art appeared. Writers like Henry Lawson, A. B. Paterson and Joseph Furphy, and painters like Tom Roberts and Sir Arthur Streeton produced work which, however popular and brash in some instances, indubitably sprang from their native soil and so constituted something more than, and different from, a derivative provincial imitation of British culture. In 1897 Furphy referred to his newly finished novel, *Such Is Life*, as being in 'temper democratic; bias, offensively Australian'. The description could have been applied to the general intellectual and political climate of the time.

On 1 January 1901 the six separate Australian colonies federated to form the Commonwealth, thus formally signalizing the achievement of nationhood. In its first decade, the Commonwealth parliament, with the broad agreement of all political parties, passed a number of laws to support what had by then come to be thought of as a distinctively Australian way of life. These laws were of two kinds. Some, like those enacting the so-called 'White Australia' policy, were concerned primarily with building up a sufficiently chauvinist, not to say racist, Australian nationalism. Others, like the laws setting up courts for the arbitration of industrial disputes between employers and employees, aimed primarily at establishing what has some claim to be called the world's first 'welfare state'. Albert Métin, a discerning French visitor, thought that Australian life at this period was one of *Socialisme sans doctrines*. Since then, however, both radical and racist sentiments have weakened in Australia. Most observers would agree that certain Scandinavian countries today are more advanced welfare states than is Australia. Nevertheless, despite the greater degree of industrialization in the United States of America, trade unions and other manifestations of collectivist democratic sentiment continue to be relatively stronger in Australia than in the more individualist North American form of democracy.[2]

NOTES TO CHAPTER XXII

1. Professor A. A. Zvorikine feels that in view of the racist policy pursued by the Australian Government, such efforts can hardly be taken seriously.

    The author, in reply to A. A. Zvorikine's comment, feels that the results of the referendum on aboriginal rights which was held in May 1967 and which was carried overwhelmingly in favour of aboriginal advancement indicates the Australian Government's constructive policy.

2. Professor Zvorikine's opinion is that the author idealizes the social set-up in Australia at the beginning of the twentieth century, even referring to 'a welfare state' and to the social system as 'socialism without doctrines'. He should obviously have referred to *liberalism*, to a few concessions to the working class, rather than to socialism.

    In regard to the author's opinion that with the passage of time both radical and racist sentiments have weakened in Australia, Professor Zvorikine feels that whilst the first of these assertions is undoubtedly true, the second is doubtful.

Finally Professor Zvorikine notes that the Scandinavian countries are also referred to as 'welfare states'. Although, in his opinion they have quite a high standard of living, they obviously cannot be called 'welfare states'. In general, this whole excursion into the present is out of place in a work devoted to the nineteenth century. For a discussion of the 'welfare state' see Caroline F. Ware *et al., History of Mankind*, vol. VI, *The Twentieth Century* (London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd, 1966), pp. 6ff, notes 2 and 3.

In Professor Ward's opinion, this question of 'welfare state' is a semantic one. He agrees that from the point of view of a Marxist living in a socialist country like the U.S.S.R. or China, no non-socialist state could possibly be considered a welfare state. However, from the point of view of people, even of Marxists, living in capitalist countries the Scandinavian states are clearly good examples of 'welfare states' in the non-socialist world. I think it even more proper to point out that Australia was possibly the most advanced welfare state in the world a full decade and more before the October Revolution. At that time, possibly, state concern for the citizenry was at a higher level in Australia than in most countries.

In reply to Professor Zvorikine's objection that the end of the chapter was not relevant to a nineteenth-century study, the author points out that, like all other contributors, he was asked initially to write a chapter on the history of Australia, not in the nineteenth century, but from 1785 to 1905. He notes that there are only two or three sentences in the last paragraph which stray into the present, which he feels are necessary to round off the end of the chapter.

[*Oceania*. Comments by Dr Hist.Sc. S. A. Tokarev and Cand.Hist.Sc. P. I. Puchkov].

The author asserts that the culture of the Australian aborigines was 'extremely static and rigid'. This is rather an exaggeration; it would be better to say 'relatively' instead of 'extremely'.

The author states that the aborigines had no 'chiefs'. In fact there were leaders in local groups, holding their power entirely on authority [*sic*].

The author says the Tasmanians were 'probably' an ethnically distinct people. The fact that the Tasmanians were both ethnically and racially distinct from the Australians is not a matter of doubt, so the word 'probably' can be left out.

The estimated population of Australia before European colonization is given as between 100,000 and 300,000. The lower figure is improbable; it would be more correct to suppose that the aborigine population was between 200,000 and 300,000.

The author says Europeans chose Australia, unlike other parts of Asia, Africa and Oceania, as a country of settlement. He should give some further explanation of the reasons (climatic factor, etc.) for this choice.

The author asserts that the aborigines lived in the camps 'as parasites'; the analogy is quite inadmissible.

It would be better, instead of the date of the death of the last male Tasmanian aborigine, to give the date of the death of the last aborigine of all—1876.